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*A Study of Female-on-Female Intentional Injuries
in an Urban Community:
A Proposal and Test of Gendered Theory*

By Nancy Beth Hirschinger

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate School – Newark

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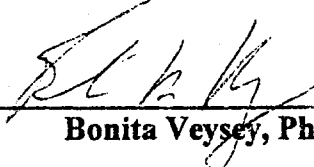
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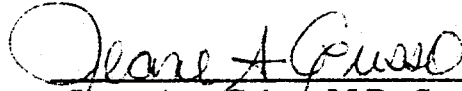
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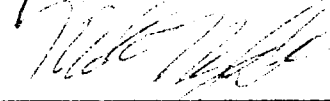
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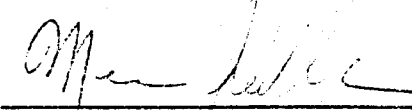
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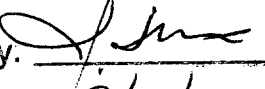

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**A Study of Female-on-Female Intentional Injuries in an Urban Community:
A Proposal and Test of General Theory**

**Nancy Beth Hirschinger
NIJ Grant No. 2001-WT-BX-0505**

An investigation was conducted among predominantly Black women presenting for emergency department care to (1) identify differences in correlates of intentional injuries to women by women compared to intentional injuries to women by men residing in an urban, low-income community, and (2) describe circumstances of the violent events. Most injured women (82 percent) were victimized by acquaintances/friends or family members. The majority (60 percent) of violent acts occurred outdoors and were witnessed by others (82 percent). Violence by women by non-partners takes place on view and is not a private affair. The most prevalent form of a violent act by the antagonist was one-on-one bodily physical contact (83 percent), and the most frequently cited location of injury was the head or face (67 percent). A significant minority (23 percent) were stabbed or cut. Sixty-two percent of the study respondents fought back. Seven percent of the respondents were carrying something to keep themselves safe at the time of the violent event, most frequently a knife or razor. In the majority of incidents (54 percent), the antagonist reportedly used alcohol or illicit drugs prior to the violent event.

The comparative analysis by gender of the antagonist using multivariable logistic regression revealed that women were more likely to engage in violence over relationship issues (i.e., protecting a third party and gossip/rumors) and personal respect (i.e., insults/slights), and were more likely to report physical abuse by a mother figure during childhood. In contrast, women injured by men were more likely to sustain an injury during predatory crime and to have a history of partner abuse.

The findings point to eight implications that should be considered in the development of future policies to reduce violence to women: (1) recognize the adaptational function of violence in the lives of urban females from their perspective; (2) provide females with opportunities that nurture success and empowerment; (3) recognize the central role of relationships in the lives of women; (4) develop conflict prevention/intervention programs and policies based on a gendered approach; (5) recognize the drug/alcohol and violence nexus and weapon availability; (6) recognize the diverse roles assumed by females involved in violence; (7) increase public safety within communities; and (8) recognize the need to minimize cultural stereotypes against Black females and the risk of victim blaming.

A Study of Female-on-Female Intentional Injuries in an Urban Community:

A Proposal and Test of Gendered Theory

By Nancy Beth Hirschinger

Thesis Director: Professor Bonita Veysey

This dissertation examines female-on-female non-partner assault that results in injury among a sample of predominantly Black women 16-45 years of age, living in a low-income, urban community. The respondents were interviewed in hospital emergency departments after seeking treatment for intentional injuries. The sample includes females injured by females (N=167) and females injured by males (N=155).

The major aims of the study were: (1) to develop a theory labeled *Gendered Social Structural Strain* which incorporates gender-neutral and female-specific constructs to explain female-on-female assault; (2) to test components of *Gendered Social Structural Strain* by comparing females injured by females and female injured by males; and (3) to provide contextual information through the presentation of the respondents' verbatim accounts.

Gendered Social Structural Strain Theory incorporates feminist theory and the structural cultural perspective. Based on a multivariable logistic regression model, three risk factors for female-on-female assault were uncovered. Consistent with feminist theory, intragender assault was significantly associated with "relational protection," defined by fighting to protect a third party and "interpersonal concerns" defined by fighting over rumors or being disliked. These findings point to the need for a gendered theory that considers the role of interpersonal relationships in the lives of females.

“Personal Respect,” a key component of Anderson’s Code of the Street perspective, emerged as the third risk factor. The code emphasizes the command of respect through aggressive posturing and the use of violence to resolve disputes. Past research has demonstrated that both males and females engage in violence over personal respect. In this study, however, when the gender of the antagonist is considered, differences between intragender and cross-gender violence surfaced.

The comparative analysis by gender of the antagonist illuminated key differences. These differences illustrate the importance of integrating both gender-neutral and female-specific theoretical concepts to explain female-on-female assault.

Acknowledgements

I could not have completed this project without the support and guidance of many people. I am so grateful!

This dissertation would not have been possible without the Principal Investigator of the *Women's Health and Emergency Care Study (WHe-Care)*, my dissertation committee member and mentor Jeane Ann ("JA") Grisso from the Center of Clinical Epidemiology and Biostatistics (CCEB) of the University of Pennsylvania. I feel so fortunate to have learned from her rigorous research skills, how to start up and manage a major investigation from beginning to end, and the value of persistence and dedication required to make things happen. After having submitted the initial *WHe-Care* grant proposal to the National Institutes of Health in 1991, and then re-submitting it in 1992 and re- and re- and re- and re-submitting the proposal, it was finally funded in 1997. Jeane Ann Grisso's commitment to improving the health of disadvantaged women has been a constant source of inspiration for me.

I am grateful to Bonita Veysey, my dissertation Chair, for inspiring me to develop my own ideas and for always encouraging me to move forward. Her support gave me the confidence to complete this project. I would also like to thank my other committee members, Mercer Sullivan and Michael Maxfield, for their critical feedback and making me think until my head hurt.

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insider's perspective, principles that I have drawn upon in developing the theoretical framework presented in my dissertation.

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I dedicate this dissertation to two generations of strength, to the memory of my grandmother, Thelma Cohn and to my mother, Diane Hirschinger, for her unconditional support (emotional and financial) and unquestionable faith in my capacity.

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CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

I. Problem Statement and Rationale

Over the past decade, female participation in assault increasingly has become a topic of concern. Recent victimization data define the scope of the issue. According to the *National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS)* for the years 1993 through 1997, women represented 14 percent of violent offenders -- an annual average of over 2.1 million violent female offenders. Reports by victims indicate that the annual number of female offenders for the years 1993-1997 averaged 435,000 women for aggravated assault and 1,533,000 for simple assault. According to the *NCVS* results, over 75 percent of victims of violent female offenders were women. Of all female offenders identified by victims, the majority (79 percent) victimized a female rather than a male (Greenfeld and Snell, 1999). These data suggest that female-on-female assault is a topic worthy of study. Few details exist, however, regarding the nature, reasons and correlates of female-on-female assault.

The finding that when young women commit assault they are more likely to assault a female than a male (Campbell et al., 1998; Greenfeld and Snell, 1999) takes on particular significance at this point in time in light of the extent of female involvement in assault since the 1990's. A brief summary of the extent and trends of female involvement in assault presented below substantiates the need for this study.

Arrest Data

Males account for the majority of violent offenses, however, in recent years there has been a dramatic increase in female arrests for violent crime. The marked percentage increases reflect in part small base rates of violent offending among females. The

changes in absolute numbers as reported below, however, indicate that a substantial number of females are involved in violent offenses. From 1985 to 1994, the arrest rate for violent crime in the U.S. increased by over 80 percent for women, from 69 per 100,000 women to 125 per 100,000 women. (Chesney-Lind, 1997). The arrest rate for aggravated assault increased by 100 percent (from 53 to 106 per 100,000 women) and the arrest rate for simple assault increased by 115 percent (from 112 to 240 per 100,000 women) (Chesney-Lind, 1997). *Federal Bureau of Investigation* (1995, 1996, 1997, 1998) data indicate that for years 1994 through 1997 arrest rates of aggravated assault decreased annually for males, but increased annually for females; and rates of simple assault changed little for males but increased for females. Similar trends have been documented for female and male adolescents in Canada and England for the years 1994 through 1998 (Leischied et al., 2000). Furthermore, over this time period the female proportion of arrests (FP/A) for aggravated assault increased slightly (16.6% to 18.8%), as did the FP/A for other assaults (18.7% to 21.3%).

Increases in arrest rates of female juveniles mirror the rates of adult women. From 1985 to 1994 the number of girls arrested for aggravated assault increased by 137 percent, arrests for simple assault increased by 143 percent and arrests for weapons offense increased by 145 percent (Chesney-Lind, 1997). From 1990 to 1999, the estimated number of female juvenile arrests for simple assault increased by 93 percent (from 36,886 to 71,190) (compared to 35% for males) and by 57 percent (from 9,753 to 15,312) for aggravated assault (compared to a 5% decrease for males) (Snyder, 2000). Some researchers have argued that increases in arrest rates among girls do not represent real changes in female assault behavior, but instead reflect an increased tendency for

family, teachers and other members of society to report violent incidents to criminal justice professionals. According to Chesney-Lind and Brown (1999), the low base rates of girls' arrests for violent offenses translate into dramatic percent increases that do not reflect large absolute increases. Notwithstanding the controversy over the extent to which increases in rates of assault reflect the behavior of females and/or reactions by the larger society, at the least the data demonstrate that girls and women do participate in assault in significant numbers.

Victimization Data

Data obtained with the *National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS)* suggest a possible increase in the rates of assault by females. In 1990, victims' reports revealed that females were responsible for about 12 percent of aggravated assaults, and 15 percent of simple assaults -- rates consistent with the percentages reported from the mid-1970's to 1990 (Steffensmeier et al, 1993; Steffensmeier et al, 1996). However, according to victims' reports for the years 1993 through 1997, the annual proportion of female offenders was on average 11 percent for aggravated assaults and 18 percent for simple assaults (Greenfeld and Snell, 1999). The slight increase may suggest an increase in the absolute number of female assaults and/or a decrease in the percentage of male assaults reported by victims. Trend analyses should be regarded with caution because results drawn from 1990 are based on the *National Crime Survey (NCS)* whereas results based on 1993-1997 are based on the revised *NCVS*. Thus, results based on comparisons over time may be confounded by changes in the survey design. Nevertheless, *NCVS* data re-confirm that assault is not a male specific behavior. For the years 1993 through 1997 women represented 14 percent of violent offenders -- an annual average of over 2.1

million violent female offenders; 435,000 women who, according to victims' reports, had committed aggravated assault and more than three times as many (1,533,000) who had committed simple assault (Greenfeld and Snell, 1999).

In addition the *NCVS* demonstrates that females are victims of violent crime in substantial numbers. The average number of victimizations between 1992 and 1998 to females was over 1.5 million per year. Of this group a significant minority (29.5% or 448,388 women) sustained an injury (Simon et al., 2001).

Self Report

Among the general population of adolescents as opposed to those involved with the criminal justice system, violence is a common behavior. The *1997 Youth Risk Behavior Surveillance System Survey (YRBSS)* reported that over one quarter (26%) of girls and almost one half (46%) of boys between the ages of 12 and 21 participated in violence defined by a physical fight in the past year (Kann et al., 1998). According to Artz's (1998) summary of the literature, the ratio of male to female self-reported participation in violence has converged from 3:1 or 4:1 to less than 2:1 reported in earlier studies (Berger, 1989; Hindelang et al., 1981).

Self-report surveys that focus on specific populations reveal a higher rate of female assault than indicated by official records or national surveys (Campbell, 1986; Ogilvie, 1996). The prevalence rates of physical fights among samples of inner-city adolescents, for example, are slightly higher than the percent estimated at the national level. Reported rates of inner-city females involved in street fights during the previous year ranged from 23 to 34 percent. Reported rates for boys ranged from 35 to 51 percent (Adams et al., 1995; Hausman et al., 1994; Kann et al., 1995). In a study of community-

based adolescents from a poor urban New York City community, Freudenberg and colleagues (1999) reported the unexpected finding that rates of males and female involvement in violence (e.g., hitting, punching) did not differ significantly.

Emergency Department Surveillance Studies

An alternative source of data on interpersonal violence is the hospital emergency department (ED). Although most ED studies on women and violence have focused on domestic violence and offer little information on female-on-female assault in particular, the results of several studies substantiate the high proportion of women involved in assault.

The *Study of Injured Victims of Violence (SIVV)* is a nationwide emergency department-based study of violent injuries. In 1994, 1.4 million hospital emergency department patients were treated for non-lethal injuries resulting from intentional or possibly intentional violence. Of this group, 40 percent or 560,000 patients were females. According to hospital medical record information, a female antagonist was responsible for 17 percent of the injured patients. This finding should be regarded with caution, however, because about a third of the medical records contained no information about the person who caused the injury. Almost all (94%) injuries reported in the *SIVV* were classified as crimes of assault (Rand and Strom, 1997).

Grisso and colleagues (1996) conducted an emergency department surveillance study of all fatal and nonfatal injuries in a low-income urban Black female population from 1987 through 1990. During this period the researchers identified 11,645 women 15 years of age or older who sustained a total of 15,090 injuries. By 1990, the rate of violent injury events was 33.2 per 1000 women or 1,022 injury events. The authors reported that

by 1990 interpersonal violence had surpassed falls as the leading cause of injury (Grisso et al., 1996). During the 4-year study period, the rate of reported injuries due to interpersonal violence increased by 55 percent, with no declines in the rate of unintentional injuries. The authors draw on this finding to argue that the dramatic increase represents a real increase rather than an increase in willingness to report the injury (Grisso et al., 1996). In a more recent paper of violence to women by Hirschinger and associates (2002) presenting to three urban emergency departments in West Philadelphia, the authors provide information by the gender of victim and antagonist. Of all women who presented to the ED during the study period with an intentional interpersonal injury, 24 percent reported an injury by a non-intimate partner female.

Ethnographic Studies

Numerous ethnographers also have observed an increase in the number of fights by urban women and adolescents in recent years (Anderson, 1999; Maher, 1997; Prothrow-Stith et al., 1991; Wolfe, 1994). Nurge (2000) studied fighting by adolescent female gang and clique members in Boston. Self-report data revealed that fighting compared with offenses such as theft/property offenses and drug sales/use was the more frequently cited type of delinquency. Over 80 percent of the young women reported involvement in a fight during the prior year. Seventy percent of the current gang members and forty percent of the clique members reported having attacked or hit someone with a weapon with the intention of seriously hurting or killing them. Nurge's findings are consistent with past studies on female gangs. Deschenes and colleagues (1999), for example, in a self-report study of delinquency found that over 90 percent of the females had engaged in violent behavior.

Young Low-Income Urban Women: An At Risk Population

Research has demonstrated that the rate of female violence and the gender disparity in violence varies with age, race and neighborhood. Males have exhibited over time and across cultures higher arrest, conviction and self-reported rates for serious violence than women (Kruttschnitt, 1994). However, research conducted over the past decade suggests that Black women from poor urban communities are at risk for involvement in assault both as victims or offenders (Baskin and Sommers, 1998; Greenfeld and Snell, 1999; Simpson et al., 1995; Steffensmeier and Allan, 1988). When data are disaggregated by gender, and either race, age, or neighborhood the results indicate that involvement in assault among women living in poor neighborhoods or minority women surpass not only the rates of white females but also the rates of white males (Baskin and Sommers, 1998; Greenfeld and Snell, 1999). According to New York City arrest rates, for example, 1003 Black females were arrested per 100,000 residents compared to 805 white males and 72 white females (Baskin and Sommers, 1998). The importance of disaggregating data by both gender and race simultaneously should not be underestimated; when simple male-female dichotomous comparisons are presented, the male to female arrest ratio of 7:1 conceals the markedly high rates of arrest among Black females.

Conclusion

The trends and extent of female involvement in assault drawn from arrest data, victimization and self-report surveys, and ED studies, when taken together, confirm that women are involved in assault in significant numbers either as victims or offenders. The topic of assault by young, Black women from poor urban areas merits scholarly attention

in order to develop effective intervention strategies necessary for meeting the needs of the women, their families and communities. Yet little is known about female assault and even less is known about female-on-female assault. The goal of this dissertation is to extend the literature of female violence to include female intragender assault.

The existing body of knowledge on assaults between females remains insufficient for both scholarly and practical purposes. Historically, the topic of violence by women has been subordinated to the study of males largely because women as a group typically commit far fewer and less serious offenses than men. Over the past decade studies on females have provided estimates of general delinquency and domestic violence. Research focusing specifically on female non-partner intentional violence is rare. Most of what we know about women has been derived from studies of intimate partner abuse.

To date few studies have been conducted on intragender female assault. Traditional measures do not provide the necessary information for analysis. *The Uniform Crime Reports (UCR)*, for example, do not disaggregate the sex of the victim and offender simultaneously. The *NCVS* and *National Incident-Based Reporting System (NIBRS)* contain these data, but published reports provide few details. The most recent publication, for example, includes the race of the offender as described by the victim, but does not report race of the victim (Greenfeld and Snell, 1999). Most of what we know about intragender female assault has emerged from national victimization studies, ethnographies and cross-cultural analyses. Most published studies conducted in the United States are limited to prevalence rates (Greenfeld and Snell, 1999) or cases studies (Adams, 1999; Artz, 1998). Studies conducted in the United Kingdom and in cross-cultural contexts are limited to descriptive analyses that document characteristics of

antagonists involved and circumstances of the violent event (Campbell, 1986; George, 1999).

II. Scope of Female-on-Female Assault

In 1999 the U.S. government publications of the *NCVS* included data on intragender female assault for the first time. According to victims' reports for 1993 through 1997, 14 percent of all offenders were identified by victims as female compared to 86 percent who were identified as male. Of the female offenders identified, 79 percent victimized other females and 21 percent victimized males (Greenfeld and Snell, 1999). In other words, female offenders assault female victims more frequently than male victims at a rate of approximately 4:1. Of the male offenders identified, 30 percent victimized females and 70 percent victimized other males. Thus, according to victims reports recorded in the *NCVS*, male and female offenders are more likely to participate in intragender than intergender assault.

In 1998 Campbell and colleagues (1998) published the first theoretically-driven empirical study of female-on-female assault. The researchers relied on *NIBRS* files from Massachusetts for the year 1994. Unlike the *UCR*, *NIBRS* includes characteristics of the offender and victim (e.g., gender, race, and age) by incident and consequently allows for the study of female-on-female assault. The authors identified 2,865 cases of assault. Female-on-female assault comprised nine percent (N=268) of all episodes, female-on-male assault accounted for seven percent (N=214), male-on-female assault accounted for 32 percent (N=917) and male-on-male accounted for 51 percent (N=1,466). Overall, females were victimized in 41 percent of all episodes (Campbell et al., 1998).

Campbell and colleagues (1998) reported that among women arrested for assault, 73 percent of the women under the age of 24 committed assault against a female compared to only 42 percent of the women older than 23. The finding that intragender female assault occurs more often than cross-gender assault among younger female offenders is consistent with findings from previous studies conducted in England (Cairnes and Kroll 1994; *Home Office Statistical Bulletin*, 1996; Maccoby 1988). Campbell and associates (1990) also reported that rates of female-on-female assault were correlated in a positive direction with female poverty, which according to the authors is consistent with the feminization of poverty thesis. According to this thesis, female resort to crime in order to attain resources necessary for survival (Steffensmeier et al., 1988).

Much of what we know about female-on-female assault comes from studies conducted in the U.K. The 1992 and 1996 *British Crime Surveys* published data on women involved in assault and circumstances around the incidents. According to a review of the studies provided by Campbell and associates (1998), British residents reported that female-on-female assault constituted about 20 percent of reported incidents of "contact crime" which consists of wounding, common assault, robbery and snatch theft (*Home Office Research and Planning Unit*, 1993; *Home Office Statistical Bulletin*, 1996). Female-on-female assault accounted for 22 percent of stranger assaults to women and 39 percent of acquaintance assaults. The percentage of female victims assaulted by females varied according to location: 56 percent occurred in drinking locales; 33 percent occurred at home, but did not involve intimate partners; 35 percent took place in the street; 22 percent happened at work; and 23 percent were coded as other (*Home Office Statistical*

Bulletin, 1995). It is notable that the drinking location was the only place where females reportedly were more likely to be victimized by females than by males.

In another British survey of female-on-female assault, George (1999) reported that participants were likely to be young, single, poor and known to each other as friends or acquaintances. The most frequent acts of violence included pushing, shoving, grabbing, tripping, slapping, kicking and punching. Weapons were rarely used.

In an older but more detailed study, Campbell (1986) used self-administered questionnaires to assess frequency and types of fights among three groups of British females: schoolgirls, incarcerated girls, and incarcerated women. While the study did not focus on female-on-female assault *per se*, Campbell noted that most fights reported by females across all three groups were against other females. Over 80 percent of females in each group had been in a fight during their lifetime. Almost all (90%) of the institutionalized girls reported involvement in a physical fight in the last year compared to 43 percent of the schoolgirls and 64 percent of the institutionalized women. Schoolgirls and institutionalized girls fought most frequently for reasons related to personal integrity or loyalty to others; the prison group fought primarily over jealousy. Campbell reported that among the group of schoolgirls, fights commonly involved punching and kicking compared to incarcerated girls and women who reported more frequent use of weapons. Respondents in all groups reported that they and the opponents usually sustained some physical injury, most commonly bruises, cuts, and scratches. Seventeen percent of the incarcerated women claimed to have broken their opponents' bones or knocked out their teeth compared to 9 percent of the schoolgirls and almost one-third of the incarcerated juveniles. Campbell's (1986) speculates that the high rate of broken bones reported by

the incarcerated juveniles is an exaggeration. Nevertheless, the results indicate that female-on-female assault involves some level of injury.

Cross-cultural studies have demonstrated that aggression initiated by women largely is directed against other women (Burbank, 1987b; Schuster, 1985). Burbank (1987b) conducted an anthropological comparison of aggression (physical and emotional) initiated by women in 137 societies using data from the *Human Relations Area Files*. She reported that women were mentioned as targets of female aggression in 91 percent of societies studied, compared to men who were mentioned as targets in only 54 percent. Women (compared to men) were the most frequent targets of female verbal or physical aggression. The most frequent female targets included sexual rivals or co-wives and the least frequent were sisters and mothers. In most cases women inflicted relatively minor physical injury, but they injured women more often than they injured men. Women were injured in 68 societies compared to men who were injured in 11. The most commonly cited reasons for female aggression involved fighting over males (e.g., jealousy), fighting for resources (e.g., subsistence concerns) and protecting one's children. Burbank's (1987b) interpretation that female aggression in large part is a form of intragender competition between females is consistent with past findings (Schuster, 1983, 1985).

In sum, U.S. and U.K. studies of female-on-female assault suggest that participants are young, acquaintance-related and of lower socioeconomic status. Fights often occur in bars or in public. Females sampled from the general population reportedly used weapons infrequently, compared to incarcerated and female gang members who were more likely to use weapons. At the aggregate level, female-on-female assault was

associated with female poverty. Commonly cited reasons for fights included jealousy, competition over resources and defending one's children or friends.

III. Absence of Theory On Female-On-Female Assault

To date few theories have been offered to explain female assault or differences in female non-partner victimization by gender of the antagonist. Major aims of this dissertation are to develop a theory of female-on-female assault, to ascertain whether the same theoretical concepts that correlate with female-on-female assault also correlate with male-on-female assault across a variety of non-partner relationships and to generate hypotheses for further theory development.

There has been an ongoing debate in the field of criminology regarding how to approach the study of female participation in violence (Steffensmeier and Haynie, 2000). Some theorists (i.e. Artz, 1998; Campbell, 1993; Chesney-Lind, 1997) argue that males and females are fundamentally different and therefore gender-specific theories that consider unique explanations for female violence are necessary. Other theorists emphasize similarities in the participation in crime by both sexes and support the application of gender-neutral theories to the study of female violence (e.g., Baskin and Sommers, 1998; Sommers and Baskin, 1993; Steffensmeier and Haynie, 2000). The literature that will be reviewed in Chapter 2 will point to the need for an integrated theory that includes both female-gender specific and gender-neutral constructs.

IV. Limitations of Existing Studies

There are numerous limitations of studies on female intragender assault. The methods employed to date have limited the range of our knowledge. First, the *NCVS* focuses on crime rates for an entire society. It is well known, however, that rates vary by

subgroup and community. This dissertation focuses on Black women residing in low-income neighborhoods precisely because this group of women has been shown to be disproportionately in violence both as victims and offenders (Baskin and Sommers, 1998; Greenfeld and Snell, 1999; Hill and Crawford, 1990; Simpson, 1991; Simpson and Ellis, 1995). Moreover, the *NCVS* results likely underestimate the rate of female assault among the group selected for this dissertation because the survey fails to capture accurately high-risk populations including the homeless, transient populations and households without telephones (O'Brien, 1985).

The second limitation of current research is that most studies on female-on-female assault have been conducted in countries outside of the U.S. Patterns of female assault and norms regarding violence represented in England and other cultures may not be generalizable to the United States. Insights gained from reviews of the research from other societies may prove fruitful in pursuing a study of female-on-female assault, but our understanding of intragender female assault would be improved by focusing on at-risk women living in the U.S.

Third, few studies have examined within-sex differences in rates and patterns of female violence and victimization. To date, most studies of female offenders have focused on the gender gap or between sex differences (Steffensmeier and Haynie, 2000). This dissertation of intentional injuries begins to fill the gap by comparing females injured by females and females injured by males.

The fourth factor involves relying on samples drawn from the criminal justice system. For example, *NIBRS* data offers several advantages (e.g., situational data and demographic data disaggregated by victim-offender relationship) in comparison to the

UCR, but as with the *UCR*, *NIBRS* data are limited to crimes that come to the attention of the police. Official data are influenced by a variety of factors including the failure of victims to report assaults, discretion by criminal justice officials and public policy makers (Gove et al., 1985). Likewise, studies that focus on samples of incarcerated girls and women are not representative of the community at large. Therefore, it is important to collect data that reflect a community-based sample. This study of women presenting to West Philadelphia emergency departments for intentional injuries provides this opportunity.

Fifth, little is known regarding circumstances around female-on-female assault. Studies of homicide have demonstrated the importance of situational circumstances surrounding the fatal event. Circumstances of assault and homicide often are similar except for the lethal outcome (Forde and Kennedy, 1997). Women incarcerated in New York for killing acquaintances or strangers, for example, reported that the murders often resulted from the escalation of disputes (Hall et al., 1996, p.15):

Someone said or did something to offend another. One or both parties were using alcohol or illicit drugs. The homicides were not planned, but occurred because the rules that generally govern social interactions were violated, a weapon of some type was available, and no one backed down.

Kennedy and Forde (1999) have conceptualized acts of violence on a continuum, where a murder represents an extremely harmful escalation of more mundane disagreements between acquaintances. This study assesses situational factors of the assault event including factors that led up to the violent event, the roles played by participants and bystanders, precipitating causes for the fight, substance abuse, and weapon use.

The sixth factor is related to the circumstances of the violent event and involves the injury consequences of the assault. Virtually all of the research pertaining to the types and seriousness of injuries to and by women has focused on domestic violence. These studies show consistently that violence by men causes more serious physical harm to their females victims than violence by women to their male partners (Campbell, 1993; Greenfeld and Snell, 1999). Some injury data on women exist, but most published information is not disaggregated simultaneously by gender of the victim and offender. National and cross-cultural surveys on violence by women have demonstrated that women rarely use weapons or cause serious injury. However, studies on female-on-female assault suggest that such intragender fights may involve some damage (Campbell, 1986; Nurge, 2000). This study assesses location and violent act that caused the injury (e.g., respondent was hit or stabbed or shot at with a gun).

In sum, little is known about the nature, circumstances, causes and consequences of female-on-female assault. Only a handful of studies have been conducted and few have been theoretically driven. Local communities and at-risk populations have not been examined in particular. This dissertation research attempts to fill in the gaps of the research by applying an integrated theoretical approach that includes female gender-specific and gender-neutral factors to the study of female-on-female assault among a sample of females residing in a low-income urban community and presenting for emergency department care.

This study contributes to the existing body of literature by focusing on female intragender assault among predominantly Black women across a broad range of non-partner relationships including assaults between strangers, acquaintances, friends and

family members. The topic of violence among Black women residing in low-income neighborhoods merits attention. Studies have demonstrated that members of this group have been disproportionately involved in violence both as victims and offenders (Baskin and Sommers, 1998; Greenfeld and Snell, 1999; Hill and Crawford, 1990; Simpson, 1991; Simpson and Ellis, 1995). It is well established that violence is a major health problem for Black women (U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, 1990). Yet little is known about Black women's involvement in assault with other women.

V. Study Goals

The goal of this dissertation is to examine female-on-female assault among a sample of predominantly Black women living in an urban, low-income community of West Philadelphia and presenting for hospital emergency department care for intentional injuries. This is one of the first studies to assess the broad range of female-to-female injuries among women across a broad range of non-intimate partner relationships.

This dissertation research includes the development of an integrated theory of female-on-female assault that blends gender-neutral and female gender-specific constructs. The proposed theory is labeled *Gendered Social Structural Strain* and is guided by the assumption that alternative cultural norms emerge from social structural strain located in larger macro socio-economic factors. This dissertation provides an empirical test of the proposed theory and generates questions for further theory development.

This dissertation applies both quantitative and qualitative research methodologies to the study of female-on-female assault. In addition to providing a descriptive body of information on assaults to females by females and males respectively, an analysis of 322

cases of intentional interpersonal injury is conducted in order to identify differences in correlates of female-on-female assault with those for male-on-female assault. In all events, the study respondent, the antagonist or both have engaged in an assault, and in all cases the respondent has experienced an intentional injury.

In this research it would be misleading to consider the respondent an innocent victim and to limit empirical tests to theories of victimization. Although the study respondent has been injured and, thus, is considered an assault victim, female-on-female has been characterized as mutual where both participants contribute to the violent outcome (Artz, 1998; Baskin and Sommers, 1993). This research, therefore, breaks with tradition by integrating relevant theories of both offending and victimization with situational characteristics of the violent event. Thus, potential correlates for the analysis were chosen in accordance with theory and research conducted on the topic of female victimization and offending in general, female-on-female assault and situational analyses. Data for this dissertation were drawn from an investigation of violent injuries to females presenting for hospital emergency department care in West Philadelphia (Grisso et al, 1999). The goals of this dissertation are to:

- 1) Develop an integrated theory labeled *Gendered Social Structural Strain*, which incorporates gender-neutral and female-specific theoretical constructs to explain female-on-female assault among Black women residing in a low-income community.
- 2) Provide descriptive information regarding violent injuries separately for females injured by non-partner females and females injured by non-partner males reported

by inner-city women presenting for hospital emergency department in order to categorize differences by gender of the antagonist(s) in:

- a) the prevalence of women intentionally injured by females or males according to the victim-offender relationship to the female study respondent;
 - b) the situational characteristics of the violent event (e.g., setting, presence and role of bystander(s); weapon use, police involvement, substance use by respondent and antagonist);
 - c) characteristics of the antagonist(s) including the number present, race(s), and age(s);
 - d) and physical location of injury as reported by the respondent.
- 3) Test the merits of key components of *Gendered Social Structural Strain Theory* by comparing potentially different factors associated with intentional injuries inflicted upon females by non-intimate partner females and males respectively.
 - 4) Provide contextual, qualitative information through the presentation of verbatim accounts reported by study respondents injured by females and males respectively, to describe their perceptions concerning reasons, characteristics and events that contributed to the violent events.
 - 5) Conduct an analysis of situational factors characteristic of the violent event (e.g. reasons and triggers for the violence) for the subgroup of females injured by acquaintances or friends in order to uncover additional questions for theory development and emerging policy implications.

CHAPTER 2. THEORETICAL APPROACHES TO THE STUDY OF FEMALES AND ASSAULT

I. Introduction

There have been few systematic attempts to understand female involvement in assault and even fewer efforts to study female-on-female assault. Works by Campbell (1986), Campbell and colleagues (1998), Artz (1998) and Nurge (2000) comprise the few studies that address female intragender assault. This is a topic with many more questions than scientific answers.

There has been an ongoing debate in the field of criminology regarding how to approach the study of female participation in violence (Steffensmeier and Haynie, 2000). Some criminologists argue that because of gender differences in psychological development, socialization or the distribution of economic and political power in U.S. society, gender-specific theories that consider unique explanations for female violence are necessary (Artz, 1998; Campbell, 1993; Chesney-Lind, 1997).

Other criminologists propose that gender-neutral theories, originally developed to explain male criminality, are relevant to the study of female violence. These theorists include, for example, Baskin and Sommers (1993, 1998) and Steffensmeier and Haynie (2000). Although the term gender-neutral has been used in the literature (see for example, Steffensmeier and Haynie, 2000), one could argue that it would be more appropriate to label many of these theories male gender-specific. Traditional criminological theories including Social Control, Differential Association, Social Disorganization and the Structural-Cultural Perspective were developed to study male deviance in particular. Only recently have they been applied to the study of women and

assault. The term gender-neutral is used today to describe theories that have explanatory value for deviance or violence regardless of gender (see Alarid et al., 2000). Definitions of gender-neutral and gender-specific used in this dissertation are described below

A. Definition and Specifications of a Gender-Neutral Theory

In this dissertation a theory is categorized as gender-neutral if the theory was developed based on male-gendered or non-gendered assumptions and the theory has been shown empirically to have explanatory value for understanding male and female assault. A gender-neutral theory will be extended to include a female-specific corollary if research has identified differences by gender in magnitude of effects or in pathways toward violence. When such differences exist there is reason to believe that a female-specific corollary is required to explain the gender differential and to understand the mechanisms underlying female assault.

The studies of gender-neutral theories that are reviewed in this chapter demonstrate that they do indeed contribute to our understanding of female assault and also point to the need for female-specific corollaries.

B. Definition and Specifications of a Female-Specific Theory

In this dissertation a theory is categorized as female specific if the theory was developed based on female gendered assumptions and research has shown that based on these assumptions, there are characteristics or underlying motivations unique to female involvement in violence that in some way distinguishes female violence from male violence. Feminist criminologists, including Chesney-Lind (1998) and Richie (1996), for example, emphasize the importance of the unequal distribution of economic and social power across gender, class and race. They argue that disadvantaged, minority women are

the victims of triple jeopardy and have restricted access to power. According to the Feminist Victimization and Feminization of Poverty theorists, this subordinate position enhances a woman's risk of violent victimization and violent offending.

In the literature the term "gender-specific" has been used to refer to theories that address the female experience in particular (Acoca and Dedel, 1998, Maniglia, 1998; Steffensmeier and Haynie, 2000). In this dissertation the term "female-specific" or "female gendered" is used instead of gender-specific because the term "gender-specific" also could be applied to male-specific experiences.

C. Literature Review: An Introduction

A theory or perspective/approach was chosen for review in this dissertation if it has been applied to the study of female assault or violent victimization. In this literature review the merits of ten theories or perspectives are examined. By definition, a theory is a group of coherent propositions used as principles to explain or account for phenomena (Adler et al., 2001). A perspective or approach, in contrast, is not based on a set of formal principles. In this proposal a perspective functions to define the boundaries of the topic under discussion. For example, the Psychiatric/Social-Psychological literature includes studies which have applied mental health or social-psychological constructs to the study of female violence. The Situational Perspective includes research that has focused on situational factors (e.g., victim-offender relationship, substance use, weapon use) applied to female violence.

Theories and perspective reviewed in this proposal include Social Control Theory, Differential Association Theory, Social Disorganization Theory, The Structural-Cultural Perspective, the Psychiatric/Social-Psychological Perspective, Routine

Activities/Lifestyle Theory, the Situational Approach, Evolutionary Theory, The Feminization of Poverty Approach and Feminist Victimization Approach.

The first four theories including Social Control, Differential Association, Social Disorganization Theory, and the Structural-Cultural Perspective are considered mainstream or gender-neutral criminological theories because they are based on male gendered assumptions. The next four perspectives including the Psychiatric/Social-Psychological Perspective, Routine Activities/Lifestyle, the Situational Approach, and Evolutionary Theory also are considered gender-neutral because they are based on non-gendered assumptions. According to the criteria outlined above, the first eight theories include a female-specific corollary because it has been shown that for each theory either the explanatory power differs in magnitude by gender or pathways to violence differ by gender.

The remaining two approaches including the Feminization of Poverty and the Feminist Victimization Perspectives are categorized as female-specific. Both theories are based on female-gendered assumptions and empirical tests have identified a female-unique explanation that distinguishes female and male violence.

In addition to the gender-neutral versus female-specific distinction, this research raises the theoretical question as to whether a study of female intragender assault is a study of victimization, offending or both. In this research the study respondent will have been injured and, thus, is considered an assault victim. Having been injured, however, does not correspond with perpetration or culpability. Unlike stranger-related assault, where the distinction between victim and offender tends to be clear, in dispute-related violence between people known to each other, the distinction often is blurred. The roles

of victim and offender are relevant to this study because female-on-female assault commonly occurs between friends or acquaintances and has been characterized as mutual where both participants contribute to the violent outcome (Artz, 1998; Sommers and Baskin, 1993). In contrast, for various reasons it is not likely that non-partner male-on-female violence will be characterized by the same degree of mutuality. The inherent strength differential between males and females, for example, may deter women from fighting back beyond acts of self-defense (Felson et al, 1996). In addition, a woman may not be subjected to the same cultural imperative to fight back against a male as might a female against another female. Consistent with the study goal of comparing female-on-female versus male-on-female violence, theories of victimization and offending are included in the literature review. Routine Activities/Lifestyle Theory and the Feminist Victimization Approach focus on victimization. Situational factors focus on characteristics of the event. The remaining theories focus on violent offending.

Sections II and III below comprise a review of the literature of gender-neutral and female-specific theories as they have been applied to the study of women and assault. For each theoretical orientation the following information is included below: (1) a brief description of the theory; (2) a rationale for categorizing the theory as female-specific or gender-neutral; (3) a brief review of study results based on theoretical applications to male assault for gender-neutral theories; (4) a description of the scope of the literature chosen for review; (5) a description of study results specific to female involvement in assault; (6) and a summary and brief note on limitations of current research for understanding female-on-female assault.

II. Gender-Neutral Theories

A. Social Control Theory

Social control theorists argue that without the formation of effective social bonds, individuals are at risk for involvement in crime or deviance. Sources of bonds include attachment to family, friends or school; commitment or conformity; involvement in conventional activities; and belief in conventional moral values (Artz, 1998; Hirschi, 1969; Laub and Sampson, 1993).

Hirschi (1969) originally tested Social Control Theory with male juveniles exclusively. Consequently, the assumptions implicitly can be considered male gendered or at best gender-neutral. Hirschi did not address the relevance of gender. However, more recent research has shown that Social Control Theory helps to explain male and female assault. Given these factors Social Control Theory is categorized as gender-neutral.

More recently Social Control Theory has been applied to the study of male juveniles and adults involved in serious offending. Researchers have demonstrated that with regards to adult males, parental attachment (Alarid et al., 2000), and quality of bonds to an intimate partner or an employer (Sampson and Laub, 1994) have significant negative relationships to involvement in violence. Among male juveniles, absence of bonds to parents and to school has been associated with risk of violence (Ellickson et al., 1997).

To date, few tests of Social Control Theory have been conducted with either adult females or females involved in assault. According to Alarid and colleagues (2000), empirical tests of Social Control Theory that include samples of serious female offenders

are “virtually nonexistent” (p.173). The literature reviewed in this section focuses on the application of Social Control Theory to female violence. Given the paucity of research on this topic, additional studies that focus on relevant social control variables without invoking the theory *per se* are reviewed; these studies address the relationship between female assault and key components of Social Control Theory including attachment to school and to the larger community.

1. Application of Social Control Theory to Female Assault

One test of Social Control Theory with women involved in violence was located. Alarid and colleagues (2000) tested Social Control Theory with a group of 1,153 convicted adult felons sentenced to boot camp, of which almost 11 percent were women. The authors operationalized low social control to include lack of attachment to parents, peers, and a male intimate partner, lack of involvement in conventional activities, and lack of respect for the law. The violent crime measure combines questions that assess the use of threats or force against intimates and non-intimates.

Alarid and associates (2000) reported that correlates of female violence include lack of parental attachment (e.g., has not “gotten along” well with parent(s), family is not the “most important” thing in their lives) and lack of involvement in conventional activities (e.g., much free time). The variables marital attachment (married or cohabitating with partner), peer attachment (friends are an important part of their lives) and belief (have respect for the police) were not significantly related to violent crime for males or females. It is noteworthy that lack of parental attachment was a significantly stronger correlate for female violence compared to male violence. The absence of involvement in conventional activities was significantly correlated with female violence,

but not for male violence. The findings by Alarid and associates (2000) provide some support for the association of social control variables (e.g., parental attachment and involvement in conventional activities) and assault among women felons. Findings regarding gender differences, however, point to the need for a female-specific corollary in order to explain gender differences in attachment and subsequent participation in violence. Feminists argue that females are more concerned with interpersonal relationships than males (e.g., Chodorow, 1978; Gilligan, 1993; Miller, 1986). This focus may explain the finding by Alarid and colleagues (2000) that absence of emotional attachment to parents has a greater effect on female violence compared to male violence. This is a topic worthy of future study.

2. Additional Applications of Components of Social Control Theory to Female Assault

Numerous researchers have considered the link between attachments to school, and to the community with females' participation in violence. Baskin and Sommers (1998), for example, found that among women arrested for non-domestic violent crimes, most (75%) reported dropping out before completing high school. The authors explained (p.64):

[I]n many ways, [the women's] disengagement from school was part of a larger process in which social bonds to various conventional institutions were being eroded. As the women decreased school attendance, the opportunities for positive socialization were attenuated.

Subsequently, the women were unlikely to participate in other conventional activities or non-deviant recreational activities. Two additional studies were located that support the link between absence of bonds to school and adolescent female violence. Ellickson and colleagues (1997) conducted a longitudinal self-report study of more than 4,000 high

school seniors and dropouts from California and Oregon and reported that violent females were more likely than violent males to exhibit low academic achievement and to have dropped out of school. This finding points to the need for a female-specific corollary to explain gender differences in attachment to school.

3. Female Assault and Social Control Theory: Summary and Limitations

The literature suggests that similar to males, some traditional social control variables including lack of attachment to parents, to school, and to the community are associated with female involvement in assault. In comparison to male assault, however, the research points to differences in the magnitude of effects for attachment to school, parents and level of involvement. Thus, while there is some support for Social Control Theory as a gender-neutral theory that helps explain male and female violence, the results suggest the need for a female-specific corollary that would account for gender differences.

The current body of research is limited, by the scant number of studies that focus on adult women and by the lack of attention paid to the victim-offender relationship and female-on-female assault in particular.

B. Differential Association Theory

According to Differential Association Theory, crime is learned through social interaction with others. As individuals increase their associations with people who maintain antisocial values, they are more likely to internalize definitions that are favorable toward violating the law and to learn techniques used to commit crime. Proponents of this theory focus on learning crime from deviant families and delinquent peers.

In developing this theory, Sutherland and Cressey (1974) describe their theory as a general theory that is applicable to males and females. The authors, however, rarely discuss females and, when they do, they portray females as outside of mainstream culture (Belknap, 1996). Although Differential Association Theory is based on non-gendered norms, recent research points to the explanatory value of this theory for male and female assault. Therefore, Differential Association is categorized as gender-neutral.

Principals of Differential Association/Social Learning Theories have been offered as explanations for family violence and gang violence. Research has shown that the highest incidence of aggressive behavior occurs where aggressiveness is a desired characteristic, as it is in some gangs and subcultures (Adler et al., 2001).

Three studies were located that applied Differential Association Theory to the study of female violence. In the first study, Giordano and Rockwell (2000) argue that Differential Association explains female chronic delinquency (including violence). In the second study, Alarid and colleagues (2000) applied Differential Association Theory to a sample of female and male adult felons. In the third study, Heimer and DeCoster (1999) developed a gendered version of Differential Association Theory and specified how

learning experiences vary by sex and lead to violent offending. These studies are described below.

1. Application of Differential Association Theory to Female Assault

Giordano and Rockwell (2000) assess the utility of Differential Association as an explanatory framework to explain serious and violent offending among a small group (N=13) of delinquent girls contacted first as adolescents and followed up 13 years later. According to Giordano and Rockwell (2000), the deviant behavior of family members is a critical causal factor in understanding female deviance. The study respondents described families where repeated exposure to violence and direct instruction to use violence against others were present during childhood. These exposures were frequent and recurrent. The authors attribute the onset of antisocial behavior to a type of “total immersion” that is characterized by a network – mothers, fathers, grandmothers, siblings and associates of parents – that represent a “united front of deviance” (p. 11). The respondents virtually had no access to pro-social definitions.

The second study that applied Differential Association Theory to female assault was conducted by Alarid and colleagues (2000) and was described in the section above. In addition to social control variables, the authors assessed measures of differential association. As noted above, study participants included 1,153 convicted adult felons sentenced to bootcamp. Almost 11 percent of the sample consisted of females. Measures of differential association included “individual definitions toward crime” (individual’s degree of tolerance for criminal behavior, the moral validity of violating the law), “other’s definitions toward crime” (extent to which people with whom the respondent associates think its OK to break the law), and criminal friends (the number of closest

friends who have done something in the last year for which they could be arrested). The violent crime measure combines questions that assess the use of threats or force against intimates and non-intimates.

Alarid and associates (2000) reported that none of the measures of differential association were significantly related to violent crime for females (when controlling for measures of social control). All measures, however, were significantly related to male violence. This is a finding worthy of further exploration.

In the third study Heimer and DeCoster (1999) applied an integrated approach based on Differential Association Theory and arguments drawn from feminist and gender studies. The researchers conducted an empirical test based on self-report data from the National Youth Survey based including 773 females and 837 males as well as parent interviews. Heimer and DeCoster (1999) offer specifications regarding gender differences in mechanisms by which females and males learn violent definitions. They also assess how the learning process for males and females is conditioned by structural factors.

Heimer and DeCoster (1999) measured the direct and mediating effects of "violent definitions" and "gender definitions" for males and females separately. "Violent definitions" refer to cultural norms that support the use of violence and were measured with a set of statements such as "it's all right to beat up another person if he/she called you a dirty name." "Gender definitions" refer to traditional descriptions of femininity and masculinity and were measured with a set of statements such as "In general, the father should have greater authority than the mother in the bringing up of children" (p. 315). Violent delinquency was measured with a 10-item scale.

The authors found support for Differential Association Theory. Learning violent definitions was a significant predictor of violent delinquency for girls as well as for boys. The magnitude of the effect did not vary by gender. However, mechanisms leading to delinquency varied by sex in numerous ways. Having aggressive peers and having a parent who reported use of coercive discipline each had a larger effect on boys' than girls' learning violent definitions, which in turn was associated with violent behavior. The emotional bond to family, however, was significant for girls, but not boys' learning of violent definitions. Accepting traditional gender definitions significantly reduced violence among females but not among males.

In addition, structural disadvantage (measured by the total effects of socioeconomic status, race, female headship and receipt of public assistance) increased the chance of violent offending among boys and girls through the learning of violent definitions. However, the specific pathway by which structural positions influenced violence differed. For example, for girls structural disadvantage was associated with increased adherence to traditional gender definitions, which, in turn, reduced the chance of violent delinquency. This relationship did not hold among males.

The results of this study demonstrate the importance of identifying gendered pathways toward learning violent definitions. Heimer and DeCoster (1999) argue that gender differences in violence are rooted in the unequal distribution of power in society. According to the authors' interpretation of the results, girls learn that violence is incompatible with being a female and are restrained by emotional bonds to parents. Boys, on the other hand, are taught definitions that favor the use of violence.

2. Female Assault and Differential Association Theory: Summary and Limitations

According to the literature reviewed, the relationship between variables drawn from Differential Association Theory and female assault is mixed. The study by Alarid and colleagues (1999) failed to show a relationship between differential association and female violence, but the findings do show a significant relationship for male violence. It is possible that the results for females are not significant because the empirical test was limited to the assessment of the main effects. Findings by Heimer and DeCoster (1999) assess intervening mechanisms and provide support for a gender-neutral theory of Differential Association with female and male gendered corollaries. That is, Differential Association Theory helps to explain both male and female violence, but gender-specific characteristics of violence also were identified.

Giordano and Rockwell's (2000) qualitative study also provide some support for Differential Association Theory. Giordano and Rockwell (2000) argue that as with males, Differential Association Theory has explanatory value for understanding female involvement in serious crime including violence. The authors suggest that exposure to antisocial definitions from early family contacts may be more important to understanding the behavior of delinquent females than delinquent males. According to the authors, "the serious female delinquent is a statistical rarity in the population, [and therefore] it might be that a greater push is required to begin some type of deviant career" (pp. 21-22). This greater push may be required to overcome the impact of strong emotional bonds to family members and internalized traditional gender-definitions identified by Heimer and De Coster (1999) which curb female violence (but not male violence). Giordano and

Rockwell (2000) suggest that deviant associations present in the family serve as a direct means for young women to learn violent definitions. The family exposed the daughter to a wider world of antisocial social contacts. Further studies of gendered corollaries of Differential Association Theory within the context of pathways to violence will advance our understanding of female violence.

Similar to limitations described for Social Control Theory, the current body of research on Differential Association Theory is limited by the scant number of studies that focus on adult women and by the lack of attention paid to the victim-offender relationship in general and female-on-female assault in particular.

C. Social Disorganization Theory

Unlike psychologists who tend to attribute violence to individual characteristics, many criminologists and sociologists focus on the social structural context of communities. This body of research was developed almost exclusively with samples of males (Chesney-Lind and Sheldon, 1998) and is based on non-gendered assumptions. Empirical tests of Social Disorganization Theory provide explanatory value for female and male assault and thus the theory is categorized as gender-neutral.

Empirical research has demonstrated that rates of male interpersonal violence measured at both community¹ (Land et al., 1990; Sampson and Groves, 1989; Taylor, et al., 1984; Wilson, 1987) and individual levels (Grisso et al., 1999; Miles-Doan and Kelly, 1997; O'Campo et al., 1995) are associated in a positive direction with factors reflecting neighborhood-level social disorganization. These include family disruption, poverty, housing density, and low rates of organizational participation within communities.

Few studies have applied aggregate-levels measures of Social Disorganization Theory to the study of female involvement in violence. According to Steffensmeier and Haynie (2000), this omission of aggregate-level research on the link between social structure and female crime reflects the tendency to explain female crime with micro-individual factors that measure psychological disorder or family dysfunction to the exclusion of social-structural considerations (Daly and Chesney-Lind, 1988; Leonard, 1982). Males and females share the same environment. It is critical, therefore, to assess whether structural factors considered strong predictors of male violence also predict

¹ Most of these studies do not disaggregate rates of interpersonal violence by gender. Given that the rates of male violence far outweigh the rates of female violence, the results of these studies reflect male violence.

female violence (Steffensmeier and Haynie, 2000). Researchers argue that as with men the negative social effects of structural conditions (e.g., reduced formal and informal control, poverty, unemployment) are expected to contribute to increases in female rates of violence (Baskin and Sommers, 1998; Steffensmeier and Haynie, 2000). The literature reviewed in this section includes studies that have assessed the relationship between components of Social Disorganization Theory (e.g., poverty and unemployment) measured at the neighborhood or city level and female assault.

1. Application of Social Disorganization Theory to Female Assault

Three studies were located that test components of Social Disorganization Theory with female assault. The first two studies rely on arrest data of females involved in assault and the third study is based on self-report data of women presenting to emergency departments for intentional injuries.

Steffensmeier and Haynie (2000) examined whether city-level variation in the female crime rate was linked to the city's structural disadvantage. The authors hypothesized that structural disadvantage increases the rate of offending for females and males. According to their review of the literature, macro-level structural disadvantage should have less of an effect on male violent crime rates than female rates for three reasons. First, the endogenous stresses contributing to female offending are more evenly distributed across women than are the environmental stresses contributing to male offending. Second, males and females have different goals. Females focus on relational concerns and males on occupational achievement. The gap between the goals and means is greater for economically disadvantaged males than their female counterparts. This disparity in the gap contributes disproportionately to male violence. Third, the criminal

subculture is a masculine adaptation. Thus, while female rates may increase as consequences of structural disadvantage, the effects are expected to be smaller when compared to the effects on male rates. In sum, structural factors are expected to have a greater impact on male violence compared to female violence.

The authors focused on 178 cities in 1990 that contained more than 100,000 residents. Data was obtained from the 1990 Bureau of the Census, the *Uniform Crime Reports (UCR)* and the *Supplemental Homicide Report (SHR)*. Dependent variables included female arrest rates for five crimes: homicide, robbery, aggravated assault, burglary and larceny. Independent variables were selected to reflect structural disadvantage and were disaggregated by sex.

Steffensmeier and Haynie (2000) selected female-specific measures of neighborhood for independent variables including percent Black of the female population, female poverty, female joblessness, female-headed households, and income inequality (Gini coefficient). These variables were used to create a Structural Disadvantage index for use in the multiple regression analyses. The authors controlled for housing density, residential instability, percent population aged 15-29 and police per capita.

Steffensmeier and Haynie (2000) demonstrated that female and male rates of arrest for aggravated assault were associated significantly with sources of structural disadvantage and residential instability. The magnitude of the effect of structural disadvantage on female arrest rates for assault was not as large as the effect on the male rates, but, as with males, the effects for females were statistically significant. The effect size of disadvantage on measures of aggravated assault by sex was not statistically significant. The authors attribute this unanticipated finding to increases in the

criminalization of minor assault and to expanded monitoring of both minor and more serious assault including school, homes and workplaces.

In the second test of structural disadvantage, Baskin and Sommers (1998) set out to examine the impact of deindustrialization on women residing in poor urban neighborhoods. The authors hypothesized that women living in neighborhoods characterized by structural disadvantage would be involved disproportionately in violent crime. The authors used New York City arrest data for 341 women arrested for non-domestic violent felonies. Each woman was assigned a 1990 census tract code based on her address at the time of the most recent offense. Census tracts were categorized as low, moderate or high poverty neighborhoods. Significant differences in arrests by neighborhood remained even after controlling for age, education, marital status and race. According to the results, the average number of official arrests for assault was significantly higher for women from high poverty neighborhoods than for women from the low poverty neighborhoods. This finding is consistent with past studies of social disorganization applied to the study of male violence.

The third study conducted by Grisso and associates (1999) was a case-control investigation of correlates of intentional injuries to women presenting for emergency department (ED) care in a poor urban community. The case group included women injured by non-partner males and females including, family, friends, acquaintances or strangers. The control group included women who presented to the ED for a health concern unrelated to an intentional injury. Although the case group includes women injured by both female and male non-intimate partners, the results are worth reporting because so few studies have focused on women injured by non-intimate partners.

According to the results, neighborhood measures of structural disadvantage including residential instability and low median income were associated with an increased risk of injury. These findings are consistent with past studies of social disorganization applied to the study of male violence.

2. Female Assault and Social Disorganization Theory: Summary and Limitations

The studies conducted by Grisso and colleagues (1999), Baskin and Sommers (1998) and Steffensmeier and Haynie (2000) demonstrate that neighborhood-level measures of structural disadvantage are associated with female involvement in assault. Steffensmeier and Haynie (2000) also offered a comparative analysis by gender. The authors found that structural disadvantage has a smaller effect on the female assault arrest rates compared to male assault arrest rates. However, the magnitude of the gender difference was not statistically significant.

The research conducted to date is limited by several factors. First, studies rely on arrest data that involve limitations discussed previously. Second, Steffensmeier and Haynie (2000) aggregated measures by city level and Baskin and Sommers (1998) aggregated measures by city borough. Aggregating measures by a smaller unit (neighborhood) may be more appropriate because smaller communities likely provide a better measure of the social networks in which individuals are embedded (Steffensmeier and Haynie, 2000). Third, no studies published thus far have tested the effects of aggregate-level structural disadvantage on the individual-level risk of intragender female assault.

D. The Structural-Cultural Approach

Since the 1970's criminologists and sociologists have focused on cultural norms that have emerged subsequent to deindustrialization and the emergence of what in some circles is called the underclass (Anderson, 1999; Baskin and Sommers, 1998; Oliver, 1989b; Sampson and Wilson, 1995; Wilson, 1987). This body of research was developed primarily with samples of males. In recent years, however, researchers have applied this approach to females and have identified sources of structural disadvantage and motivations for female assault that are unique to female violence compared to male violence. This theory is categorized as gender-neutral because research has demonstrated that it has explanatory power for understanding male and female violence. Studies reveal, however, that a female-specific corollary is required to explain and describe structural factors and intervening mechanisms that shape female violence in particular.

In the same theoretical tradition as Social Disorganization, this group of researchers (e.g., Anderson, 1999; Baskin and Sommers, 1998; Oliver, 1994; Sampson and Wilson, 1995; Wilson, 1987) argues that macro-structural forces, including decreased social control in structurally disadvantaged communities, in contrast to a subculture of violence (Wolfgang and Ferracuti, 1975), have given rise to alternative norms that support the use of physical violence and defensive behavior in urban neighborhoods. These alternative value systems exist in part because the wider cultural values are no longer viable and urban residents have little sustained interaction with individuals and institutions that represent mainstream society (Kornhauser, 1978).

The scope of the research presented in this section focuses on studies that apply the structural-cultural perspective to female involvement in assault. Major works include

studies by Anderson (1994, 1999), Oliver (1989b, 1994) and Nurge (2000). These researchers focus on cultural adaptations among individuals living in structurally disadvantaged neighborhoods and describe the relevance of macro-structural factors and their links to the emergence of alternative norms.

1. Structural Disadvantage and the "Code of the Street" Perspective

Over the past several decades, Anderson (1990, 1994, 1999) has explored alternative value systems held by male and female residents of diverse urban neighborhoods. Anderson observed that while most residents are law-abiding, a minority has internalized the "Code of the Street." This code represents an oppositional culture that has been adopted in varying degrees by inner-city Black residents and involves aggressive posturing, abusive language and the use of violence to resolve disputes. According to Anderson, the key value shared by males and females is the importance of maintaining respect. With few traditional means to earn status (e.g., employment, family provider), respect among both males and females has become a commodity worth fighting over.

Recent findings suggest that as with urban men, attitudes toward violence held by females contribute to female's participation in interpersonal violence (Adams, 1999; Anderson, 1999; Artz, 1998; Baskin and Sommers, 1998; Campbell, 1986; Nurge, 2000). According to Anderson's (1999) analysis, young women in Black inner-city communities have begun to adhere to the code. Similar to men, women frequently choose to instigate fights or fight back aggressively to maintain respect and are unlikely to perceive themselves as victims. Baskin and Sommers (1998), in their qualitative interviews with urban women arrested for non-domestic violence, also reported that women use violence

as a dispute settlement mechanism and often comply with the Code by fighting to earn respect and to prevent future victimization. This finding is consistent with Nurge's (2000) observation that the Code of Street exists among at-risk adolescent females and female gang/cliq ue members in a low-income urban community that was the subject of her research. Take together, these studies demonstrate that both males and females engage in violence in order to secure and maintain respect. Therefore, the structural-cultural perspective is considered gender-neutral. The review that follows highlights the presence of gender-specific mechanisms and the subsequent need for female (and male) specific corollaries.

In a recent examination of the Code of the Street among young urban women residing in a low-income community, Nurge (2000) identified a female-specific corollary of respect. She found that young women, when accused of promiscuous activity, feel compelled to engage in assault against the accuser in order to restore their reputations in the eyes of both male and female peers. Males, in contrast, are not held to the same standard; instead they often are rewarded by their male peers for having more than one girlfriend at a time. In sum, the research uncovers gender-neutral and female-specific dimensions of the Code. Some males and females engage in violence to maintain personal respect. Females, unlike their male counterparts, however, also associate respect with maintaining an untainted sexual reputation.

2. Structural Disadvantage and Sexual Rivalry

Oliver (1989b) is one of the few scholars to consider the impact of social structural strain on women's participation in intragender violence. According to Oliver (1989b), structural disadvantage rooted in discrimination and economic processes has led

to cultural adaptations by Black males in poor urban communities. These include the “tough guy” and “player of women,” both of which contribute to female involvement in assault. Similar themes are echoed in the works of Anderson (1990, 1999). Oliver argues that social structural strain contributes to behaviors held by males, which in turn, increase the risk of female-on-female violence. This pathway toward violence is unique to females (compared to males) and points to the need for a female-specific corollary..

The “tough guy” image is based on a set of norms that define manhood in terms of fearlessness, emotional control, and willingness to resolve conflicts through violence. A male with the “tough guy” image, for example, might assault his girlfriend in public if she humiliates him. The “player-of-women” image is a masculine role alternative that defines manhood in terms of overt masculinity, dominance, and emotional and sexual exploitation of women. According to Oliver (1989b), the “player” image is prevalent among structurally dislocated Black males. This image, along with the “tough guy” image, serves to compensate for the lack of success in enacting the traditional male roles of family provider. Adherence to the “player” image involves maintaining more than one girlfriend at a time, a practice that according to Oliver (1989b) and Anderson (1990) intensifies female-on-female conflict and competition over male intimate partners.

In addition to cultural adaptations, Oliver (1989b) points to macro-structural factors, including the shortage of heterosexual males that contribute to female-on-female violence. Wilson (1987) has argued that within Black underclass communities, high rates of unemployment, homicide, incarceration, mental illness and substance abuse have contributed to a shortage in the availability of “marriageable” Black men. As a consequence, Black females have adopted a pattern of short-term serial monogamy or

“polygamy” based on sharing of males (Oliver, 1989b). As a result, female-on-female violence is readily interpreted as romantic jealousy (Oliver, 1989b, pp. 267-68):

When violence occurs between this [female] dyad, the offenders’ motives may vary from an intent to retaliate against her co-wife to an attempt to deter her co-wife from future involvement with her husband or boyfriend to saving face among her peers. Anger induced by romantic jealousy may also contribute to victim-precipitated assaults and homicides among females – that is, violent confrontations in which the victim was the first to use force but was eventually assaulted or killed by the co-wife in self-defense.

To date, Oliver’s theory has not been tested empirically. Campbell and colleagues (1998), however, assessed one component of Oliver’s theory (albeit from a different theoretical perspective). With *NIBRS* data, Campbell and associates (1998) operationalized the availability of suitable male partners by testing the effect of the sex-ratio and male unemployment on arrests for female-female violence. She and her colleagues hypothesized that the presence of fewer suitable men (measured by the sex-ratio) would enhance female-on-female competition and subsequent risk of assault. The zero-order correlation between the sex-ratio and rates of intragender female assault was insignificant.

3. Female Assault and the Structural-Cultural Perspective: Summary and Limitations

The studies reviewed demonstrate that some groups of females adhere to alternative norms that legitimize and at times require the use of violence. Research on the Code of the Street perspective identified gender-specific (e.g., gendered respect) and gender-neutral (e.g., personal respect) dimensions that contribute to female involvement in violence (Anderson, 1994, 1999; Nurge, 2000). Oliver’s theory uncovers sources of structural disadvantage (e.g., a shortage of Black men) and adaptations to strain by Black

males (e.g., player image) that, in turn, may contribute to female-on-female violence. Female-specific sources of strain (e.g., shortage of marriageable males) and adaptations (e.g. intragender competition for male partners) point to the need for a female gendered corollary in order to explain the link between structure and culture as well as intervening mechanisms that shape female violence in ways that are different from male violence.

Questions remain regarding the link between structural disadvantage, macro-level demographic factors (e.g., shortage of marriageable men), and female competition over men, and subsequent female-on-female assault. In sum, few studies have applied the Structural-Cultural Approach in any detail to the study of women. To this author's knowledge, no studies have assessed quantitatively the impact of attitudes held toward violence on the risk of female-on-female assault. The aftermath of deindustrialization undoubtedly has had harmful effects on both male and female residents of poor urban neighborhoods. Further exploration of the impact of "player" and "tough-guy" images, and gender-neutral and gendered dimensions of the "Code of the Street," and how these behaviors and norms influence women's involvement in assault, will begin to fill a gap in the research.

E. Routine Activities/Lifestyle Theory of Victimization

In contrast to the theories described thus far, Routine Activities/Lifestyle Theory focuses on the role of the victim rather than the role of offender. Proponents of the routine activities/lifestyle approach argue that the convergence in time and space of a likely offender, suitable target and absence of a capable guardian provides opportunities for victimization to occur. This convergence takes place independent of personality characteristics that may motivate individuals to participate in crime, or cultural or structural conditions (Sampson and Lauritsen, 1994). The theory presupposes the presence of motivated offenders who will engage in crime if provided the opportunity. Thus, it is ineffective to focus on underlying motivations for crime. Instead, routine activities/lifestyle theorists study situations and opportunities that increase the risk that crime will occur.

Lifestyle theorists center on the "suitable target" component focusing on factors that affect an individual's vulnerability to victimization. Lifestyles are important to the degree that they influence exposure to motivated offenders and decrease the level of guardianship (Jensen and Brownfield, 1986), which in turn increases one's risk of victimization.

In studies carried out with samples of males, researchers have identified several lifestyle behaviors that are associated with increased risk of violent victimization. They include self-reports of violent behavior, involvement in minor deviance (Jensen and Brownfield, 1986; Sampson and Lauritsen, 1990), participation in night-time activities and drinking behaviors (Forde and Kennedy, 1997).

According to the criteria set forth in this dissertation, the Routine Activities/Lifestyle approach is gender-neutral because the theory is based on nongendered assumptions and is applicable to females and males. Research suggests, however, that the theory requires a female-gender specific corollary because routine activities have been shown to vary by gender. Early applications of Routine Activities/Lifestyle theories were offered to explain lower risks of violent victimization among females compared to males. According to Hindelang and associates (1978), for example, females reportedly were less likely than young males to spend time out of the home socializing. Consequently, females were afforded increased guardianship (assuming the home was safe from victimization) and reduced risk of interaction with potential offenders outside of the home.

Three recent studies were located that examined applied routine activities or lifestyle characteristics to female assault. The first two studies provide support for a gender-neutral dimension and third study uncovers a female-specific dimension.

1. Gender-Neutral Dimension of Routine Activities/Lifestyle Theory

In the first study the authors set out to assess whether delinquent behaviors correlated with teenage male violent victimization and whether delinquent behaviors explain the gender differential in risks of victimization. Using self-report data from high school seniors, Jensen and Brownfield (1986) found that the greater the involvement in violent offending, the greater the risk of victimization (including theft, vandalism, robbery, threat and assault). The authors also found that for four different types of interpersonal violent victimization experiences (weapon injury, weapon threat, injury with no weapon, threatened with no weapon) the effects of sex on risk of victimization

were reduced when controlling for self-reported offense behavior. Jensen and Brownfield (1986) conclude that the association between the victims' offense activities and his/her victimization experiences partly explain sex differences. The results suggest that for females as well as males, a lifestyle involving violent activities is not only likely to increase contact with potential offenders, but also is likely to increase involvement with activities that are themselves likely to be associated with offensive behavior.

In the second study Baskin and Sommers (1998) describe the routine activities and lifestyles characteristics of 37 female offenders involved in non-domestic assault. According to the authors, the women's lifestyles centered around risky behaviors including using drugs, buying drugs, obtaining money for drugs, and spending time with people who used drugs or were engaged in illegal activity. According to the authors, most of the women had experienced victimization routinely. For most of the women, drug addiction involved a lifestyle that increased opportunities for interacting with potential victimizers and for participation in violent crime through robbing, physical fights, engaging in prostitution or in systemic violence characteristic of the drug trade (Baskin and Sommers, 1998).

2. Female-Specific Dimension of Routine Activities/Lifestyle

The third study that included an application of the routine activities/lifestyle approach to female assault uncovered a female-specific pattern. Schwartz and Pitts (1995) applied a feminist routine activities approach to the study of sexual assault victimization of female college students. At the core of this approach is the unwritten law rooted in American cultural history that allows men to punish women violently.

According to Mustaine and colleagues (1999, p.58), "It is likely that the predatory, violent

victimization risks of women are related to the cultural, legal, and thus societal 'supports' for the abuse of women (that men do not experience)." In their study, Schwartz and Pitts (1995) assume the presence of motivated (male) offenders "who are searching for women who might do something unsafe [e.g., become intoxicated] something that gives the offender an edge or the ability to take the upper hand in victimization" (p. 15). Schwartz and Pitts (1995) administered self-report surveys to a sample of over 200 female college students. The authors focused on the availability of suitable targets for sexual victimization. Although the authors do not provide the sex of the offenders, in sexual violence the offender usually is a male. The authors conceptualized lifestyle factors to reflect a feminist routine activities/life style for studying sexual violence. According to the authors' conceptualization, two routine activity/lifestyle factors increase target suitability among females. First, intoxication reduces a female's ability to ward off sexual advances. Second, having male friends who are motivated male offenders (sexually predatory men) increases the risk of victimization to females themselves. The authors summarize previous research, which shows that male college students who report having as friends motivated sexual victimizers are more likely to themselves engage in this behavior. Friends may reinforce rape-supportive beliefs. The authors imply that women with male friends who are sexual victimizers are more likely than other women to interact with friends of the sexual victimizers. This increased proximity to motivated offenders is likely to increase target suitability for risk of sexual victimization.

The authors conducted a multivariate analysis using sexual victimization as a dichotomous variable. The two groups included women who had reported serious sexual victimization (rape or attempted rape) and women who reported sexually coercive

aggression or no sexual victimization. Independent variables included: (1) frequency of going out drinking; (2) having friends who are motivated offenders (men who get women drunk in order to have sex with them); (3) quantity of alcohol consumed; (4) having experienced a stranger make uncomfortable advances toward the respondent; (5) and year in school. The authors found some support for lifestyle factors predicted by feminist routine activities. Women who engage in frequent drinking activities or have friends who are motivated offenders were more likely than other women to be sexually victimized. Intoxication likely reduces a female's ability to counteract sexual advances. Women with friends who are motivated offenders are more likely to interact with other motivated sexual offenders.

3. Routine Activities/Lifestyle Theory: Summary and Limitations

Of the studies reviewed one applied a female-specific corollary of routine activities/lifestyle that focused on intergender sexual victimization and identified a gendered dimension of lifestyle/routine activities. Two studies of routine activities/lifestyle factors focused on female assault more generally. Both studies demonstrated that similar to males, risky activities by females including substance use and illegal behavior are associated with involvement in assault. Thus, evidence demonstrates that Routine Activities/Lifestyle Theory is applicable to male and female assault; and a female-specific corollary is necessary for understanding lifestyle theory applied to sexual victimization. Although only a handful of studies have applied the Routine Activities/Lifestyle Approach to female assault, the results point to this approach is a fruitful area for further exploration.

F. Psychiatric/Social-Psychological Perspective

Early scholars focused their explanations of female deviance on individual pathology, while ignoring or at best minimizing the impact of mental problems on male criminality (Naffine, 1987). In recent years, however, there have been increased efforts to understand the impact of pathology on male violence (Gilligan, 1996; Pollack, 1996). Research suggests that mental health problems affect males and females differently. In a review of mental health disorders over the life course Keenan and Shaw (1997) described gender-specific pathways to antisocial behavior. By school age, boys demonstrate a rate of externalizing disorders (e.g., attention deficit disorder and conduct disorder) that is 10 times higher than the rate for girls. However, both sexes are characterized by similar rates of internalizing disorders (e.g., anxiety or depression). By adolescence, however, the rate of internalizing disorders among young women outstrips the rate among young men while the differential rate of externalizing disorders between the sexes remains unchanged.

Historically, individual pathology thought to originate in women's biology or psychology was used to explain female offending (Pollock, 1999). Early studies of female criminality ignored the effects of socialization or social-structural barriers (Freud, 1933; Lombroso and Ferrero, 1895; Pollak, 1950; Thomas, 1928), but instead argued that female deviance emerged from insanity or mental problems (Smart, 1976). According to Belknap, "female lawbreakers historically (and even today) have been viewed as 'abnormal' and as 'worse' than male lawbreakers – not only for breaking the law, but also for stepping outside of prescribed gender roles of femininity and passivity" (1996, p. 22). Of all female criminals, violent women were perceived as the most pathological.

Researchers today continue to draw the link between mental illness and participation in violence by women albeit for different reasons than those offered by the classical theorists. Today's scholars have suggested that females who continue to engage in crime beyond adolescence may be more disturbed than their male counterparts (Jordan et al., 1996; Pajer, 1998). Loeber and Stouthamer-Loeber (1998) describe a gender paradox whereby the sex with the lower prevalence rate of the disorder is affected more seriously by the disturbance. For example, studies have documented that females who meet criteria for conduct or antisocial personality disorders are at higher risk of developing other serious problems than males with similar disorders (Loeber and Stouthamer-Loeber, 1998). Given that fewer women than men resort to violence, it is possible that violent women exhibit more severe pathology than violent men. These findings suggest the need for a female-specific corollary in order to explain the differential impact of mental health problems on female violence compared to male violence.

Recent consideration of the relationship between psychiatric or mental health symptoms and female violence largely has been limited to descriptive analyses. Studies chosen for review in the sections that follow assess the impact of mental health or psychosocial functioning on female violent offending or violent victimization.

1. Community Samples: Mental Health Status and Physical Aggression

Two studies based on samples drawn from the community have demonstrated support for the association between mental health status and physical aggression. In a 5-year longitudinal self-report study of more than 4,000 high-school seniors and dropouts, Ellickson and colleagues (1997) reported a higher percentage of violent adolescent girls

rated themselves as "poor" in mental health (according to the Mental Health Index-5) compared to violent boys. Using the same database, Ellickson and colleagues (2000) found that girls who exhibited low self-esteem as early as seventh grade were more likely to engage in persistent hitting five years later. Low self-esteem was not a significant predictor for boys.

2. Incarcerated Samples: Mental Health Status and Physical Aggression

Studies that have assessed mental health status among incarcerated females rarely publish rates of mental health problems by type of offense (violent versus non-violent) or information on past violence. Researchers have demonstrated, for example, that incarcerated girls are affected disproportionately by mental health problems (Timmons-Mitchell et al., 1997; Ulzen et al., 1998) and adult female inmates have exhibited higher rates of mental health problems than their male counterparts (Government Accounting Office, 1999). However, studies of this type do not permit analysis of the prevalence of mental health problems among females specifically involved in assault. In addition, studies typically are cross-sectional making it difficult to establish a temporal relationship between mental health problems and involvement in crime, and the results have limited generalizability to non-incarcerated females. Notwithstanding these limitations, research suggests a link between mental health problems and assaultive behavior.

There is some indication that a sizable number of incarcerated girls and women have engaged in past violence (Campbell, 1986; Porter, 2000). Campbell found, for example, that almost all (90%) of the institutionalized girls and the majority (64%) of incarcerated women reported involvement in a physical fight in the last year. In addition, a study of incarcerated women in three states (Connecticut, Florida and California)

reported that one-third of the women had been serving time for a violent offense and all women for whom data were available had a history of violent behavior (Acoca et al., 1996). Data on past history of violence were obtained for Connecticut only. Of the women incarcerated in Connecticut (N=975), 80 percent had engaged in minor violent crimes, 12 percent had engaged in moderate violent crimes and 8 percent had engaged in major or severe violent offenses (Acoca et al., 1996). Mental health professionals determined that 80 percent of the sample had some level of mental health impairment. If the prevalence of assault in Connecticut is any indication of the rates of assault among women incarcerated in the other two states, then mental health characteristics based on the total sample takes on significance. Of the total sample, comprised of over 12,000 women, one quarter had received psychiatric medication regularly, one third had been diagnosed with a mental health problem over the life course, and almost half (44%) were diagnosed as needing treatment for a mental health problem (Acoca et al., 1996).

3. Victims of Violence and Mental Health Status

Outside of the research on domestic violence and child abuse, little is known about the psychiatric status of victims of female aggression. Battered women consistently are reported to be more socially isolated than control subjects (Bullock et al., 1989; Garbarino et al., 1980; Starke, 1984) and to have high rates of depression and low self-esteem (Campbell et al., 1992; Grisso et al., 1999; Hilberman et al., 1978; Trimpey et al., 1989). Whether or not non-intimate female victims of female physical aggression manifest similar symptoms has yet to be explored fully.

4. Female Assault and Mental Health Status: Summary and Limitations

In sum, recent studies suggest that females involved in violence as victims or offenders in many cases are more likely than males to be characterized by internalizing mental health problems including depression, anxiety and low self-esteem. Further development of a female-specific corollary is necessary to understand how mental health problems affect the risk of female involvement in violence. To date, most studies are limited to non-representative groups based on small sample sizes (typically less than 100 cases) and do not include empirical tests of theory. Except for studies of domestic violence and child abuse, most do not report the victim-offender relationship or the sex of the target.

G. Situational Approach

The Situational Approach is based on temporally proximate factors that influence the use of violence. These include interactional factors, sex of the participants, the victim-offender relationship, precipitating reasons for the assault, injury consequences, weapon use, the role of third parties, the strategy used to carry out the assault, and substance use by the participants. Recent studies have identified situational factors that are common to female and male assault (Baskin and Sommers, 1998; Hall et al., 1996) as well as situational factors that shape female assault in ways that are different from male assault (Adams, 1999; Artz, 1998). Thus, the situational approach is considered gender-neutral. However, a female-specific corollary is required in order to understand fully the impact of situational factors on female assault. In the sections below situational characteristics and their impact on female involvement in assault are reviewed.

1. Interaction, Sex of the Participants and Victim-Offender Relationship

Research suggests that characteristics of the violent event and of events leading up to violent events vary according to the sex of the victim and antagonist. Baskin and Sommers (1998) reported that among women arrested for non-domestic assault, characteristics of the interaction followed Luckenbill's (1977) three-stage process developed with samples of males: 1) verbal conflict in which identities are challenged, 2) threats, and 3) physical attack in which retaliation plays a critical role. Baskin and Sommer's (1998) do not specify the sexes of the victims and offenders. It is plausible, however, that Luckenbill's process characterizes female-on-female assault more so than male-on-female assault. Female intragender assault presumably involves a relatively equal playing field and a cultural imperative to fight back in order to save face (Felson,

1982). Two articles were located that address sex differences with respect to assaults between non-intimates (Felson et al., 1996; O'Brien, 1988). They are described below.

Felson and colleagues (1996) used self-report data based on a sample of male and female respondents injured by strangers and non-strangers. The authors reported that males were more likely to assault and injure antagonists of both genders, but females were more likely than males to be assaulted and injured by antagonists of both genders. Felson and associates (1996) attribute these findings to the greater physical strength of males compared to females. It is noteworthy, however, that when weapons were used, females were more likely than males to injure antagonists of both genders.

O'Brien (1988) relied on *UCR* and *NCS* data on crimes of homicide, and aggravated and simple assault, disaggregated by gender and relationship. Relationship categories included strangers and spouses/relatives. Several findings emerged. First, male-on-female violence was associated with less serious violence (simple assault) and female-on-male violence was associated with more serious violence (aggravated assault). The author suggests that in intimate situations a male does not need to use serious violence to win compliance from the female. A female, however, may be more likely to resort to serious violence in self-defense. It is plausible that this pattern of violence also extends to non-intimate situations. Second, O'Brien (1988) reported that female-on-female violence was dominated by simple assault, followed by aggravated assault. Third, for both males and females, intragender assault was more common between strangers compared to the comparison category that included spouses/relatives. However, cross-gender assault (male-on-female and female-on-male) occurred more often than expected between spouses/relatives; males committed simple and aggravated assault against

females over 50 percent more often than expected and females committed simple assault against males 16 percent more often than expected.

Further research is necessary to assess sex differences with regards to male and female assault between non-intimate partners. The results of both studies inevitably are affected by inclusion of intimate partner violence and neither study assesses assaults between acquaintances/friends or family members (apart from intimates).

Two additional studies were located that report data on the victim-offender relationship. The first focuses on injury victimizations and the second focuses on non-lethal violence by females. The first study is based on *NCVS* data collected for the years 1992 through 1998. Over a third of all females injured were victimized by an intimate (37% compared to 4% of male victims), over a third were injured by other family members or friends/acquaintances (38.6% compared to 40% of male victims) and about a quarter were injured by strangers (24% of females compared to 56% of male victims) (Simon et al., 2001).

The second study provides data disaggregated by sex of the victim and relationship simultaneously. According to the victims' reports based on the *NCVS* for the years 1993 through 1997, about 55 percent of female violent offenders victimized a female acquaintance and about 25 percent victimized a male acquaintance. The proportion of female offenders attacking female and male strangers was the same (about 38%), as was the proportion of female offenders attacking male and female relatives (about 7%). Less than 1 percent of female violent offenders victimized a female intimate compared to about 30 percent who victimized a male intimate (Greenfeld and Snell, 1999).

2. Reasons for the Assault

Research has demonstrated that females become involved in assault for female-motivated reasons as well as gender-neutral reasons. Some females, for example, reportedly fight for reasons centered on preserving interpersonal relationships or “relational concerns” such as fighting to defend or protect the respect of friends or family (Adams, 1999). According to this view, women compared to men place a greater emphasis on establishing and preserving a sense of connection with others (Gilligan, 1993). This relational orientation shapes their deviant activities (Acoca and Dedel, 1998), which indicates that certain non-normative activities are gendered.

Alternatively, some females, like males, engage in assault within the routine activities of drug use and drug selling or to establish or maintain one’s personal respect and reputation as someone not to be “dissed” (Anderson, 1999; Baskin and Sommers, 1998). Until further research illuminates otherwise, these factors are considered gender-neutral.

Analysis of the reasons for violence alone, however, does not provide an adequate explanation of gender differences. It also is necessary to assess the contexts in which the violence occurs. For example, similar to intragender female assault, violence between men sometimes involves issues about female intimate partners (Oliver, 1994). Studies suggest, however, that underlying motivations for violence between young women over issues related to male intimate partners are shaped by issues related to the female gender (Artz, 1998; Nurge, 2000). As discussed earlier with respect to the gendered version of the Code of the Street, there is evidence of a double standard that excuses some male behaviors but condemns similar behaviors by females. Consequently, some women who

adhere to patriarchal norms are intolerant of female player behavior (actual or accused) and direct hostility engendered by conflict with or about male intimates toward third-party rival females (Artz, 1998; Nurge, 2000). This context, therefore, should be considered female-specific (and male specific when discussing male violence).

3. Strategy

Another situational factor that shapes female assault involves the strategy used to carry out the assault. Studies indicate that indirect aggression, for example, compared to direct aggression, is more typical of females than males (Lagerspetz et al., 1988). Indirect aggression refers to a form of social manipulation in which the target is attacked circuitously without the primary antagonist being personally involved in the attack (Lagerspetz et al., 1988). As a result, the aggressor avoids retaliation because presumably she will not be associated with the attack (Lagerspetz et al., 1988). Indirect aggression stands in contrast to direct aggression that is commonly motivated by the need for status and, therefore, must be demonstrated publicly. The use of indirect aggression versus direct aggression by inner-city females has received little attention.

Indirect aggression also involves spreading false rumors, gossiping and ignoring the antagonist (Bjorkqvist et al., 1992). Some studies have reported that women use indirect means in lieu of physical aggression (Talbot, 1997). However, little is known about the extent to which women involved in physical assault also employ indirect aggression. This is a topic that merits further study.

4. Third Parties

Few studies have assessed the impact of the presence of third parties on intragender female assault. Research by Baskin and Sommers (1998) suggests that as with males, the presence of third parties contributes to the escalation of female violence by increasing the probability of retaliation used as a face-saving measure. This finding is consistent with research by Felson (1982) who demonstrated that the presence of third parties increases the severity of conflict among participants of the same sex (i.e. female-on-female or male-on-male). It is noteworthy, however, that the presence of a third-party reportedly does not enhance the severity of male-on-female conflict (Farrell et al., 1978; Felson, 1982). Felson (1982) suggests that in cases of cross-gender assault, bystanders disapprove of male assault against females and consequently attempt to break up the violence.

Overall the research results demonstrate that in some situations the presence of third parties significantly affects the intensity of the violent interaction. Studies that assess the influence of third parties on female-on-female and male-on-female assault is a topic worthy of further study.

5. Substance Use

Numerous studies have demonstrated a relationship between intoxication and violence. Only recently has the Bureau of Justice Statistics published these data contained in the *NCVS*. According to victims' reports, 40 percent of female and male offenders had been using drugs and/or alcohol at the time of the offense (Greenfeld and Snell, 1999). Aside from this publication virtually all of the research on female involvement in violence and substance use at the time of the incident has focused on

homicide. Literature on situational factors of female homicide offending is relevant to the study of non-intimate assault involving women. Similar to violence by males, the circumstances surrounding acquaintance- and stranger-related murder have been characterized as follows: an argument escalates, no one backs down, one or both parties were using drugs or alcohol, and a weapon was available (Hall et al., 1996). In such cases, the victim and/or offender may have been so high that under non-drug induced circumstances the argument may not have resulted in murder. It is possible that substance use by one of the participants served as the factor, which tipped the violence from an assault to a homicide.

Studies of female homicide victims and offenders have demonstrated a markedly high prevalence of substance use. One study assessed autopsy reports and revealed that over one-third of female homicide victims in New York City between 1990-1994 tested positive for alcohol or an illicit drug (Wilt et al., 1997). Interviews conducted with incarcerated female homicide offenders in New York State found that women convicted of killing strangers or acquaintances reported significantly more substance use on the day of the murder than women who killed children or intimates. Over two-thirds of women who murdered acquaintances or strangers reported using drugs or alcohol on that day (Hall et al., 1996). In a study based on arrest data, Mann (1990) compared females who killed while under the influence of drugs or alcohol and female nonusers. Mann (1990) reported that users were significantly more likely to kill persons other than intimates (40% versus 26%). In second study of female intrasexual homicide based on arrest data, Mann (1996) reported that over one third of the female offenders (36%) and victims (40%) had been using alcohol prior to the homicide event.

6. Female Assault and Situational Factors: Summary and Limitations

The research conducted to date suggests that situational factors have female-specific dimensions that require female-specific corollaries. The sex of the victim and offender, the victim-offender relationship and the roles assumed by third parties influence the likelihood that violence will occur as well as the intensity of the violence.

Bystanders, for example, have been shown to be less tolerant of intergender assault compared to female intragender assault. Males and females engage in violence for similar reasons, but the contexts and strategies used differ. Males and females both engage in violence over personal respect, but females compared to males may be more likely to assault another female in response to an accusation regarding promiscuous sexual activity. Moreover, females are more likely than males to engage in indirect aggression.

Research on situational factors as they relate to assault is still developing. Few studies have examined situational factors that are disaggregated simultaneously by victim-offender relationship and sex of the participants. Some studies have placed situational factors within a theoretical framework such as The Code of the Street or Routine Activities. Further study of gender-neutral and gendered situational factors is necessary in order to identify factors that turn a non-violent event into a violent event.

H. Evolutionary Theory

Daly and Wilson (1988) apply Darwin's Evolutionary Theory to the study of interpersonal violence. Evolutionary Theory is guided by the principle of reproductive fitness. According to Wilson and Daly (1988, p. 5):

[P]ersonal survival is not the bottom line on the natural selective ledger. Over generations, it is successful traits that 'survive,' not individuals, and this sort of long-term survival depends not only or even primarily upon the longevity of those carrying the trait, but upon the abundance of their progeny...It is reproductive success, not bodily condition, that the evolutionist refers to as 'fitness.'

Although behaviors, including violence, may have diverse proximate causes, all behaviors (by males and females) ultimately are driven by the need to maximize reproductive fitness. Daly and Wilson (1988) argue that the ultimate aim of violence by males and females is to enhance reproductive fitness. This theory has utility for explaining male and female violence and therefore is considered a gender-neutral theory. However, according to the theory's principles the mechanisms used to maximize fitness are employed differently by males and females as a consequence of sex differences rooted in biology. Consequently, Evolutionary Theory is considered gender-neutral with female- and male-specific corollaries.

Daly and Wilson (1988) attribute male-on-male violence to the legacy of ancestral human mating strategies based in a system of polygamy. This legacy continues to influence behaviors today according to theorists (Campbell et al., 1998). In a polygamous system, the more dominant males have access to a disproportionate share of females. In contrast, less dominant males have access to fewer females and are at risk for failing to achieve reproductive fitness. The large fitness (or reproductive) variance among males

creates intense intragender competition for access to females. Campbell and associates (1998, p. 417) summarize findings based on research by Daly and Wilson:

[U]sing homicide as an indicator of aggression, male-male killing is the most common pattern of homicide, that younger men kill one another at the highest rate and that homicide is higher among the unemployed (who have few resources with which to secure reproductive advantage) and the unmarried.

These findings suggest that males at-risk for homicides by other males also are at risk for reproductive failure.

Daly and Wilson (1988) demonstrate that rates of homicide between males far outstrip homicide rates between females. According to the authors, females are less likely to fight over male partners than males are over female partners because reproductive success is defined differently by sex. For a male, reproductive success is a function of the number of females to which he has sexual access. For a woman, reproductive success is a function of her ability to invest as principle caretaker of offspring and is limited by her physiology. Lethal violence used by females as a sexual strategy (fighting over a male) fails to provide an evolutionary payoff. Campbell and colleagues (1998) suggest that reproductive success among females is based on avoiding death because the survival of offspring usually is dependent on the maternal rather than the paternal caregiver. According to Daly and Wilson (1988), one consequence of the legacy of polygamy is that the fitness variance characterized by females is smaller than among males. There is a greater probability that a female compared to a male will produce offspring over the life course. Thus, rivalry between females typically is less intense.

1. Recent Application of Evolutionary Theory to Female-on-Female Assault

Two publications (Campbell, 1995; Campbell et al., 1998) extend Daly and Wilson's (1988) evolutionary explanation to female-on-female assault. According to Campbell (1995) and Campbell and associates (1998), females compete over material resources required to ensure the survival of offspring and ultimately to maximize their own fitness. Campbell (1995) identifies six factors associated with female intrasexual strategies that may involve intragender assault, and three female-specific forms of competition that have been implicated in female-on-female violence. These nine factors are described below.

a. Characteristics/Circumstances Associated with Female Intrasexual Strategy

According to Campbell (1995), characteristics and circumstances associated with female intrasexual strategies that may increase the risk of female intragender violence include: (1) the age of the female; (2) the sex ratio of males and females in the community; (3) the proportion of resource-rich male mates; (4) commitment to long-term relationships by males; (5) absent fathers; and (6) individual differences between females.

The first characteristic is the age of the female. According to Campbell (1995), during early adolescence females begin to experiment with males in preparation for establishing long-term commitments. Campbell (1995) hypothesizes that during this period in the life cycle, "similarly aged girls will compete with one another for access to the most desirable males" (p. 109). Consistent with Evolutionary Theory, intragender female competition over a male intimate is viewed as a strategy that maximizes her reproductive fitness over the long term.

The second factor involves the sex ratio of females to males in the local community as well as the proportion of resource rich mates. Consistent with Daly and Wilson (1990), Campbell (1995) argues that in communities characterized by a greater number of females than males, competition between women over male partners increases. Moreover, competition intensifies in communities with a shortage of potential male mates who lack the means to contribute to child rearing. Campbell argues (1995) that urban neighborhoods characterized by high rates of male unemployment and incarceration have contributed to a reduction of marriageable males. Subsequently, competition between females over male intimate partners is expected to intensify in order for females to maximize their reproductive fitness and obtain necessary resources for survival.

The third factor involves the presence of males who do not commit to long-term relationships. Research demonstrates that some men prefer short-term liaisons instead of long-term committed relationships. According to Campbell (1995), females may accommodate to this behavior by engaging in short-term relationships. In spite of this adaptation, Campbell asserts (1995) that females continue to compete over male partners for resources including nurturance and fatherhood as means to enhance their reproductive fitness.

The fourth factor points to the finding that some women involved in intimate relationships do not expect a long-term investment by the male as either partner or father. Nonetheless, Campbell (1995) claims that some females require economic resources necessary for the survival of offspring. Campbell (1995) argues that absent fathers contribute to the female-on-female competition for necessary resources and this competition is most intense in the poorest communities.

The fifth factor involves individual differences between females. According to Campbell, individual differences among young women contribute to competition and intragender violence. A young woman who perceives herself as less attractive may be more willing than a woman who perceives herself as attractive to engage in risky tactics (e.g., assault) to secure a male. Moreover, a young woman who matures early may be the target of another female's aggression. Campbell argues that young women who perceive themselves as attractive and/or are characterized by early menarche have an evolutionary advantage in terms of mate selection, ability to garner resources and a fertile life expectancy. Consequently, members of this group are less likely than other females to compete over males, but may be more likely to be targets of aggression by less attractive or less mature young women.

b. Three Female-Specific Forms of Competition

According to past research intragender female violence revolves around three main forms of competition: sexual reputation, competition over access to a desirable partner and jealousy regarding ownership of an established partner and his resources (Campbell, 1995).

First, a woman who maintains an untainted sexual reputation increases her chance of securing a desirable long-term male mate and eventual reproductive success. A female who is accused of promiscuity by another female, on the other hand, may engage in violence in order to restore her reputation, which ultimately is required to increase her chance of securing a male mate.

The second source of competition involves rivalry for desirable partners.

According to Campbell (1995) competition leading to violence intensifies among women

who are economically and socially dependent on males. It is this group of women who are most in need of the economic resources provided by male partners.

Third, among some young women, perceived ownership of males carries a right to fight off female intruders. According to Campbell (1995), some females who associate with males assume a sense of ownership, even when the relationship has terminated. This sense of ownership contributes to intragender competition.

2. Empirical Test of Intragender Female Aggression and Evolutionary Theory

To date one study applied Evolutionary Theory to female-on-female (Campbell et al., 1998). Campbell and colleagues (1998) relied upon 1994 *NIBRS* data for Massachusetts districts. The dependent variable was an index that combined arrests for aggravated and simple assaults. Independent variables were obtained from the 1990 Bureau of Census data and consisted of male and female unemployment, female welfare status, and the sex ratio in the community. A major goal of the study was to assess whether rates of female-on-female assault, similar to rates of male-on-male assault, were more common among younger individuals. The researchers found that among males and females involved in assault, same sex assault was more common among individuals under the age of twenty-four (52% of young men's assault was intragender compared to 73% of young women's assault). Campbell and associates (1998) draw on this finding to substantiate the utility of Evolutionary Theory.

According to Campbell and colleagues (1998), intragender female assault, similar to male-on-male assault, is related to mating strategies (Campbell et al., 1998, p. 420).

The authors used multiple regression analysis of the female-on-female arrest rate for

assault on measures of female and male unemployment rates, rates of receipt, and the sex ratio in the population. The authors selected these measures to assess the relationships between female-on-female assault and indicators of a female's capacity to achieve reproductive fitness. Welfare receipt served as a measure of economic need. A sex ratio in favor of females served as a measure of a male shortage. According to the results, rates of female-on-female assault correlated significantly with welfare receipt. The authors attributed this finding to female-on-female competition over males for economic resources needed for survival.

3. Evolutionary Theory: Summary and Limitations

Empirical results suggest that Evolutionary Theory is relevant to female-on-female assault and includes gender-neutral and female-specific dimensions. Similar to male-on-male assault, female-on-female assault is over-represented among younger individuals. This finding suggests a relationship between intragender violence and a period during the life course when mating strategies likely are most prevalent.

Female-specific dimensions emerge based on gender-specific mechanisms for achieving reproductive success. According to the theory, for males, reproductive success is a function of the number of female partners. In contrast, for females, reproductive success is a function of access to male mates and/or material resources required for the survival of offspring and the female herself. Female-on-female assault that occurs over issues of sexual reputation, competition over access to a desirable partner and jealousy about ownership of an established partner reflects competition over male mates and their resources.

The major limitation of Evolutionary Theory for explaining female-on-female assault (and any behavioral phenomenon) is the lack of means to test the theory empirically. We cannot know, for example, that female-on-female violence over required resources is linked to issues of reproductive success. According to Daly and Wilson (1990), Evolutionary Psychology is not a theory of motivation, but instead explains why certain goals have come to control behavior. Distal explanations for intragender female assault (and all behavior) may originate in human evolution guided by the principle of reproductive fitness. To date, however, there is no way to test this hypothesis directly.

III. Female-Specific Theories

A. Feminization of Poverty Approach (Economic Marginalization)

According to the Feminization of Poverty thesis women resort to crime in order to provide economically for themselves and their children. This theory is based on female gendered assumptions and was developed to explain female behavior in particular. Thus, the theory is considered female-specific. Central to this theory is the argument that when women are economically subordinate to men they are at risk for resorting to crime and violence for the purpose of attaining resources necessary for survival. While research consistently has shown an association between economic need and male assault, females compared to males, face additional economic strain. In describing the uniqueness of female poverty, Pearce explains (1990, p. 267):

While many women are poor for some of the same reasons that men are poor—they live in a job-poor area, they lack the necessary skills or education- much of women's poverty is due to two causes that are basically unique to females. Women often must provide all or most of the support for their children, and they are disadvantaged in the labor market.

Research has demonstrated that limited financial resources and concern over economic survival are related to female involvement in assault (Campbell et al., 1998; Maher, 1997). Such assault often is carried out under circumstances and for reasons distinct from male assault.

Steffensmeier (1980) originally used this approach to account for increases in traditional nonviolent female crimes including larceny and prostitution. Similar to Steffensmeier's research (1980), most studies of economic marginalization among females have focused on nonviolent crime committed in the service of survival (Carlen, 1988; Chesney-Lind, 1989; Chesney-Lind and Sheldon, 1998; Gilfus, 1992; Miller,

1986). However, additional research suggests a link between female participation in assault and concern over economic survival (Campbell et al., 1998).

The scope of the literature covered in this section focuses on studies that have considered the impact of economic marginalization on female involvement in assault. Studies in this area have been conducted at the cross-cultural level, with samples of women involved in the underground economy in urban communities, and with women arrested for female-on-female assault.

1. Cross-Cultural Research

Several cross-cultural studies have demonstrated the relevance of economic marginalization for women involved in assault. Anthropologists have reported that in societies where women lack economic resources and are dependent on men financially, intragender competition between females intensifies and contributes to female-on-female aggression (Schuster, 1985). Burbank (1987b) in a survey of 137 societies in the *Human Relations Area Files* reported that the second most frequent reason for female-on-female aggression involved concerns over subsistence.

2. Studies of Females Involved in the Underground Economy

Several studies have examined the male-dominated economic structure of the underworld and its influence on female involvement in assault as victims and offenders. In an ethnographic study of female crack sellers in New York City, Dunlap and colleagues (1997) examined roles played by women within drug distribution networks. As a consequence of the gendered opportunity structure, most women involved in the drug trade were involved in low-level drug distribution activities and sex work. In these positions the risk for violent victimization far outweighed the tendency for violent

offending. "Employee sellers," for example, reportedly worked for male distributors from whom they faced victimization risks. The authors describe one study respondent's perspective: "[T]he younger bosses characteristic of crack distribution today, are 'wild.' They are quick to resort to violence if their money is not correct and will beat the worker or break an arm if things are not in order" (p. 35).

Several researchers also have discussed violent victimization and offending by females within the context of neighborhood economic disadvantage, drug addiction and sex work (Maher, 1997; Maher and Curtis, 1993; Maher and Daly, 1995). With limited alternative means to earn a living, the women relied on using their bodies for economic survival. According to Maher (1997), historically women addicted to drugs were able to earn a living shoplifting. However, as a consequence of deindustrialization shopping malls disappeared which left the women with no stores to steal from.

Maher and Curtis' (1993) ethnographic study of female sex workers illustrates how crack addiction, victimization by "johns" and the need to counter male oppression, contribute to female involvement in assault. According to the authors, female violence increased with the advent of crack cocaine and with the subsequent increase in violence within the larger urban community. During the late 1980's, as a consequence of increased drug-market activity, profits declined dramatically, and competition for tricks increased. The nature of sex work changed from indoor to outdoor locations and from vaginal intercourse to oral sex. Out of a desperate need to support their crack addiction, women settled for "cheaper and rougher" tricks and tolerated their physically abusive behavior.

Although the women interviewed by Maher and Curtis (1993) were more likely to be victims than perpetrators of assault, there were instances when women played the perpetrator role against male "tricks" who had tried to take advantage of the women by refusing to pay for services rendered. Women also reported engaging in violence against each other in competition over "tricks." Consistent with the Feminization of Poverty Perspective, female sex and drug workers are economically dependent upon and subordinate to their male tricks and drug bosses. The research suggests that these positions of dependency and subordination increase a woman's vulnerability to involvement in violence. It is likely that when economic support is withdrawn, a female's risk of engaging in violence against the dominant male or rival female increases.

3. A Study of Women Arrested for Female-on-Female Assault and the Link to Poverty

Campbell and colleagues (1998) assessed the impact of female poverty on women arrested for female-on-female assault. This was the only study located that assessed empirically the relationship between poverty and female-on-female assault. The results of this study as they pertain to Evolutionary Theory were described above. Several additional points regarding the relevance of these study results to the Feminization of Poverty thesis are highlighted in the section that follows.

The authors argue that violence between women is motivated by competition over material resources provided by men which are necessary to ensure the survival of offspring. When this source of support is threatened, competition between women and the threat of assault intensifies. Campbell and colleagues (1998) claim that women's economic reliance on men is explained by Feminist Evolutionary Theory. Although

Marginalization Theory focuses on immediate circumstances instead of long-term evolution, implications of Campbell's study are relevant to Marginalization Theory. When women are economically subordinate to men, women are placed a position of dependency such that when economic support is withdrawn, female-on-female competition may intensify over male resources.

Campbell and associates (1998) hypothesized that female-on-female assault is a function of female poverty resulting from economic dependence on males. The authors relied upon 1994 *NIBRS* data for Massachusetts' districts. The dependent variable was an index that combined arrests for aggravated and simple assaults. Independent variables were obtained from the 1990 Bureau of Census data and consisted of rates of female unemployment and welfare receipt. Multiple regression analysis of the female-on-female arrest rate for assault on measures of female unemployment and welfare receipt supported the hypothesis that arrest rates for female-on-female aggression are a function of rates of female poverty. Women involved in assault are likely to be economically vulnerable and likely to engage in violence with other women over men for economic resources.

4. Female Assault and Feminization of Poverty Thesis: Summary and Limitations

In sum, research suggests that the feminization of poverty fostered by the subordination of women to men contributes to the risk of female involvement in assault. Few applications of this perspective, however, have focused on violent crime involving women. Increases in nonviolent crimes by women during the 1960's and 1970's were linked to poverty. Most studies have focused on specific populations such as sex workers

or arrested women. Notwithstanding these limitations, the results suggest a link between female involvement in assault and the feminization of poverty.

B. Feminist Victimization Approach

According to the Feminist Victimization Approach, women are pushed into crime as a result of past victimization including abuse as children, domestic violence and/or substance abuse (Carlen, 1988; Chesney-Lind, 1997; Gilfus, 1992; Miller et al., 1986; Richie, 1996). Central to the feminist approach is a sensitivity to the subordinate status of females and the patriarchal context of society. According to Chesney-Lind (1989, p. 24):

[L]ike young men, girls are frequently the recipients of violence and sexual abuse. But unlike boys, girls' victimization and their response to that victimization is shaped by their status as young women. Perhaps because of the gender and sexual scripts found in patriarchal families, girls are much more likely than boys to be victims of family related sexual abuse...In addition, the fact that young girls (but not necessarily young boys) are defined as sexually desirable ...means that their lives on the streets (and their survival strategies) take on unique shape – one again shaped by patriarchal values. It is no accident that girls on the run from abusive homes, or on the streets because of profound poverty, get involved in criminal activities that exploit their sexual object status. American society has defined as desirable youthful, physically perfect women. This means that girls on the streets, who have little else of value to trade, are encouraged to utilize "this resource."

Consistent with feminist theory, researchers have identified differences in risks of and responses to victimization that impact the risk of future involvement in assault. Girls, for example, are more likely than boys to be victimized both physically and sexually by a family member (Dejong et al., 1983; Finkelhor and Baron, 1986; Rivera and Widom, 1990; Russell, 1986). Females and males typically respond differently to past victimization. Males, for example, are more likely to exhibit externalizing symptoms, such as aggressive behavior, while females are more likely to develop internalizing disorders, such as depression or anxiety (Keenan and Shaw, 1997). Internalizing

disorders may lead to addiction and a drug-oriented lifestyle, which in turn can contribute to the risk of female involvement in assault.

The scope of the literature reviewed in this section includes studies that assess the impact of past victimization and its aftermath (e.g., running away, substance abuse, prostitution) on violent offending or violent victimization. Several studies on victimization that are outside the scope of the feminist perspective are included because the results point to a link between childhood victimization and female perpetration of assault.

1. Common Pathways To Violent Victimization

Victimization theories traditionally focus on the effects of past violent victimization on subsequent nonviolent offending and violent victimization. Some feminist criminologists describe a common female gender-specific pathway to non-violent crime and violent victimization: girls run away from abusive homes and engage in illegal activity, including theft, prostitution and/or substance use as a means of survival (Arnold, 1989; Chesney-Lind and Sheldon, 1998; Miller, 1986). Research has shown that some abused girls experience victimization by the criminal justice system (Chesney-Lind, 1997). This re-victimization may increase their risk of future victimization. Over time some females become "structurally dislocated" or detached from the primary socializing institutions of family, school and employment (Arnold, 1989) and subsequently develop a network of drug- or crime-involved peers including males who foster economic dependence and subjugation through physical and sexual violence (Romenesko and Miller, 1989).

Feminists also emphasize the finding that women with histories of trauma often turn to drugs as a form of self-medication (Davis, 1997; Inciardi, 1993), a practice that further increases the risk of violent victimization.² Consistent with the Victimization Approach is the finding that women using large amounts of cocaine or cocaine on a regular basis are more likely to be victims of violence rather than perpetrators, compared to their male counterparts who are more likely to be perpetrators (Goldstein et al., 1991).

2. A Link Between Violent Victimization and Violent Offending By Females

Studies conducted by Maher (1997), Maher and Curtis (1993) and Maher and Daly (1995) are unique because the authors discuss not only the effects of victimization on adult women's involvement in subsequent victimization within the context of neighborhood disadvantage, but they also discuss women's perpetration of violence. Maher and Curtis' (1995) ethnographic study of female sex workers illustrates how crack addiction, victimization by "johns" and the need to counter male oppression contributes to female involvement in assault as victims and perpetrators. These results were discussed in the previous section on Feminization of Poverty. It is worth including in this section the finding that of the 62 women interviewed by Maher and Curtis (1995), all had been raped or sexually assaulted in the recent past.

In sum, the results cited above portray females involved in crime and violence as

² Inciardi (1993), in a review of the literature on women and drugs, reported that females are more likely to continue engaging in substance use in order to self-medicate compared to males who are more likely to continue using drugs for pleasure or because of peer pressure. Moreover, women are more likely than men to have experienced depression prior to the addiction while men typically develop the depression in response to the drug dependency.

suffering from physical or sexual abuse, depression, poverty, drug addiction, and subsequent violent re-victimization (Arnold, 1989; Chesney-Lind and Sheldon, 1998; Gilfus, 1992; Richie, 1996). Some of these women go on to perpetrate violence (Maher, 1997; Maher and Curtis, 1995). Gilfus offers the term "immersion" to describe the consequences of survival strategies that result in a woman's slide into criminality and victimization.

3. Childhood Abuse and Involvement in Assault

Studies have identified a link between childhood victimization and female perpetration of assault. The researchers do not label themselves as advocates of the Victimization Approach *per se*, but the studies are included in this review because they assess the impact of past victimization on subsequent involvement in assault. The consequences of abuse for females are complex and have been associated with externalizing reactions more typical of males (Kendall-Tackett et al., 1993). In an update on the cycle of violence research, Widom and Maxfield (2001) found that abused and neglected females, compared to control females, were at increased risk for subsequent violent crime arrests. Several researchers have identified physical and sexual abuse within the home as a major factor that weakens primary bonds of attachment and contributes subsequently to violent behavior by females (Baskin and Sommers, 1998; Leischied et al., 2000). These findings are significant because girls are more likely than boys to be victimized both physically and sexually by a family member (Dejong et al., 1983; Finkelhor and Baron, 1986; Rivera and Widom, 1990; Russell, 1986).

Numerous researchers discuss particular effects of childhood abuse by the mother and father/father-figure. For example, a rupture in the mother-daughter bond

characterized by physical abuse has been associated with the adolescent daughter's use of physical aggression. In accordance with Daly (1994), this female may be identified as the "harmed-and-harming woman" who was abused as a child, and subsequently responds with anger and violence, sometimes through the use of alcohol or drugs.

The importance of the mother-daughter relationship and its effect on violent behavior is echoed in the works of Campbell (1993, 1999). Campbell (1993) argues that because of complex psychological processes characteristic of gender identity formation (Chodorow, 1978) the daughter comes to define herself in relation to and in connection with the mother. The relational bond between mother and daughter contributes to the daughter's strong basis for empathy during adulthood and is influenced by the mother's use of expressive (in contrast to instrumental) aggression. According to Campbell's (1993) study of middle class women and men, women are likely to suppress rather than express aggression because they associate aggressive behavior with the fear of losing an interpersonal relationship. Withholding aggression, however, only is effective when interpersonal bonds are highly valued. Campbell (1999) observed that some low-income female gang members, many of whom had experienced broken social bonds as a result of childhood abuse, were less likely to associate the potential loss of the relationship with physical aggression. Thus, they were more likely to act out physically rather than to withhold the aggression.³

³ Campbell (1999) also observed that aggressive behavior was more frequent among female gang members compared the middle class females because the gang members' aggressive behavior was considered culturally normative. For the middle class women, however, the expression of aggression was associated with shame and humiliation that would result in a punitive reaction by others. This reaction by bystanders communicated that such outbursts are not socially acceptable by females.

Research also has demonstrated a link between sexual abuse by a trusted person and subsequent violent behavior by the female victim (Artz, 1998; Kendall-Tacket et al., 1993). Loneliness, fear of abandonment and mistrust give way violence (Artz, 1998).

Artz (1998) applied Feminist Victimization Theory to account for female-on-female adolescent violence. According to self-report surveys of middle- and working class adolescent females (13-16 years old), Artz demonstrated that violent girls were more likely than non-violent girls to have experienced physical and sexual abuse at home, physical victimization by peers and to have used drugs. According to a follow-up ethnography based on a small number of girls, Artz (1998) observed that these young women grew up in patriarchal families characterized gender inequality. Artz explains (p. 171):

The [young women] have seen that men [their fathers] are far more important and more powerful than women [their mothers], and that men's importance is not connected to the contributions they make to the greater good. Rather it is found in their being stronger and more forceful than women. Thus, they have seen that power resides for the most part in physical force, that rules have their source in those who have the power to impose them.

Artz observed that young women who witnessed violence by a father-figure to a mother-figure or experienced physical abuse by the father-figure had a tendency to internalize a male-dominant view of the world. This view, in turn, contributed to the use of "oppressed group behavior." According to Artz (1998, pp. 178-179):

Such behavior is premised upon an attitude of adhesion to the oppressor, which demands that those who suffer at the hands of the dominant group turn upon members of their own kind whenever they behave in ways that are deemed unacceptable to the dominant group. In the girls' lives the males are dominant.

A girl who is beaten by a father-figure or witnesses his violence toward her mother may learn at a young age that females must defer to the needs and views of males. As a result, females target other females who act in ways considered inappropriate by the dominant male culture. Thus, when girls engage in violence they choose victims who mirror their own behavior, girls who are willing to fight for status and control (Artz, 1998)

4. Female Involvement in Assault and the Victimization Approach: Summary and Limitations

Studies have documented a link between violent victimization and female assault. Most studies have been conducted with select samples. Artz (1998) and Nurge (2000), for example, focused on adolescent females. Other researchers selected women in contact with the justice system (Acoca, 1996, 1998; Arnold, 1989; Gilfus, 1992; Miller, 1986; Richie, 1996; Romenesko and Miller, 1989; Widom and Maxfield, 2001), sex-workers (Maher, 1997; Maher and Curtis, 1995), and addicts in treatment (Goldstein et al, 1991). These samples are not representative of the larger community. Additional studies that assess the link between childhood exposure to violence and women's involvement in assault as antagonists and/or victims, as well as studies of intervening mechanisms (e.g., drug addiction, poverty), are essential in order to uncover the etiological factors underlying female assault and violent victimization.

IV. Contributing to a Contemporary Debate: The Impact of "Agency" on Female Involvement in Assault

There has been a debate among criminologists regarding the impact of "agency" on female involvement in violence (Maher, 1997; Nurge, 2000). "Agency" refers to the role of choice; women with "agency" engage in assault as a consequence of choice (Maher, 1997). According to Campbell (1993), female aggression traditionally has been described as "expressive." This type of aggression is non-goal oriented and occurs because of failed self-control, often as a consequence of victimization. In contrast, male aggression has been described as instrumental. This type of aggression is goal-oriented and often an act of dominance or control over others (Felson et al., 1996; Luckenbill, 1977). According to Campbell (1993, p.11):

The idea that women may choose to use goal-oriented aggression traditionally has received little attention by criminologists. There has been resistance to studying female perpetration for fear that the study of violence by women will detract from the much needed attention to female victimization and male offending (Nurge, 1998). Only recently have criminologists begun to explore this topic (Artz, 1998; Baskin and Sommers, 1998; Campbell, 1999; Hagedorn et al., 1999).

There is evidence that under some circumstances women engage in assault for instrumental rather than expressive reasons. For example, several studies suggest that women plan the assault event prior to its occurrence (Artz, 1998; Sommers and Baskin, 1993). Additional research has demonstrated that violence by some disadvantaged women is motivated by the goal of obtaining compliance, maintaining self-respect or

reducing the likelihood of subsequent victimization (Anderson, 1999; Artz, 1998; Sommers and Baskin, 1998).

Research suggests that the nature of female instrumental aggression is gendered. In a study of robbery, Miller (1998) compared male and female accounts and reported that the primary motivation for most males and females was to obtain money. However, there were gender differences in the context of robbery. Males used physical violence and conducted the assault in a confrontational manner. According to Miller (1998) the routine use of guns and physical violence characteristic of male-on-male robberies reflects the masculine ideologies of competition for money and goods. In contrast, females carried out robbery differently. In most cases they chose female victims and used just enough physical force as necessary to accomplish the task. While women perpetrators often engaged in assault, they rarely used weapons. Based on Miller's descriptions, female perpetrators were less focused on power and more focused on obtaining the goods.

In sum, little is known about instrumental aggression used by females against other females. Topics that merit further exploration include the extent to which female-on-female violence is characterized by planning versus impulsive explosions of anger, circumstances and individual characteristics that favor instrumental versus expressive aggression and female-specific dimensions of instrumental aggression.

V. Theories of Female-on-Female Assault among Urban Black Females: More Questions than Answers

Only a handful of researchers have offered observations or hypotheses for female-on-female assault (Adams, 1999; Anderson, 1990; Artz, 1998; Baskin and Sommers; Campbell, 1995; Campbell et al., 1998; Oliver, 1989b) as shown throughout this chapter.

The literature reviewed demonstrates that few theories have been formulated in general and none address female-on-female assault among Black women living in urban communities in particular. Of all the theories reviewed in this chapter, only four researchers provide explanations for intragender female assault (Artz, 1998; Campbell et al., 1998; Campbell, 1995; Nurge, 2000; Oliver, 1989b) and only two studies (Nurge, 2000; Campbell et al., 1998) include components of both gender-neutral and female-specific theories.

A. Relevance and Limitations of Gender-Neutral Theories

Researchers who have applied gender-neutral theories or perspectives to the study of women involved in assault include Social Control, Differential Association, Social Disorganization, the Structural-Cultural Approach, Routine Activities/ Lifestyle, Evolutionary Theory and the Situational Approach. The results suggest that weak family bonds, neighborhood structural disadvantage, alternative norms (e.g., the Code of the Street), risky lifestyles and psychological problems each contribute to female involvement in assault as either offenders or victims (Alarid et al., 2000; Anderson, 1999; Baskin and Sommer, 1998; Ellickson and colleagues, 1997, 2000; Nurge, 2000; Steffensmeier and Haynie, 2000). With the exception of Campbell (1998) and Nurge (2000) none of the theorists focus on female-on-female assault. Baskin and Sommers (1998), for instance, include examples of female-on-female assault, but only within the context of a discussion on female assault more generally. Most studies do not disaggregate the sex of the victim and offender simultaneously (e.g., Alarid et al., 2000; Steffensmeier and Haynie, 2000). Notwithstanding the limited research on female-on-female violence, tests of gender-

neutral theories demonstrate that females and males engage in assault for many of the same reasons.

The Structural-Cultural Perspective has particular relevance for a study of Black urban females. Studies have demonstrated the relevance of structural factors and community norms for understanding assault among urban females more generally (Anderson, 1999; Baskin and Sommers, 1998; Nurge, 2000). Hill and Crawford (1990), for example, conducted a comparative analysis of assault by Black and white female adults. They found that for Black women structural indicators were important predictors of female assault while for white women social-psychological factors were more relevant. Thus, a study of female-on-female assault conducted with Black residents of a low-income urban community should include analysis of structural factors and should not be restricted to individual-level social-psychological explanations.

The female-specific corollary to the Structural-Cultural Perspective is relevant to a study of intragender assault among Black urban females. The sexual rivalry component of the Structural-Cultural perspective was conceptualized for Black urban residents in particular. According to Oliver (1989b), structural disadvantage rooted in economic processes and discrimination has led to cultural adaptations by poor Black males including the "player of women" and "tough guy" images. As outlined earlier in this chapter, Oliver hypothesized that such images coupled with a shortage of marriageable Black males has contributed to female-on-female conflict over men. To date this hypothesis has not been empirically tested. However, Oliver's rivalry perspective moves beyond mainstream criminological theories by addressing the impact of structural barriers as they affect opportunities (e.g., for marriage or long-term intimate partner relationships)

for women (and black women in particular) and subsequent adaptive behaviors that develop among women.

The research on gender-neutral theories and perspective reviewed points to the need for further development of female-specific corollaries. Additional exploration is necessary for explaining sex differentials in effect sizes and for better understanding intervening mechanisms that shape female violence.

B. Relevance and Limitations of Female-Specific Theories

Researchers who have applied female-specific theories to the study of female assault represent two theoretical traditions: the Feminization of Poverty Approach and the Victimization Approach. Study results suggest that women at risk for involvement in assault are likely to have few economic and social resources and histories of victimization (Anderson, 1999; Artz, 1998; Campbell et al, 1998; Hilberman et al 1978; Laidler et al., 1997; Maher and Curtis, 1993; Trimpey et al., 1989).

The Feminist Victimization Approach (Artz, 1998) offers an explanation for female-on-female assault. Findings, however, has limited utility or generalizability for understanding female-on-female assault among Black women residing in urban communities. Artz (1998), for example, studied female-on-female assault among a small group of working class adolescent Caucasian females living in Vancouver, Canada. She observed that participants involved in female-on-female assault were driven to assault as a result of rage and abuse, as well as having internalized patriarchal values. Artz attributed female-on-female assault in part to horizontal group oppression resulting from internalized patriarchal views. Nurge (2000) identified similar factors among a group of urban adolescents involved in intragender female assault. Reasons for involvement in

assault among Black adult women, however, are likely to involve additional factors not reflected by Artz (1998) or Nurge (2000).

C. Additional Limitations

Two additional limitations regarding theories of female-on-female assault among Black women residing in low-income urban communities merit attention. The first and most basic limitation is the lack of inclusion of important concepts from both gender-neutral and female-specific perspectives. To date, two studies (Heimer and De Coster, 1999; Nurge, 2000) have addressed concepts from both perspectives. Nurge (2000) included components of the Feminist Victimization Approach (Artz, 1998) and the Structural-Cultural Perspective (Anderson, 1994, 1999). Heimer and De Coster (1999) integrate Differential Association Theory with Feminist Theory.

The research reviewed in this chapter suggests that a comprehensive examination of female-on-female assault requires an integrated framework that includes components drawn from both gender-neutral and female-specific perspectives. The need for a female-specific theory is rooted in physical and psychological factors as well as the unequal distribution of economic and social power across the sexes that uniquely shape female intragender assault. Simultaneously, more general gender-neutral components are relevant because females, as with males, are influenced by external factors stemming from social and economic structure, and situational circumstances. To the extent that female-specific corollaries are uncovered, a richer understanding of gender differences and pathways toward assault will be discovered.

A second limitation involves the absence of theory on intragender female assault that considers the relevance of gender, class and race/ethnicity. Research on delinquency

more generally has demonstrated the relevance of all three constructs (Chesney-Lind et al., 1999). Previous studies also have demonstrated an interaction effect between race and class. In summarizing the literature on homicide victimization, Short (1997) reported no racial differences at higher levels of socioeconomic status, but wide racial differences at lower levels with Blacks having much higher risks of victimization. Moreover, Baskin and Sommers (1998) reported that among a sample of 341 women arrested in New York City, women living in the poorest neighborhoods compared to those from other neighborhoods were disproportionately represented among the arrestees; 69 percent of the Black female offenders lived in areas characterized by high concentrations of poverty, compared to only 20 and 11 percent of Hispanic and white women, respectively.

According to the authors (p. 28):

Regardless of race, women from high concentration of poverty neighborhoods are involved disproportionately in violent crime. Black women, however, are significantly more likely to reside in these neighborhoods compared to Hispanic or white women. Consequently, it is not surprising to find higher levels of Black female involvement in non-domestic violent crimes.

Baskin and Sommers (1998) acknowledge structural circumstances of women (e.g., declining marriage rates and the decline in value of welfare benefits), but focus their analysis on class and race factors rather than gendered factors that may contribute further to female involvement in violence.

In addition, research has demonstrated that women of different ethnicities experience poverty differently (Chesney-Lind et al., 1999). Differences in cultural traditions contribute to differences in adaptations to poverty that likely influence the use of violence. In contrast to low-income Black residents of the inner city, for example, male

and female Latinos tend to maintain a more traditional patriarchal view of the family which has contributed to greater normative support for marriage over single status (Oropesa, 1999; Wilson, 1996). Consequently, low-income Latina women are more likely to marry than their Black counterparts. Whether one marries may have implications for female involvement in violence. Campbell and colleagues (1998) cite findings that single women are more likely than married women engage in female-on-female violence. These examples illustrate the significance of the social context of Black economically disadvantaged women residing in urban areas. For it is this context that likely influences the nature and causes of female-on-female assault. Thus, any theory of Black women's involvement in violence needs to be studied within the social context of class, race/ethnicity, and gender norms (Rice, 1990).

CHAPTER 3. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

I. Introduction

The theoretical framework developed in this dissertation to explain female-on-female assault among Black women residing in a low-income community is based on a social structural strain theory that locates explanations of high rates of violence in the economic and social structure of urban America. The goal of the proposed theory is to move beyond the application of social structural strain theory as an explanation of male violence and extend those theoretical constructs that offer explanatory power for female-on-female violence. This theory draws from three theoretical traditions: (1) strain, (2) the structural-cultural perspective and (3) feminist theories and gender studies.

Strain Theory and Structural-Cultural Perspective

Strain theorists (Cohen, 1966; Cloward and Olin, 1960) traditionally have argued that norm-violating behavior including high rates of violence originate from social-structural conditions faced by poor urban residents. Structural barriers prevent the attainment of conventional goals and lead to adaptations that under certain conditions result in violence. According to Cohen (1966, p.107):

The structure of the larger system, its culture and social organization, create for people at each position in the system characteristic problems of adjustment and equip them, well or poorly, with the means for coping with them. Where the means for coping within the framework of the institutionalized norms are insufficient, or the occupants of these positions poorly equipped to take advantage of them, they will tend to reject those aspects of the culture and contribute to the creation of the problems or barriers to their solution, and to substitute aspirations and norms that they can live with more comfortably. When the problem is one...of achieving status and self-respect by the conventional criteria for measuring a person's worth, the response tends to take the form of substituting new criteria that they can meet. These criteria may permit or require behavior

that violates the norms of conventional society; they may justify or demands deviant behavior.

As with strain-based theorists, social disorganization theorists emphasize structural characteristics in the genesis of urban violence. According to Shaw and McKay (1942), socially disorganized neighborhoods, which developed as a result of rapid industrialization, urbanization and immigration, are characterized by high rates of violence. Arguing from the same theoretical tradition originally proposed by Shaw and McKay (1942), Sampson and Wilson (1995) advance a more recent structural-cultural theory of violence in which both structural and cultural factors are seen to influence interpersonal violence rates in inner-city communities. In contrast to the subculture of violence theory (Wolfgang and Ferracuti, 1975), Sampson and Wilson (1995) make an explicit distinction between structure and culture. They argue that the broader structural barriers precede and give rise to cultural norms that under certain circumstances include the use of violence.

Feminist Theory and Gender Studies

The third perspective included in the theoretical framework is based on feminist theory and gender studies research. In one of the few studies to assess the joint influence of structure and culture, Heimer and DeCoster (1999) found that attitudes toward gender serve as mediating factors which contribute to variations in violence by females compared to males. Similar to Heimer and DeCoster (1999), the proposed theory applies insights from feminist theory and gender studies to describe pathways that link cultural adaptations to violence differently for females and males. Three major insights from feminist theory and gender studies are proposed as factors that are expected to

differentiate pathways to female-on-female assault versus male-on-male assault. They include (1) adherence to patriarchal norms; (2) the unequal distribution of opportunities for economic success for females compared to males and the subsequent overrepresentation of females among the disadvantaged; and (3) the role of interpersonal relationships in the lives of males and females. These factors are reviewed below.

Feminists argue that the female experience merits explanation within the context of a patriarchal society (Chesney-Lind, 1989). According to Heimer and De Coster (1999, p. 282):

A key contribution of feminist and gender studies has been their focus on the powerful system of social control, patriarchy, that influences the social arrangements, cognitions, and behavior of female and males. This system of social control is effective in part because people accept and participate in reproducing definitions of the "essential natures" of the sexes as inherently different.

Heimer and De Coster (1999) apply the term "cultural gender definitions," to describe behaviors or traits characteristic of females and males who adhere to patriarchal norms. Studies have demonstrated that females involved in intragender assault often adhere to patriarchal norms and behave in ways that support female subordination to male domination (Artz, 1998; Nurge, 2000). In this study, the presence of gender definitions signifies adherence to patriarchal norms. It will be argued that adherence to these norms shapes cultural adaptations that, in turn, increases the risk of intragender violence by both sexes. It will be argued, however, that the mechanisms by which patriarchal norms operate for female-on-female versus male-on-male violence will vary by gender.

The second component is drawn from the feminization of poverty thesis. According to this perspective, females compared to their male counterparts face more severe economic barriers and fewer opportunities to achieve economic success. Consequently, females are overrepresented among the disadvantaged. This explanation typically has been used to account for non-violent female crime (i.e. retail theft). However, research has shown that under some circumstances conflict over the need for material goods increases the risk of female-on-female violence (e.g., see Campbell et al., 1998; Maher, 1997).

The third component focuses on the centrality of interpersonal relationships for females (Chodorow, 1978; Gilligan, 1993; Miller, 1986). Relational needs, while not less important for males, are likely to function differently for females. Several explanations have been offered to explain this gender difference. Campbell (1993), for example, argues that because of psychological processes characteristic of gender identity formation (Chodorow, 1978) the daughter typically comes to define herself in relation to and in connection with the mother. In contrast, the son generally experiences separation from the female caretaker, which contributes to a male-specific orientation toward interpersonal relationships.

Miller argues that in the dominant-subordinate structure of society, women are assigned the roles of caretaker and carrier of emotions by the dominant male gender (1986, p. 39):

Men are encouraged from early life to be active and rational; women are trained to be involved with emotions and with the feelings occurring in the course of all activity. Out of this, women have gained the insight that events are important and satisfying only if they occur within the context of emotional relatedness. They are more likely than men to believe that,

ideally, all activity should lead to an increased emotional connection with others.

These gender differences are likely to influence cultural norms toward violence differently for females compared to males. In short, the theoretical framework integrates elements of strain, structural-cultural and feminist theories and is comprised of three main components:

- (1) sources of structural strain that are likely to block conventionally-defined goal attainment by Black women residing in disadvantaged communities;
- (2) adaptations or alternative goals defined by the limits of blocked opportunity and by gender; and
- (3) subsequent gendered (female- and male-specific) adaptations that are likely to contain points of conflict that under certain circumstances increase the risk of intragender violence.

A. Commonly Cited Applications Used to Explain the Link between Structural Disadvantage, Blocked Opportunity and Violence

Recent proponents of the structural or social disorganization perspective(s) argue that historic, economic and political macro-structural factors have combined to concentrate Black poverty in inner-city areas. Discrimination and economic processes resulting from deindustrialization have had the consequences of increasing rates of Black male unemployment and female-headed households, and decreasing rates of marriage. These factors have contributed to the emergence of neighborhoods characterized by social isolation from mainstream institutions and reduced formal and informal social control (Anderson, 1999; Baskin and Sommers, 1998; Oliver, 1989b; Wilson, 1987, 1996).

Within impoverished neighborhoods characterized by poor schools, an absence of

conventional role models, few job opportunities, and distrust of and alienation from mainstream authorities, some female (and male) residents adapt by adhering to alternative norms. In some communities, for example, researchers have observed that, similar to male violence, female violence has emerged as an adaptation to structural disadvantage (Anderson, 1999; Baskin and Sommers, 1998; Nurge, 2000). Macro-structural barriers prevent access to conventionally-defined goal attainment and, in turn, give rise to alternative non-normative goals and adaptations that at times involve the use of violence.

To date most applications of theories that draw on social structure, barriers to opportunity and the link to violence have been based on assumptions specific to males and have been applied to the study of male violence. Recent interpretations of violence by disadvantaged urban males with few traditional means to earn success have focused on the emergence of heightened masculinity that includes the use of violence as an alternative means to validate manhood (Anderson, 1999; Canada, 1995; Fagan and Wilkinson, 1998; Messerschmidt, 1997; Oliver, 1994; Sullivan, 2001). Few scholars, however, have assessed the impact of social structural strain on women, the differential effect of gender norms on the risk of intragender assault or how pathways toward female-on-female violence are similar to and different from pathways toward male-on-male violence.

B. Applications Used to Explain the Link between Structural Disadvantage, Blocked Opportunity and Female Violence

The authors of four studies of female assault summarized in the previous chapter attribute female violence to cultural norms or behaviors that emerge from structural strain that block achievement of conventional goals (Anderson, 1999; Baskin and Sommers,

1998; Campbell et al., 1998; Nurge, 2000). Only two studies, one by Nurge (2000) and one by Campbell and colleagues (1998) assess female-on-female assault in particular. A few points are reiterated below in order to highlight the application of social structural strain theory to female assault.

In the first study, Baskin and Sommers (1998) sampled 341 women arrested for non-domestic violent offenses and discovered that the average number of assault arrests was significantly higher for women from high poverty neighborhoods than for women from low- or moderate-income neighborhoods. The finding that study participants were disproportionately represented in high poverty neighborhoods is an indication that a structural disadvantage or social disorganization explanation is a fruitful approach to the study of female-on-female assault.

In the same theoretical tradition as Sampson and Wilson (1995), Baskin and Sommers (1998) propose a link between structure and culture. Baskin and Sommers (1998) demonstrated that among structurally dislocated women with few means to achieve conventionally-defined success, residents adapt by placing increased emphasis on respect to the extent that it becomes a commodity worth competing and fighting over. In the second study, Nurge (2000) sampled 58 adolescent urban females and, similar to Baskin and Sommers (2000), documented the importance of maintaining respect given the lack of alternative means to attain success.

Anderson (1999) offered a detailed analysis of sources of strain rooted in historical discrimination that contribute to adaptive behaviors including fighting in the service of self protection. He observed that male and female residents of structurally disadvantaged neighborhoods reported disrespect and neglect by police and service

personnel. These observations are consistent with other studies of urban women (Dodson, 1998). Thus, when a member of the community is confronted with a problem he/she is less likely than a member of a middle class community to reach out to mainstream institutions for assistance. Yet the goal of ensuring self protection and protection of loved ones does not diminish in importance. Instead, some residents take matters into their own hands by resorting to the use of violence when necessary (Anderson, 1999; Black, 1983).

In the fourth study, Campbell and colleagues (1998) sampled a group of women arrested for intragender female assault and found an association between arrest and poverty. Although the authors set out to test Evolutionary Theory and do not mention structural strain *per se*, they nevertheless attribute female-on-female assault to competition over resources. This finding, therefore, likely reflects strain that subsequently leads to an adaptation involving fighting over material resources.

All four groups of researchers suggest that female assault is an adaptation to structural disadvantage and blocked opportunity. Studies by Anderson (1999), Baskin and Sommers (1998) and Nurge (2000) suggest that for women with limited access to status by means of academic, occupational or monetary success, personal respect becomes worth fighting over. According to Anderson (1999) residents (females and males) with limited access to protection by mainstream institutions become involved in violence to ensure their own safety. Moreover, Campbell and associates (1998) argue that low-income women adapt to their circumstances by becoming involved in assault with other females to obtain resources necessary for survival. Of these researchers, only Campbell and Nurge assess intragender female assault. Anderson (1999) and Baskin and Sommers

(1998) discuss assault by women more generally without specifying the sex of the antagonist.

The research highlighted above suggests that structural strain blocks opportunities for achievement of conventional goals including academic and occupational achievement that provide intrinsic (e.g. self-esteem) and extrinsic (e.g. material resources) rewards, and protection of one's self and loved ones. Study results suggest the presence of a third conventional goal that many impoverished Black women have been unable to attain: securing and maintaining long-term male intimate partner relationships (Browning et al, 1999; Jarrett, 1998; Wilson, 1987). Male intimate partnerships by virtue of their extreme scarcity in these communities take on an emotional and practical importance that may set the stage for intragender female conflict. Studies conducted in the U.S. (Hirschinger et al., 2001; Nurge, 2000), England (Campbell, 1986; Campbell et al., 1998), Canada (Artz, 1998), and at the cross-cultural level (Burbank, 1987b) all cite conflicts over male intimate partners as a top reason for female-on-female assault. This finding holds for working class Canadian Caucasian adolescents (Artz, 1998) as well as low-income urban minority women (Hirschinger et al., 2001) and adolescents (Nurge, 2000). Thus, given the findings that women who become involved in assault often become violent over issues related to male intimate partners, and the structural barriers that reduce the chance of securing a male partner, it is likely that disadvantaged Black women residing in urban areas are particularly vulnerable to involvement in female-on-female assault over male intimate partners.

In sum, the research summarized here suggests that some inner-city women who have not achieved conventionally-defined goals resort to violence as a means to achieve

newly-defined goals or as an adaptation to blocked opportunity. The studies suggest that structural strain blocks opportunities for the achievement of three goals: (1) marriage or a long-term male intimate partner relationship among heterosexual women; (2) academic and occupational success; (3) and protection of oneself and loved ones.

In the proposed theory outlined in the following section, adaptations to barriers that block goal attainment that are likely to contain points of contention and potential for intragender female violence are described. Mechanisms hypothesized to shape cultural adaptations that increase the risk of intragender violence also are compared across gender.

II. A Proposal for a New Perspective To Study Female-on-Female Assault: A Theory of Gendered Social Structural Strain with 3 Theoretical Components Related to Sources of Success among Urban Females

The theory of female-on-female assault described in this section is labeled *Gendered Social Structural Strain* in order to highlight two key points. First, components of strain and structural barriers faced by females are identified and considered central to the theory. Second, the theory draws on findings from feminist and gender studies with the aim of identifying female-specific adaptations to strain that differentially shape pathways to intragender assault by gender of the participants.

In accordance with the definition outlined in Chapter two, *Gendered Social Structural Strain* is considered a gender-neutral theory with a female-specific corollary. Strain and structural-cultural theories have explanatory value for female and male involvement in assault and therefore are considered gender-neutral. The integration of female-specific strain, feminist theory and insights from gender studies necessitates inclusion of gender-specific (female and male) corollaries. The proposed theory,

therefore, also focuses on female-specific dimensions of intragender assault as well as gender-neutral dimensions that are expected to be invariant across gender.

Gendered Social Structural Strain Theory offers several advantages. First, application of strain theory and the structural/cultural perspective to intragender assault provides the opportunity to extend traditional criminological theory to female intragender assault. Second, identification of similarities and differences in mechanisms underlying female-on-female versus male-on-male assault will provide an increased understanding of the topic and illuminate areas for prevention and intervention.

In presenting the proposed theory, normative goals are outlined, sources of structural strain that block goal attainment identified, and subsequent adaptations reviewed. Mechanisms that are expected to contribute to gender-specific and gender-neutral cultural adaptations are described. It is expected that both gender-neutral and female-specific adaptations emerge from structural blockages, and contain points of conflict that potentially contribute to the risk of female intragender assault.

Consistent with the definitions set forth in Chapter 2, female-specific adaptations refer to mechanisms or pathways to intragender assault that in some way distinguish female-on-female assault from male-on-male assault. In contrast, gender-neutral adaptations refer to adaptations by males and females that increase the risk of assault by both genders and whose effects are not likely to vary in magnitude. Gender-specific and gender-neutral pathways are described in Figure 3-1.

Figure 3-1: Gender-Neutral and Gender-Specific Pathways to Intragender Assault

Gender-Neutral	Structural strain → blocked goal →	gender-neutral adaptation →	intragender assault regardless of gender
Gender-Specific	Structural strain → blocked goal →	female-specific adaptation → ↘ male-specific adaptation →	female intragender assault male intragender assault

Sociological studies outside the scope of female violence are reviewed because few explanations for female-on-female violence among low-income women have been published. The goal of the expanded review is to generate hypotheses regarding the effects and pressures of daily life experienced by disadvantaged Black females and their impact on gender-neutral and female-specific adaptations and subsequent involvement in intragender violence. Female-specific adaptations to blocked opportunity focus on adaptations that emerge in response to blocked opportunities to the attainment of three goals:

- (1) marriage or long-term male intimate partner relationships;
- (2) academic and occupational success;
- (3) safety and protection of oneself and one's family/friends.

Gender-neutral adaptations, or adaptations defined more generally, independent of gender and in accordance with traditional criminological theories, also emerge in response to blocked opportunities to two goals listed above:

- (1) academic and occupational success;
- (2) safety and protection of oneself and one's family/friends;

In the following sections, three goals are described: (1) marriage, (2) academic and occupational success, and (3) safety and protection. For each goal, three components

are reviewed. The first focuses on structural barriers that prevent goal attainment. The second centers on adaptations to structural strain that are likely to increase the risk of female-on-female violence. The third focuses on distinguishing female-specific and male-specific mechanisms that are expected to influence female and male intragender assault differently. Table 3-1 summarizes the goals, sources of structural strain, consequences of strain and female-specific adaptations, which are detailed in the sections that follow.

Table 3-1: A Theory of Gendered Social Structural Strain: Summary of Key Components

GOAL	SOURCE OF STRAIN	CONSEQUENCES	ADAPTATIONS
<p>Marriage provides:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Interpersonal relationships ➤ economic resources 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Economic ➤ Public Policy ➤ Adaptations to poverty ➤ Relational motives 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Shortage of marriageable males ➤ Reduced marriage rates ➤ Distrust between males and females 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Competition for relationships and resources that may result in violence
<p>Academic/Occupational Success provides:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Interpersonal relationships with teachers/employers ➤ Economic resources including intrinsic and extrinsic rewards 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Educational System ➤ Feminization of Poverty 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Low levels of academic attainment ➤ Un /underemployment ➤ Absence of material resources ➤ Conventional measures of worth lose their value 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Emphasis on culturally-defined goals: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • boyfriends • reproduction • respect • resources ➤ Competition & violence over goals
<p>Safety/Protection provides:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Freedom from fear of crime & victimization ➤ Trust in mainstream institutions 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ High crime and victimization rates ➤ Historical discrimination ➤ Lack of institutional support 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Children socialized to take matters into their own hands ➤ Generalized fear and lack of safety 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Violence used as an informal means to solve grievances ➤ Violence occurs more readily due to fear

A. Marriage or Establishment of Long-Term Monogamous Relationships: A Goal Shared by Black Disadvantaged Females

Studies have shown that in spite of the low rate of marriage among impoverished Black women residing in the inner-city, many continue to view marriage as a goal (Jarrett, 1998; Ladner, 1971; Wilson, 1996). For women, marriage satisfies at least two female-gendered functions: relational needs, and economic functions that center on family support. Females, more so than males, have been found to have emotional needs that are grounded in the importance of creating and maintaining interpersonal relationships (Gilligan, 1993, Miller, 1986). Disadvantaged females also face greater economic strain than males as a consequence of restricted opportunity and the need for many single mothers to serve as the major source of financial support for the family (Pearce, 1990).

In the section that follows trends on marriage rates in the U.S. among Black residents are presented. The results demonstrate that in spite of the high rate of non-marriage among impoverished Black women inner-city women, many women continue to support the idea of marriage (Jarrett, 1998; Ladner, 1971; Wilson, 1996).

In the United States, there has been a general decline in the rate of marriage. This decline, however, has been most dramatic among Black men and women compared to other racial groups (Bachrach et al., 2000). According to the *1995 National Survey of Family Growth*, for example, 57 percent of Black women born between 1950-1954 were married by age 25 compared to 32 percent born between 1965-1969. For white women born between 1950-1954, 73 percent were married by age 25 compared to 57 percent in the 1965-1969 cohort. It is estimated that the race differential will narrow only slightly by

the time the women reach 50 years of age (Raley, 2000). Cohabitation has to some extent replaced marriage among all socioeconomic groups in the U.S. In a comparative study of white and Black couples, however, cohabitation by white women was almost twice as likely to lead to marriage than for Black women by the age of 25 (Raley, 2000). This is significant given that cohabiting relationships are generally less permanent, less stable and less sexually exclusive than marriage (Bachrach et al, 2000).

Demographic data on marriage among inner city residents reveal a high rate of non-marriage among Black residents. According to the *Urban Poverty and Family Life Study (UPFLS)*, a random survey of 2,500 residents conducted during 1987 and 1988 of Chicago's inner-city residents, 60 percent of Black adults 18-44 years of age had never been married. Twenty-eight percent of Black parents between 18-44 were currently married compared to 75 percent of the Mexican parents, 61 percent of white parents and 45 percent of Puerto Rican parents from the same age group. Only 6 percent of Black expectant inner-city fathers were estimated to marry prior to the child's birth. In contrast, 16 percent of Mexican and 18 percent of white fathers were expected to marry before the child was born (Wilson, 1996).

In spite of the high rate of non-marriage among impoverished Black inner-city women, many continue to support the idea of marriage (Jarrett, 1998; Ladner, 1971; Wilson, 1996). Although economically marginal Black women generally are aware of the difficulties of finding a "good man" capable of providing and protecting a family, many hold on to the hope of finding one (Browning et al., 1999). Impoverished urban Black women, however, express ambivalent feelings about marriage, an expected reaction given the shortage of available men for marriage. Many low-income Black young women

aspire to marriage, but as they grow older and observe that few men are able to support a family, many lose the incentive to marry (Ladner, 1971; Wilson, 1996). While many low-income Black women hold onto the dream of marriage or at least a long-term relationship, research indicates that among disadvantaged Black males marriage is less likely to be a goal, in large part because of low-waged labor jobs that make it difficult to support a family.

In the next section it will be shown that structural barriers have shaped women's attitudes toward marriage and long-term monogamous relationships. Economic forces located in the historical and social structure of Black urban communities have worked against long-term heterosexual monogamous relationships characteristic of mainstream society.¹ The major structural barrier to long-term stable monogamous relationships has been male unemployment and underemployment (Ladner, 1971; Wilson, 1987). It will be demonstrated that cultural adaptations to structural barriers thwart the development of long term, stable intimate partnerships and, in turn, serve as factors proximate to the violent event.

**1. *Sources of Structural Strain that Block Opportunities For Marriage:
Economics, Public Policies, Adaptations to Poverty and Relational Motives***

Structural strain that blocks opportunities to marriage or long-term monogamous relationships involve economic factors, U.S. public policies, adaptations to poverty and relational motives. These four sources of structural strain are reviewed below.

¹ During slavery, for example, husbands and wives were sold individually. Marriage among Blacks historically has not been defined as a permanent union.

Economic Barriers

The most significant economic barrier to long-term monogamous relationships among impoverished Black women is the high rate of male unemployment and underemployment. These rates increased dramatically with deindustrialization (see Wilson, 1987, and Raley, 2000, for a detailed discussion). Even prior to the economic transformation and the exodus of the Black middle class from urban communities, impoverished Black couples resisted marriage because of economic hardships. According to Stack's seminal work on Black kinship networks conducted during the mid 1960's, marriage was perceived as a risky endeavor (1974, p. 113):

Couples rarely chance marriage unless a man has a job; often the job is temporary, low-paying, insecure, and the worker gets laid off whenever he is not needed. Women come to realize that welfare benefits and ties within kin networks provide greater security for them and their children.

Wilson (1987) demonstrated empirically the repercussions of Black male unemployment for impoverished Black women. Wilson's research shows that declines in marriage resulted from declines in stable, well-paying employment opportunities in manufacturing industries. This, in turn, reduced the number of males able to provide for a family. Wilson demonstrated further that for Black women the major cause of low rates of marriage and high rates of divorce, separation and single motherhood, was male unemployment. For white women, however, the major cause of divorce, separation and female-headed households was their own improved economic status.

U.S. Public Policies

In addition to economic factors, public policies of the last 25 years have contributed to a decrease in rates of marriage among Black urban residents. The War on Drugs and, more generally, increased punitive prosecutorial sentencing policies have led to dramatic increases in the incarceration rate of urban Black males. These factors combined with the high rates of AIDS and homicide among Black inner-city men during the past two decades have reduced the number of men available for marriage. In addition, state welfare programs with eligibility requirements of unmarried status (the man in the house rule) undermined the institution of marriage among recipients of benefits (Pivan and Cloward, 1971). These factors all have contributed to a further decline in the rates of marriage among economically marginal Black men and women in inner-city communities.

Adaptations to Poverty: Resource Sharing and Attitudes Toward Marriage

A third source of structural strain that has blocked opportunities for long-term monogamous relationships has emerged from adaptations to poverty itself. These adaptations include "resource sharing" (Stack, 1974) and attitudes toward marriage.

Resource Sharing

Studies conducted during the 1960's, as well as recent studies, have demonstrated that coping strategies used to survive poverty often impede the establishment of long-term intimate relationships. Stack (1974) conducted an ethnographic study of kinship patterns among poor Black families in a U.S. Midwest City and examined adaptive strategies used by Black women. She observed that women formed strong kinship ties

with other women largely because men could not be relied upon to provide economic support due to the absence of steady employment. Women came to rely upon a system of "resource sharing;" in other words, women depended upon their female kin as steady sources of income for meeting daily expenses and surviving the frequent crises that result from not having an excess of accumulated resources. Many female kin discouraged marriage because it would remove a woman from the network, weakening the level of support available to the other women. According to Browning and colleagues (1999), the socialization process of discouraging marriage emerged from the economic constraints that prevented steady and lucrative employment among males, rather than from the rejection of marriage itself. The female's kin feared that the unemployed male would drain the group of economic resources. Similarly, the male's extended female kin often feared that they would lose the male's limited resources to his girlfriend and her family. Thus, in order to preserve limited resources, kin members discouraged both males and females from investing in monogamous relationships. Instead, members of the extended family were encouraged to remain tied to their kinship network of origin.

In the thirty-five years since Stack's research, impoverished inner-city Black families face even worse economic conditions. Since 1970, the number of Black female-headed households has increased dramatically. In 1970 female-headed households represented 28 percent of all Black households, in 1980 they represented 40 percent and in 1990, 44 percent. Second, the Black female heads of households of the 1990's are younger, have never been married, and have children outside of marriage (Jarrett, 1998). With these changes, it is likely that control of resource sharing has become an even more important means to survival.

Attitudes Toward Marriage

An additional adaptation to poverty that serves as a barrier to long-term monogamous relationships involves attitudes toward marriage held by inner-city women and men. In an ethnographic study of inner-city Chicago residents, Wilson (1996) identified different attitudes toward marriage held by women and men. Women maintained an interest in marriage, but held low expectations that marriage would occur. They expressed an awareness that few males are able to provide economically for a family. Men, on the contrary, expressed little interest in marriage and greater interest in maintaining freedom as an unattached man. According to Wilson (1996) and Anderson (1990) these attitudes have been fostered by the shortage of steady well paying employment that is necessary for supporting a family economically. The Chicago data reveal that both males and females believe that because relationships eventually end, it makes the most sense to avoid marriage altogether. The interviews uncovered a deep sense of distrust that characterizes male-female relationships, a finding consistent with studies by Anderson (1990, 1999) and Oliver (1989b, 1994). According to Wilson (1996, p. 98-99):

Inner-city Black women ...feel strongly than Black men lack dedication to their families. They argue that Black males are hopeless as either husbands and fathers and that more of their time is spent on the streets than at home... [Women] tend to believe that Black men get involved with women mainly to obtain sex or money, and that once these goals are achieved women are usually discarded... There is a widespread feeling among women... that Black males have relationships with more than one female at a time... Whereas women blame men for the poor gender relations, men maintain that it is the women who are troublesome. The men complain that it is not easy to deal with the women's suspicions about their behavior and intentions. They also feel that women are especially attracted by material resources and that it is therefore difficult to find women who are supportive of partners with a low living standard.

Relationally Based Deterrents to Marriage

In addition to not marrying for reasons rooted in economic survival, recent research has uncovered a relationally-based deterrent to marriage. Jarrett (1998) demonstrated that some mothers of both young women and men play a role in discouraging marriage by their children. Jarrett (1998) conducted focus groups with 82 inner-city low-income Black mothers (20-29 years old) and grandmothers (39 to 65 years old) and observed that grandmothers were critical of their daughters' boyfriends. According to Jarrett (1998), the grandmothers often discouraged their daughters from having relationships with the boyfriends in order to protect the resource base and the daughters from potentially harmful relationships.

Research also has demonstrated that mothers of some young adult males interfere with their sons' relationships with girlfriends. Many Black urban mothers lack their own male intimate partners and as a result some grow to rely on their sons for companionship (Anderson, 1990). Some mothers may become possessive of their sons and as a consequence jealousies may develop between the sons' mothers and the sons' girlfriends. This mother-son dynamic may serve as a further barrier to the formation of male-female steady intimate partner relationships.

In sum, economic factors involving male un/under-employment, public policies, adaptations to poverty and relational motives have functioned to block opportunities to marriage or long-term monogamous relationships. Structural strain that blocks opportunities for marriage arguably leads to adaptations that increase one's vulnerability

to situations that contain the sources of conflict that can result in female-on-female violence. This is the topic of the section that follows.

2. Female-on-Female Violence: An Adaptation to Blocked Opportunity to Marriage or Long-Term Monogamous Relationships

Research suggests that both male and female residents of Black economically marginal urban neighborhoods have developed cultural adaptations to the unavailability or impracticality of marriage (Jarrett, 1998; Stack, 1974; Wilson, 1996). Such cultural adaptations have emerged largely as a consequence of blocked opportunities to marriage or long-term relationships. The shortage of marriageable males and the expectation held by many disadvantaged urban residents that marriage probably will not occur have given way to adaptive behaviors, which in turn are likely sources of conflict with the potential to result in violence. Females are likely to assume these adaptive behaviors in order to fulfill relational and economic needs. These adaptive behaviors are described below.

First, long-term monogamous relationships to a large degree have been replaced by serial monogamy characterized by a series of short-term, successive relationships (Wilson, 1996) and "polygamy" based on a system where females share male intimate partners (Oliver, 1989b). Female-on-female violence that occurs within the context of these adaptive behaviors is readily interpreted as sexual rivalry. Conflict that arises from this pattern of interpersonal interaction may contain sufficient interpersonal ferment to turn a dispute between women into a violent conflict.

The second circumstance involves mothers who have become possessive over their sons. Anderson (1990) observed that some mothers who lack their own male intimate partners have come to rely on their sons for companionship and subsequently

become jealous of their sons' girlfriends. Although the link to intragender violence has not been documented within this context, it may be that, under some circumstances, conflict between mothers and their sons' girlfriends contain sufficient emotional fervor to turn a conflict into a violent event.

The third pattern of behavior involves conflict between mothers and daughters. In Jarret's (1998) study of inner-city grandmothers, the author found that grandmothers discouraged their daughters from having relationships with boyfriends to protect the granddaughter from harm and to preserve the kinship network's economic resources. This, in turn, is seen as a point of tension between mothers and daughters. Although this link to intragender violence has not been documented within this mother to daughter context, it may be that, under some circumstances, tension turn into violence.

The fourth circumstance involves the role of the inner-city grandmother. Today's inner-city grandmothers face intense stress. With massive poverty, unemployment and the prevalence of addiction to crack cocaine, the grandmother has been compared to a "lifeboat," who, when called upon for help, is summoned "because the ship is sinking" (Anderson, 1999, p.235). Again, in this context, the link to intragender violence has not been documented. The demands placed on the grandmother to care for family members, however, may in some situations increase her risk of involvement in intragender female assault.

In accordance with the proposed theoretical framework, the mechanisms by which cultural adaptations result in an intragender violent outcome are expected to be conditioned by two insights drawn from feminist theory and gender studies: 1) females face barriers to economic success and, subsequently, high rates of poverty and 2) females

consider interpersonal connections central to their identities. When the first factor is present it may be more likely that conflict within the context of resource sharing will contain enough emotional fervor to turn a conflict into a violent event. When the second factor is present it may be more likely that conflict over jealousies will assume such significance that for some women violence becomes necessary as a means to maintain relationships.

3. Gendered Patterns of Intragender Assault

Female-Specific Adaptations Proximate to the Violent Event

Female-specific dimensions of conflict that are likely to emerge in response to strain that blocks marriage are discussed in this section and outlined in Figure 3-2. These adaptations are not characteristic of male-on-male assault.

Figure 3-2. Female-Specific Dimensions of Conflict: Adaptations to Barriers to Marriage

Structural Sources of Strain to Marriage	Blocked Goal	Intervening Mechanisms	Adaptations To Blocked Goal
-Male un/under employment -US Public Policies -Adaptations to poverty -Relational Motives	→ Marriage Blocked →	-Economic need -Emphasis placed on interpersonal relationships	→ Female Specific Adaptations within the context of resource sharing (e.g., mother-to daughter), serial monogamy and sexual-rivalry (female-to-female) jealousies (e.g., mother-to-son's girlfriend) and stress (e.g., inner-city grandmother) increase the risk of intragender violence

As summarized in the above literature the relational and economic motives for intragender conflict that may emerge within the context of resource sharing and jealousies are considered female-gendered.

To date patterns of resource sharing characteristic of some female kinship networks have not been identified among males. Fathers may rely on their daughters for companionship, but not for reasons related to the shortage of Black marriageable females because such a shortage does not exist. In addition, the likelihood of intragender violence involving inner-city grandmothers is considered female-gendered; grandmothers, not grandfathers, have been called upon as caretakers of last resort. Consequently, there source of stress is not expected to contribute to male-on-male assault.

Gender-Neutral Dimensions with a Female-Specific Corollary

Dynamics that underlie intragender violence that occur in response to blocked opportunities to marriage also may be gender-neutral. As noted earlier in this section, to some extent long-term monogamous relationships have been replaced by polygamy. There is some evidence that females, similar to males, engage in serial monogamy or player behavior (Freudenberg et al., 1999; Wilson, 1996). Thus, under some circumstances player behavior intensifies intragender competition, conflict and eventual violence regardless of gender. However, research findings point to the need for a female-specific corollary because there appears to be sex differences in magnitude of effects and pathways to intragender assault that result from player behavior. These factors are discussed in the section that follows and are summarized in Figure 3-3.

Figure 3-3: Gender-Specific Adaptations to Barriers to Marriage

Structural Sources of Strain to Marriage	Blocked Goal	Intervening Mechanisms	Gendered Adaptations to Blocked Goal
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Male un/under employment -US Public Policies -Adaptations to Poverty -Relational Motives 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> → Marriage/Long-term relationships blocked 	<p>MALE PATTERNS</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Adherence to patriarchal norms (engages in player behavior) -Does not attach the same degree of importance to long-term partner relationship 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> → <u>Male-on- Male Violence</u> in order to win status in peer group
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> → 	<p>FEMALE PATTERNS</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Adherence to patriarchal norms (tolerates male player behavior) - Importance attached to long-term partner relationship

Research suggests that males are more likely than females to engage in player behavior. The degree to which females engage in this behavior likely is conditioned by the presence of gender definitions defined by adherence to patriarchal norms. In

accordance with research findings on gender definitions held by inner-city disadvantaged residents, some females and males have been found to adhere to patriarchal norms including the double standard. This norm excuses (even expects) player behavior by some males (e.g. having more than one girl friend at a time or flirting with a female when he already has a girlfriends), but condemns similar behaviors by females (Artz, 1998; Dodson, 1998; Nurge, 2000). It is expected, therefore, that females who adhere to such patriarchal norms will be less likely to engage in actual player behavior than females who do not. Consequently, under these circumstances actual female player behavior is less likely to be a source of intragender conflict than male player behavior.

In contrast to females who adhere to the double standard, males who internalize this norm are more likely than males who do not, to engage in actual player behavior. To the extent that females and males adhere to the double standard, actual female player behaviors will less likely be a source of conflict for intragender male violence than male player behaviors will be for intragender female violence.

In addition to the likelihood of gender differences in magnitude of effects of player behavior, research suggests differences by gender in pathways toward intragender violence among individuals who adhere to patriarchal values. Research suggests that female and male residents of disadvantaged urban communities who adhere to patriarchal norms place increased value on obtaining the approval of males compared to females. However, the mechanisms used by females and males to obtain approval are likely to differ. A description of these mechanisms follows.

In accordance with findings by Nurge (2000) and Artz (1998), it is expected that a female who is being played by a male will respond by targeting her anger and eventual

violence toward the competing female rather than the male. This behavior is consistent with the double standard in two ways. First, the female is likely to excuse player behavior by the male, but considers it unacceptable by the female. Consequently, the slighted female places blame on the rival female instead of the male (Artz, 1998; Nurge, 2000). Second, the female is likely to become involved in violence against her female peer rather than male peer or intimate in order to augment her value within the dominant male group (Nurge, 2000). The shortage of marriageable males likely intensifies the value that females attach to actual or potential male partners. Thus, the slighted female seeks to win male approval by acting non-violent toward the male, but acting violent toward the rival female.

The situation is likely to have a different outcome for a female who does not adhere to the double standard. In response to being played, this female would likely target her anger toward the male rather than the female rival because she holds the male accountable for his behavior.

In accordance with research by Oliver (1989b) and Anderson (1990), it is expected that a male who is being played by a female will frequently but not always target his anger and eventual violence toward the male rival. This behavior is consistent with patriarchal norms. In accordance with such values, males, similar to females, are expected to attach greater value to obtaining approval by males than females. According to Anderson (1990), for some disadvantaged males, the most important goal is to win status in the male peer group. A male may come to blows because the potential loss of the female serves as a threat to his private and/or public identity and threatens his reputation in the peer group. Thus, the slighted male will seek out male approval and

reestablish his sense of manhood within the peer group by using violence against the rival male.

In addition to adherence to patriarchal norms, the differential emphasis placed on interpersonal relationships by females and males is likely to influence the risk of intragender violence. For a female, the importance of creating and maintaining relational bonds is central to her identity (Chodorow, 1978; Gilligan, 1993; Miller, 1986). Females often compete over males because males are seen as sources of relational fulfillment over the long-term (Anderson, 1990) as well as sources of peer-defined status. In contrast to females, disadvantaged males are less likely to develop jealousies for reasons related to a dream of obtaining a long-term relationship. In contrast to females, males emphasize winning the approval of their male peers (Anderson, 1990).

4. Summary: Adaptations to Blocked Opportunity to Marriage or Long-Term Monogamous Relationships

In sum, structural factors have contributed to a shortage of suitable male partners, which in turn have increased female rivalry over relational and economic needs. The shortage of marriageable males likely has led to gendered adaptations and pathways to intragender violence. Rivalries between females over potential male intimates or approval by male peers, and rivalries between female kin over male attention or resources have set in motion potential for conflict and eventual violence. Adherence to patriarchal norms is likely to increase the risk of intragender assault among members of both sexes, but the magnitude and pathways toward eventual violence are likely to vary by gender.

B. Academic and Occupational Success

The second goal focuses on academic and occupational success. In formulating traditional strain theory, theorists have proposed, in accordance with longstanding research findings, that middle class males earn status in large part through academic success and/or gainful employment (Merton, 1968). The majority of disadvantaged inner-city residents, both males and females, share these conventional goals (Anderson, 1999). Successes in school and formal employment typically provide intrinsic rewards including self-esteem, and extrinsic rewards including the accumulation of material resources. Research has shown, however, that some disadvantaged young women face blockages to academic and occupational success (Dodson, 1998). Absent these opportunities, disadvantaged youth are less likely than middle class youth to benefit from the intrinsic and extrinsic rewards. A brief review of educational and occupational attainment by disadvantaged females as well as their attitudes toward public schools and formal employment follows. According to the research, this group has not reaped the rewards available from academic and occupational success largely because of blocked opportunity.

Disadvantaged inner-city female youth are less likely than middle class females to experience academic success. The high school drop out rate is higher among male and female urban youth than other youth. Females, however, drop out for reasons different than males. For example, Fine and Zane (1989) surveyed urban youth and found that seven times as many girls as boys dropped out of school because of "family concerns."

In addition to poor academic achievement, disadvantaged females who are still in high school are less likely than their middle class counterparts to have the types of part

time jobs that provide monetary earnings and the opportunity to develop employment experience and positive work habits (Sum and Fogg, 1991). Disadvantaged females who have jobs typically are segregated in the adolescent segment of the labor force (e.g., in the fast food industry) where they are isolated from meaningful interpersonal relationships with adults who could provide mentoring or positive role models (Steinberg, 1991). Post high school disadvantaged females are less likely than disadvantaged males or non-poor females to be either employed full time, to be in college or to be in a training program (Sum and Fogg, 1991).

In one disadvantaged urban city, the unemployment rate for black females was more than twice the rate of white females (11.0 versus 4.7) (Wial, 1998). When disadvantaged young female adults are working, they are disproportionately employed in low-skilled, low-wage jobs such as retail, trade, service industries and as laborers and cleaners (Sum and Fogg, 1991). Typically, jobs of this type do not offer programs that provide skill building (U.S. Department of Commerce, 1997), potential for advancement, employee benefits or family leave policies for parents who have sick children (Heymann et al., 1999; Houseman, 1995). In short, the research demonstrates that some low-income females fail to reap the intrinsic or extrinsic rewards that come with academic achievement and occupational success.

Structural barriers have shaped attitudes toward education and formal employment held by disadvantaged females. Studies have identified a bifurcation between low-income young women in urban communities who aspire to achieve conventionally defined sources of success and those who do not (Anderson, 1999; Ladner, 1971). Young women in the first group strive for academic achievement with an eye toward a future

conventional career. Members of the latter group reportedly are not oriented toward future achievement. In fact, among some members of this group, academic success has lost its measure of worth and has been replaced by alternative measures of success that can be achieved in the here-and-now. These rewards include securing a boyfriend, reproductive success (i.e. having babies), maintaining respect and obtaining/displaying material resources. These measures of success also are likely to be important for the young women who adhere to conventional means of success (academic and occupational success). Members of this latter group, however, maintain the hope of achieving success over the long term and consequently do not share the urgent need to achieve alternative measures of status.

In short, the majority of inner-city female and male residents hold on to conventional means of status defined by academic and occupational goals (Anderson, 1999); however, a minority have come to reject them and redefine measures of worth within the confines of structural strain and blocked opportunity. In the sections that follow, sources of structural strain that block opportunities for academic and occupational success among disadvantaged women will be reviewed. Several sources of strain are common to females and males, and others are female-and male-specific.

1. *Sources of Structural Strain that Block Opportunities For Academic and Occupational Success: The Educational System and Adaptations to Poverty*

Blocked opportunities to academic and occupational success have increased for some groups of urban Black residents since deindustrialization. The aftermath of deindustrialization has included the exodus of the Black middle class from urban areas, massive unemployment, subsequent social isolation, social isolation from mainstream

institutions among Black inner-city residents as well as intensified feelings of alienation and anger toward white society (Anderson, 1999; Wilson, 1987, 1996). These factors have contributed to growing disinterest and oppositional attitudes held by some inner city adolescents toward public schools and formal employment (Anderson, 1999), and increases in high school dropout rates among low-income urban youth. For some urban residents, public school and formal employment have lost their value as measures of success largely because these institutions have failed to meet the needs of Black disadvantaged urban youth. Thus, the educational system itself is a source of strain that blocks opportunities for academic success. Failure to achieve academic success subsequently blocks opportunities for occupational success ultimately leading to low-wage jobs, with limited economic benefits, and little chance for advancement.

Low levels of academic success among Black youth are a function of the quality of public schools (Taylor, 1991). Impoverished youth are more likely to attend resource-poor schools which often compound their sense of social isolation (Musick, 1991). Public schools provide few opportunities for students to connect with the outside world or with successful Black professionals who have benefited from academic success (Anderson, 1999). It is well established that public services in low-income neighborhoods, including schools, after-school programs, extracurricular activities, and local employment opportunities are resource-poor and of lesser quality than services available to middle class residents (Danziger et al., 1995).

In addition, the educational experience of Black youth is affected negatively by the communities in which they live. Research has demonstrated a positive relationship between schools characterized by low levels of academic success and disadvantaged

neighborhoods. Yancy and colleagues (1995) examined the relationship between Philadelphia public schools and the communities in which they are located. They found that schools whose students reside in disadvantaged communities have lower rates of attendance, higher rates of student turnover and lower achievement scores compared to schools that draw students from more affluent and less troubled communities. It is noteworthy, yet not surprising, that schools whose students were drawn from poorer neighborhoods were disproportionately comprised of Black students. In 1990, for example, an average white person who was poor lived in a census tract in which 20 percent of the households also were poor. By contrast, a Black person who was disadvantaged lived in a census tract in which 35 percent of the households were disadvantaged (Yancy et al., 1995). Thus, Black residents were over-represented among youth attending troubled schools.

Several ethnographic studies of young women have uncovered several ways in which public schools have failed to address the female-specific needs of disadvantaged young women. In a study of 100 youth (males and females) at a Boston high school, Dodson (1998) reported that teachers lack an understanding of the young women's daily lives and cultural norms. Based on interviews conducted by (1998) with young women the teachers failed to understand the link between poor academic achievement and low attendance with the day-to-day pressures and responsibilities assigned to the young women by their families. Disadvantaged young females served critical economic functions for their families engaging in housework and childcare between 16 and 20 hours per week (Dodson, 1998). According to Dodson (1998), the respondents internalized traditional gender norms supporting the belief that males work outside the

home and females work inside the home. Consequently, female youth assumed greater responsibility for household responsibilities than their male counterparts.

The most consuming family responsibility for many girls, however, involved caring for adult family members with health problems. Some young women were charged with handling crises of domestic violence, mental illness and parental substance use. A common theme expressed by these young girls and women was the sense of abandonment by adults. According to Dodson (1998, p.30):

As girls explain it, when parents are addicted to drugs or drink or mothers are battered, relatives and neighbors lose patience and disappear, angry at the adults in the family who seem unable to overcome problems. And yet when all the adults abdicate, first the overwhelmed or sick parents and the rest of the adult community, they leave children trying to hold a family together.

For these girls, meeting the family responsibilities becomes a matter of survival. These challenges are time consuming and emotionally overwhelming leaving little energy available for academic endeavors (Dodson, 1998).

Another theme reported by urban female students is the sense of interpersonal connection from school personnel (Dodson, 1998; Taylor et al., 1995). Twenty-six disadvantaged young women attending an urban high school participated in a three-year panel study called the *Women Teaching Girls, Girls Teaching Women (WTG-GTW)* Project. A theme expressed by the participants was the desire for, but absence of, meaningful relationships with teachers (Taylor et al., 1995). The young women expressed the feeling of not being listened to, cared for or respected. The young women viewed teachers and counselors as overburdened with students and lacking the time to give individualized attention. It was not uncommon for respondents to feel blamed,

humiliated and unjustly punished by teachers (Taylor et al., 1995). The respondents reported that speaking up in school often led to trouble.

The role of anger displayed by Black females may contribute to their sense of alienation from teachers. It has been observed that because of socialization processes influenced by historical discrimination that emphasize autonomy, some disadvantaged Black females, compared to middle class white females, are better able to access and express anger without fearing the loss of the relationship (Taylor et al., 1995). Teachers who adhere to the white feminine ideal of the quiet, obedient, good girl are likely to interpret the girls' attitudes as acts of defiance that require punishment. Ultimately, the research suggests that speaking out or remaining silent increases some young women's feelings of interpersonal disconnection from the teachers (Taylor et al., 1995). One Black student interviewed by Adams (1999, p.133) illustrates the point:

You know when I was in sixth grade. I never said a word. And, I never got in trouble: nobody knew I was here. I kept all my feelings inside till I was about to bust. You know I can't do that no more. I've got to express myself, and seems like when I do I get into trouble. I can't even be myself here.

The importance of interpersonal relations remains at the center of female development. Relational connections to teachers are critical to academic success among females. These connections are absent in the lives of some Black disadvantaged female high school students.

In another study based on a case analysis of young middle and working class women from diverse races/ethnicities, Adams (1999) suggests a link between school administrators' failures to address sexism in the school and violence by females against females (and males). She argues that female violence is a form of resistance against

exploitation of their bodies demonstrated by boys' references to breasts as "hooters," "snapping girls' bras" and "grabbing" of girls' behinds. Adams' findings are consistent with a survey on school violence which reported that about half the teachers who participated reported that sexism contributes to school fights (Malcolmson, 1994). As long as teachers remain silent to sexist behaviors toward females and view fighting as a pathological problem reflective of young women's failures to meet the stereotype of a quiet, passive young lady, some young women will resist by fighting back.

In addition, researchers have observed that some teachers misinterpret survival strategies used by young women and Black girls (Dodson, 1998; Taylor, 1995). For example, in response to past losses of interpersonal relationships and the constant threat of further loss evidenced by a school environment replete with rumors and gossip, some young women develop and display attitudes of strength, self-confidence and a "stand - alone" attitude that hide (and defend against) feelings of isolation and loneliness. Black young women have been socialized to associate asking for help with weakness of character. Thus, they sometimes fail to receive the requisite guidance necessary for academic success. According to Taylor and colleagues (1995, p.49) "[B]eing tough, strong, or outspoken are common survival strategies in a culture where racism is a historical reality." Taylor and associates (1995, p.49) cite the Black feminist scholar, bell hooks (1993b, p. 133):

[In resisting the debilitating effects of racism], over time, the ability to mask, hide and contain feelings came to be viewed by many Black people as a sign of strong character. To show one's emotions was seen as foolish.

Some school administrators interpret the tough attitude and aggressive disposition of disadvantaged females and Black females as acts of defiance that require punishment.

The failure to understand the sources of distress experienced by disadvantaged girls and cultural norms characteristic of Black young women may fuel a vicious cycle of misunderstanding. Oppositional attitudes, heightened assertiveness and failure to complete school assignments may serve to confirm the negative images that some members of the middle class harbor toward disadvantaged Black females. They are lazy, loud, aggressive, and bad. Some teachers internalize these stereotypes and misinterpret underlying reasons for the display of behaviors. Ultimately such misapprehension is certain to reduce the opportunity for some Black young women to experience academic success.

The failure of the public school system to meet the needs of the Black community has serious consequences for impoverished young women. One result is that some young women have come to reject the public school system and formal employment. Taylor and colleagues (1995) in their three-year panel study identified a key transition regarding attitudes toward school held by urban females. During the initial interviews with 8th grade girls, the respondents identified one of two future paths available to women. The first focused on marriage and motherhood. The alternative centered on having a career as a single female. According to the respondents, having children precludes having a career. Taylor and colleagues (1995) observed that the girls associated parenthood (and their own mothers) with the absence of money and time for additional opportunities. During 8th grade most respondents expressed a positive attitude toward school and a desire for a career. By 10th grade, however, most girls lost that vision to one burdened by family life and poverty.

For some disadvantaged young women, the multiple effects of resource-poor schools, overburdened teachers, feelings of not being heard, respected or understood by teachers, and social isolation from professional female role models have contributed to alienation from public school. Ultimately, these factors contribute to the high school dropout rate among disadvantaged Black urban females. As noted by Anderson (1999, p. 96):

When children become convinced that they cannot receive their props from teachers and staff, they turn elsewhere, typically to the street...particularly when the unobtainable appears to granted only on the basis of acting white.

Among girls, a critical "prop" includes the need for interpersonal connection with adults. The research reviewed in this section has demonstrated that upon entry to high school some disadvantaged young women feel alienated from school authorities. As a result, for some groups of impoverished females, school has lost its value as a culturally-defined measure of success. Subsequently, young women establish alternative measures of worth that can operate effectively within in the confines limited by structural disadvantage and blocked opportunity.

Summary

In sum, the research points to the educational system as a source of female-specific and race-specific strain for young women. It has been observed that teachers fail to understand the day to day pressures (e.g., family responsibilities) experienced by young women and the toll such pressures take on a their capacity to perform well in school. It also has been observed that expressed anger and stand-alone attitudes displayed by some females contradict the white feminine ideal and contribute to strained teacher-student

relations. In addition, the presence of sexism in schools further fuels violence by females as a form of opposition. Consequently, for some groups of impoverished females, school has lost its value as a measure of success. Ultimately, females adopt alternative measures of success.

In order to highlight gendered sources of strain, it is worth noting that the educational and occupational systems also serve as sources of strain among disadvantaged Black male residents of low-income urban neighborhoods. Similar to girls, boys are affected by resource-poor schools and overburdened teachers. The processes by which strain blocks educational attainment, however, vary by sex. Black males, for example, often are assumed by teachers to be violent and as a consequence some teachers' overreact and over punish misbehavior (Taylor, 1991). This assumption is less likely to apply to Black females. Similar to females, school has lost its value as a measure of success among some disadvantaged males. Consequently they, too, have established alternative measures of success.

2. Female-on-Female Violence As An Adaptation to Blocked Opportunity For Academic and Occupational Success

Some women who perceive academic and occupational aspirations as inaccessible and/or impractical adapt by developing alternative measures of status. They include boyfriends, reproductive success (i.e. having children), respect and material resources. All four statuses are characterized by female-specific adaptations, although respect and material resources, and reproductive success, also include gender-neutral dimensions. Female-specific and gender-neutral components are addressed in the sections that follow.

Boyfriends and Reproductive Success as Sources of Status: Adaptations to Blocked Academic and Occupation Success that Contribute to Female-on-Female Assault

Sources of culturally-defined goals important to adolescent women involve boyfriends and reproductive success (i.e. having children), adult statuses over which adolescent low-income urban females compete (Anderson, 1990). These goals are likely to take on increased value among young women who have rejected academic and occupational success as measures of worth. Nurge (2000) observed that in communities where females perceive few conventionally-defined means of success, culturally-defined measures that focus on securing and maintaining boyfriends can assume such significance that they become worth fighting over.

In addition to securing a boyfriend, reproductive success is considered a source of status among some inner-city women. For young women who are not able to secure a commitment from a boyfriend and perceive few alternative means to success, having a baby becomes a rational means to achieve at least some success. (Anderson, 1990; Dodson, 1998). In addition, young mothers "use their babies to compete, on the premise that the baby is an extension of the mother and reflects directly on her" (Anderson, 1990, p. 124). Competition over the appearance and dress of babies can result in feelings of jealousy between young women that may increase the risk of female-on-female violence.

Anderson (1990) argues that female competition over boyfriends is likely to be emphasized during the adolescent years when processes related to identity formation, self-esteem and status in the peer group are most salient. This observation is consistent with arrest and self-report studies on female intragender assault, which have documented that younger females compared to older females are more frequently involved in assault

with other females and female antagonists are likely to be age-peers or acquaintances (Campbell et al., 1998).

Boyfriends and Reproductive Success: Gendered Patterns of Intragender Assault

As discussed in the previous section on barriers to marriage, the risk of female-on-female violence over potential male intimate partners is likely to be conditioned by two processes: 1) adherence to patriarchal norms and 2) the gendered relevance assigned to interpersonal relationships. First, among males and females, who internalize patriarchal norms, player behavior is more likely to be a source of intragender violence between females than males. Both male and female victims (individuals who are being played) of player behavior are likely to try to earn approval of the dominant male group. The slighted female is likely to try to achieve approval by targeting violence against the rival female. The slighted male is likely try to regain his sense of manhood by targeting his violence against his rival male. Second, given the differential emphasis placed on interpersonal connection by females and males, it is more likely that females compared to males will compete over potential intimates in an effort to achieve long-term relationships. In contrast to the female's emphasis on relational motivations, the priority for the male is to earn approval by their male peers.

Respect: An Adaptation to Blocked Academic and Occupational Success that Contribute to Female-on-Female Violence

A third goal that has emerged as a consequence of blocked opportunities to conventional means of success involves securing and maintaining respect. Respect takes on gender-neutral and female-specific dimensions, both of which are reviewed in this section.

Anderson's (1994,1999) ethnographic research conducted in Philadelphia neighborhoods is an integral component of the proposed theory. Consistent with the tradition of Sampson and Wilson (1995), Anderson posited that the post-industrial social structural transformation has led to the weakening of mainstream societal values and the emergence of alternative norms that support the use of physically aggressive behavior in Black urban neighborhoods. As discussed in the previous chapter, with limited means to validate personal status through academic and occupational success, urban residents seek out respect by adhering to the "Code of the Street", which sometimes involves or requires the use of violence (Anderson, 1994, 1999; Nurge, 2000). According to the "code" and its application to women, female-on-female assault commonly occurs over personal (nongendered) respect defined by fighting in response to a verbal assault, slight or provocation (e.g., name calling, looks of disrespect) (Baskin and Sommers, 1998; Nurge, 2000). According to Baskin and Sommers (1998, p. 35):

[T]he issue of respect is thus closely tied to whether a person has an inclination to be violent. In severely distressed communities, particularly among young males and increasingly among females, it is sensed that something essential is at stake in every interaction. People are encouraged to rise to every occasion... To run away from such disputes would leave one's self-esteem in tatters.

Similar to urban males, among urban females respect has become a commodity worth competing over and fighting to maintain (Adams, 1999; Anderson, 1999; Baskin and Sommers, 1998; Nurge, 2000). Nurge (2000) set out to determine if the Code of the Street existed among at-risk and gang/cliqe affiliated adolescent females in Boston. She observed that the study participants understood the norms of the code including the

importance of mental and physical strength, toughness, respect and a reputation that reflects these characteristics. According to Nurge (2000, Chapter 7, p. 7):

The young women interviewed consistently asserted the importance of responding to acts of disrespect. Although their initial response was likely to be verbal, if the offender continued to behave insultingly and/or did not back down, the verbal conflict typically escalated to a physical confrontation quickly. The extent to which young women reacted violently to disrespect varied, but most of them noted it to be the most common cause of fights.

Moreover, the Code of the Street is particularly operative for conflicts that occur in public with witnesses present (Anderson, 1994,1999). Research on assault by women suggests that, as with men, the presence of third parties contributes to the escalation of violence by increasing the probability of retaliation in order to save face (Baskin and Sommers, 1998). Anderson’s conceptualization of respect and all the supporting research demonstrates that respect is a gender-neutral concept because both males and female become involved in violence over personal respect. Dynamics are described below in Figure 3-4.

Figure 3-4: Gender-Neutral Dimensions of Becoming Involved in Violence over Respect

Structural Sources of Strain to Academic/ Occupational Support	Blocked Goal	Gender-Neutral Adaptations To Blocked Goals
-Educational system - Un/under employment	→ Academic/ Occupational Success	→ Securing and maintaining personal respect is emphasized by <u>males and females</u> . If challenged individuals are required to fight back to re-establish self-worth; this process increases the risk of intragender violence for <u>males and females</u>

Respect: Gendered Patterns of Intragender Assault

Several ethnographic studies also have uncovered a female-specific corollary with regards to what it means to maintain respect for adolescent females in particular (Dodson,

1998; Nurge, 2000). A show of female gendered disrespect by one female toward another female is one possible point of conflict that could turn violent. The dynamics involved in this type of conflict are described in the following section and parallel the dynamics outlined in the previous section on marriage (see Figure 3-2). Studies on gendered respect characteristic of female adolescents in particular are reviewed below.

Among males who adhere to the double standard, player behavior (i.e. maintaining more than one girlfriend at a time) enhances his reputation. A woman however, who engages in similar behavior is criticized, labeled a "ho," and disrespected by both sexes. One inner-city female adolescent interviewed by Dodson described the double standard regarding sexual activity for males and females, "She's a whore and he's man for doing just the same thing...Society is two-faced, but we've got to live with it" (1998, p. 55). The young women expect that men will act like "dogs," but consider similar behavior by females as unacceptable and worthy of punishment (Adams, 1999).

A show of disrespect resulting from an accusation of promiscuity by one female toward another is one possible point of intragender conflict. Nurge (2000) reported that among adolescent urban females, if one young woman develops a reputation (deserved or not) for promiscuous sexual activity, she may be at risk for losing the respect of male and female peers. Consequently, she may be required by the Code of the Street to become involved in violence to restore her reputation. This is one example of a female-specific source of respect that contributes to female-on-female assault.

A second example of female-specific respect focuses on what Nurge (2000) labels the "cycle of disrespect." This term describes male behavior that precipitates intragender female violence. In response to sexual harassment or male player behavior, young

women often respond by targeting their anger toward the competing female rather than the male. Nurge (2000) and Artz (1998) observed this dynamic among adolescent women and interpreted female-on-female assault as an act of "horizontal violence:" women become involved in violence against their female peers rather than male peers in order to boost their value within the dominant male group. According to Nurge, the purpose of horizontal oppression follows (2000, chapter 7, p.6):

By dissing another girl (who perhaps is popular with this guy), she embarrasses/devalues that girl, while increasing her own respectability/value. By calling another girl a 'ho' or 'bitch' and/or gossiping about her (alleged or actual) promiscuity she might successfully sabotage her competition's relationship or relationship prospects.

In, sum respect has gender-neutral and gendered dimensions. Some residents of disadvantaged urban neighborhoods become involved in violence to maintain personal respect, irrespective of gender. The gendered dimension is related to the female- and male-specific corollaries that involve definitions of peer-defined success. Young women who adhere to patriarchal norms, earn peer-defined success by securing a committed relationship with one intimate male partner and maintaining an untainted sexual reputation. Males, on the other hand, earn peer-defined success by maintaining multiple sex partners simultaneously and flaunting these behaviors in the presence of male peers. Intragender violence between males and females may result over intimate partners when the potential loss jeopardizes the slighted person's reputation. The definitions of a positive reputation and peer-defined success vary by gender.

Obtaining and/or Displaying Material Resources: Adaptations to Blocked Academic and Occupational Success that Contribute to Female-on-Female Violence

Studies suggest that female intragender competition over material resources have both gender-neutral and female-specific dimensions. Research suggests that economically marginal urban males and females emphasize the importance of obtaining, and for some, displaying material resources for several reasons. These dynamics and their links to strain and the more proximate sources of violence are outlined in Figure 3-5 and are described below.

Figure 3-5: Gender-Neutral Dimensions of Becoming Involved in Violence over Resources

Structural Sources of Strain to Academic/ Occupational Support	Blocked Goal	Gender-Neutral Adaptations To Blocked Goals
Educational system → Under/unemployment	Academic/ Occupational Success →	The importance of material goods and conspicuous consumption are emphasized by males and females for purposes of survival and to distance oneself from poverty; this process increases the risk of intragender violence for males and females

According to a class-based interpretation, economically disadvantaged women and men emphasize the importance of material goods and conspicuous consumption (e.g., money spent immediately on drugs or alcohol, expensive food, clothing) in order to deny (albeit temporarily) and distance themselves from poverty (Campbell, 1999; Messerschmidt, 1997). In addition, the importance of securing material resources is heightened among women and men who require goods for survival. Among residents with limited academic and occupational successes, the focus on material resources may be emphasized for its symbolic and practical value. Gender-neutral sources of competition between young women (and men) involve physical appearance such as the

purchase of the appropriate brands of clothing (Anderson, 1990, 1999, Campbell, 1999).

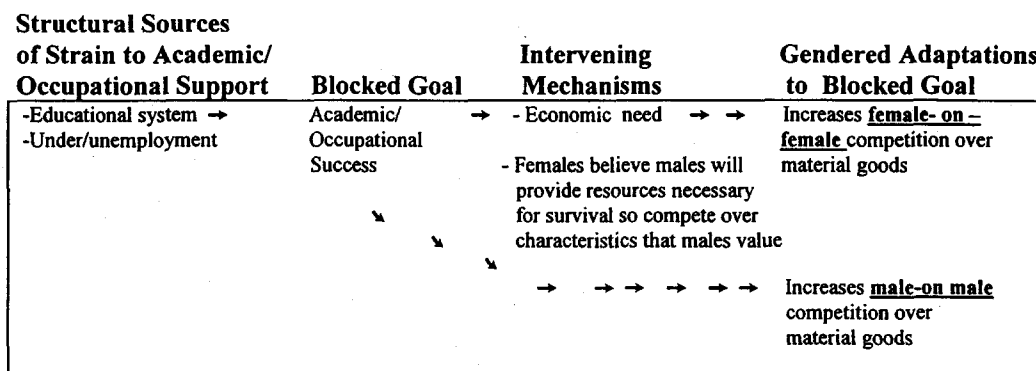
Anderson explains: (1999, p.95):

Violence is always a possibility for the typical troubled school is surrounded by persistent poverty, where scarcity of valued things is the rule... Trophies to be won are not of an academic kind, rather they are those of the street, particularly respect. In this campaign young people must be prepared not only to fight but also to take great care with appearance. The right look means not wearing old or 'bummy' clothes or sneakers... Social life become a zero-sum scenario: 'If you have something and exhibit it, it means that I'm less.'

Material Resources: Gendered Patterns of Intragender Assault

Female-specific competition over material resources is likely to have female-specific dimensions that are related to the feminization of poverty thesis and competition over male resource providers. These dynamics and their links to strain and the more proximate sources of violence are outlined in Figure 3-6 and are described below.

Figure 3-6: Gender-Specific Dimensions of Becoming Involved in Violence over Resources



As described earlier, the feminization of poverty thesis asserts that females compared to their male counterparts face more severe barriers to economic success. Recent studies reveal that under some circumstances conflict over the need for material goods increases the risk of female-on-female violence (e.g., see Maher, 1997). Moreover, tensions resulting from resource sharing among poor female kin members whose relationships are characterized by ongoing obligations may increase the risk of female-on-female violence. It is expected, therefore, that economic need will be a stronger factor for explaining intragender violence between females compared to males.

In addition to the likelihood of gender differences in magnitude of effects of economic need, research suggests the presence of differences by gender in pathways

toward intragender violence for reasons involving economic need. Campbell and colleagues (1998), for example, attribute female-on-female violence to behavior that is motivated by the need to survive: females may become involved in intragender assault over male partners because they adhere to the belief that males will provide necessary resources. Consequently, females may compete over males by valuing those material goods or assets that are most valued by males such as physical attractiveness (Campbell, 1995). Thus, issues related to physical attractiveness may become points of contention that lead to eventual violence. While males also may become involved in violence to attain resources necessary for survival, it likely that the circumstances will differ from those faced by females.

In sum, competition over material resources may emerge irrespective of gender in response to survival needs, or to counteract a life of poverty. Competition also may emerge for gendered reasons. Intragender female assault may occur in the service of survival. The female gendered dimensions takes into account two factors: (1) the unequal distribution of economic opportunities between the genders and consequent overrepresentation of women in disadvantaged statuses and (2) the assumption that some females compete with each other over males in order to obtain resources necessary for survival. In each of these cases, points of contention over material resources may contribute to an increase in female-on-female competition and subsequent intragender violence.

3. *Summary: Adaptations to Blocked Opportunities to Academic and Occupational Success*

According to *Gendered Social Structural Strain Theory*, female-on-female conflict is a byproduct of cultural adaptations to blocked opportunities and may occur within numerous contexts: to meet interpersonal relationship needs, to attain status defined by securing a boyfriend, to achieve reproductive success, to maintain respect, to protect one's sexual reputation, to obtain material resources for survival or as a means to attract male intimates. In a culture characterized by limited means to earn traditional measures of status, boyfriends, babies, respect and/or resources can assume sufficient significance that they become worth for.

C. Safety and Protection: A Goal Shared by Black Disadvantaged Females

Individuals of all socioeconomic classes employ strategies to ensure their personal safety and the safety of friends and family. Typically when confronted with a victimization experience, a member of the middle class calls upon law enforcement for assistance. Alternatively, he or she may report the problem to a community group who has the political power to garner support from the local police. Some members of structurally disadvantaged neighborhoods, however, have grown to distrust police and other service professionals. Moreover, disorganized communities typically lack neighborhood organizations, a potential source of support for residents who have experienced victimization or other neighborhood problems. Consequently, residents who lack institutional support and live in high-crime rate communities may adopt self-help strategies to solve grievances that center on taking matters into their own hands, which may include the use violence.

1. *Sources of Structural Strain that Block Opportunities For Safety and Protection of Oneself and Family/Friends: Public Institutions and Historical Discrimination*

One effect of historical discrimination for Black urban residents has been the necessity to create alternative strategies for self-protection. The emergence of alternative strategies is best understood within the larger context of inner-city residents' detachment from institutions, particularly since deindustrialization. Consequences include the flight of economic resources and investment in public institutions, and the subsequent failure of public services to meet the needs of disadvantaged residents. Research has shown that some disadvantaged Black residents rely on violence as a self-help strategy because they have lost trust in mainstream service institutions (Anderson, 1999). The public school system has failed impoverished residents (Sum and Fogg, 1991), employers have been found to discriminate against disadvantaged Black residents (Anderson, 1999; Kirschenman et al., 1991) and police have been described as uncaring and discriminatory. According to Anderson (1999, p. 321):

In the community, the police are often on the street, but they are not always considered to have the community's best interest at heart... When a Black man shoots another Black man, the incident will not be thoroughly investigated.. A double standard is thought to exist: one for Blacks and one for whites. A great many Blacks residents have little trust in the police...with this attitude many people are afraid to report...crimes to the police...Residents sometimes fail to call the police because they believe the police are unlikely to come or, if they come, may even harass the very people who called...

Consequently, some males and females feel no choice but to take matters into their own hands in order to solve problems (Anderson, 1999).

2. Female-on-Female Violence As An Adaptation to Blocked Sources of Protection and Safety

In response to historical discrimination and lack of institutional support, socialization patterns have developed that emphasize self-protection. These patterns have gender-neutral and female specific dimensions and likely contribute to female involvement in violence.

A gender-neutral adaptation involves socialization patterns that have evolved among Black families. This adaptation focuses on teaching children to be autonomous and independent at a very young age. Children (males and females) of working class families of different ethnicities often are socialized in this way. This context, however, may be intensified among impoverished Black youth (Browning et al., 1999) because of the combined forces of historical discrimination, social isolation and distrust of mainstream institutions. Research suggests that in some families this socialization pattern includes teaching girls to fight back (Ladner, 1971). Thus, structural strain and discrimination that block opportunities for attaining traditional means of protection is likely to contribute to the development of self-help behaviors by females and males that at times includes the use of violence.

3. Gendered Patterns of Intragender Assault

Research on self-help strategies suggests the presence of two female-specific dimensions. The first focuses on the gendered relevance of interpersonal relationships for females compared to males. The second focuses on the role assigned to females in the family. Both dimensions, their links to strain and the more proximate sources of violence, are outlined in Figure 3-7 and are described below.

Figure 3-7: Gender-Specific Dimensions of Self-Help Strategies

Sources of Strain that Inhibit Protection	Blocked Goals	Intervening Mechanisms	Gender-Specific Adaptations to the Violent Event
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Lack of institutional support -High rates of offending and victimization 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> → Freedom from fear and victimization; trust in mainstream institutions 	<p>FEMALE PATTERN</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Socialized to be autonomous -Emphasis on interpersonal relationships (e.g. relational respect) -Female gendered role in the family -Oppositional Instrumental control 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> → Increases risk of <u>female-on-female</u> violence in the service of defending, protecting others
		<p>MALE PATTERN</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Socialized to be autonomous - Emphasis on loyalty - Emphasis on validating - Normative Instrumental Control 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> → Increases risk of <u>male-on-male</u> violence in the service of defending, protecting others

Adams (1999) contrasts Anderson's (1994, 1999) masculine understanding of individualized or personal self-respect, which focuses on protecting oneself, with women's tendency to fight in order to preserve the respect of others. Adams labels this process "relational respect" and attributes it to female socialization patterns that center on relationships and connectedness to others (Gilligan, 1993). It is expected that given the gendered relevance of interpersonal relationships, there will be differences by gender in the magnitude of effects of using violence for the purpose of protecting others. According to this perspective the statistical magnitude of the effect will be larger for females compared to males.

The second female-specific factor is drawn from gender studies and focuses on the use of instrumental aggression versus expressive aggression. Instrumental aggression is goal-oriented and involves attempts to dominate others. In contrast, expressive aggression is non-goal oriented and occurs because of failed self-control (Campbell,

1993). Campbell (1993, 1999) observed a female-specific motivation for instrumental aggression among economically disadvantaged female gang members (1999, p. 254):

Fear and loneliness in their families, their communities, their schools, and their homes are the forces that drive young women from an expressive to an instrumental view of their aggression.

As a consequence of past victimization, women resort to instrumental aggression as a form of self-protection. While Campbell acknowledges that males also use instrumental aggression to prevent victimization she highlights a fundamental difference between the sexes (1999, p. 254):

Boys are part of a masculine subculture that prescribes instrumental aggression as a gender-affirming response to a threat or challenge...so the nurturing of a tough reputation is normative in young men, while in young women it is less common because most girls are protected from the masculine maelstrom of attack and counter-attack

The third female-specific dimension is drawn from gender studies specific to Black families and focuses on the gendered role that females take on in the family. Historically Black girls have been socialized to take responsibility for themselves and their families largely because Black men have not been able to support their families (Browning et al., 1999; Dodson, 1998). Black daughters have assumed this obligation in part because Black families tend to define female success by the extent to which a female can care for oneself, and family (Dodson, 1998; Ladner, 1971). Black daughters even more often than Black sons are assigned adult responsibilities such as child care, household chores, and caring for ill family members (Dodson, 1998). As a consequence of taking on adult responsibilities at a young age, Black girls often develop a sense of assertiveness, autonomy and sense of responsibility, characteristics which have been misinterpreted by mainstream society as unfeminine and dysfunctional (Rice, 1990). On

the contrary, these characteristics are rational forms of self-help and protection that may extend to the use of violence.

The combined goals of striving to protect oneself and one's loved ones may increase the risk of violence by young women. It is expected, therefore, that the female gendered role in the family will contribute disproportionately to female-on-female violence compared to male-on-male violence for reasons related to protection.

Research also points to differences by gender in pathways toward intragender male violence for reasons involving the protection of others. Oliver identified two reasons that contribute to violence by males for the purposes of protecting others (1994). First, some males become involved in violence because they felt a deep sense of loyalty and responsibility to their loved ones. Second, some males use violence to maintain their sense of manhood. According to one man interviewed by Oliver (1994, p. 116): "I am one hundred percent man, and if anybody ever disrespects anybody that I love, I got to go see about it. I am a champ, and I love my family." The research suggests that for males, a sense of manhood may serve as an intervening mechanism that influences the use of violence to defend/protect others. For females, however, the importance of preserving interpersonal ties may serve as the intervening mechanism.

4. *Summary: Adaptations to Blocked Opportunity to Protection and Safety*

Research has documented that similar to males (Oliver, 1994), impoverished women fight to defend or protect not only oneself, but also family and friends (Adams, 1999; Hirschinger et al., 2001; Nurge, 2000). Female assault also may have an underlying female-specific motivation. When considering female-specific socialization patterns combined with the need for protection against threats to personal safety, it is likely that poor urban Black women are at increased risk for becoming

involved in assault in order to ensure their own safety and the safety of others close to them.

III. A Summary: Female-Specific and Gender-Neutral Adaptations and the Link to Female-on-Female Violence

According to *Gendered Social Structural Strain Theory*, female-on-female assault is a byproduct of cultural adaptations to strain that blocks opportunities for Black impoverished females, and may occur within numerous contexts. Some contexts are female-specific and others are gender-neutral.

Three Female-Specific Contexts that May Increase Female-on-Female Assault

One context of female-on-female assault focuses on blockages to marriage and subsequent adaptations by males that affect female intragender relations. In response to historical discrimination and deindustrialization, Oliver (1989b) argues that male intimate partners who adhere to the "player" or "tough guy" images are at increased risk for perpetuating conflict, competition and ultimately violence between females. Men who adhere to such images define their manhood through promiscuity and dominance, and emotional and sexual exploitation of women (Anderson, 1990; Oliver, 1989b). Oliver (1989b) theorized that commitment to promiscuity by males intensifies female-on-female jealousy and the risk of female intragender assault. It is likely that females compete for male partners in an attempt to find ways to meet their needs for intimacy and economic support. Moreover, the aftermath of reduced marriage rates and structural disadvantage also has increased tensions within the intergenerational family. These tensions exist between mothers and daughters over the daughters' boyfriends and between the son's

mothers and the son's girlfriends as they compete for the males' attention. These tensions under some circumstances are likely to contribute to the risk of female-on-female assault.

The second context for female-on-female assault has developed largely because the educational system and sources of formal employment have failed some young disadvantaged women. Members of this group emphasize the importance of earning status in the here-and-now. For this group securing a boyfriend, having babies, maintaining an untainted sexual reputation, and obtaining material resources are adaptations that provide young women with status. Research suggests that in some situations, conflicts over these issues contain sufficient emotional fervor to turn a conflict into a violent event.

The third context for female-on-female assault has come about in response to discrimination and the failure of mainstream institutions to meet the needs of urban disadvantaged Black residents. In many families Black females have been socialized to care for and serve as family protector. Some females may become involved in violence with females (or males) in the service of self-protection and the protection of friends and family as well as to fulfill their own interpersonal needs for connection,

Gender-Neutral Contexts that May Increase Female-on-Female Assault

Research also suggests a link between gender-neutral adaptations and female-on-female violence. The studies reviewed here demonstrate that with restricted means to earn status, impoverished Black women living in urban communities, as with their male counterparts, become involved in violence to earn and maintain personal respect, material goods and to secure protection. Females and males view material resources as points of contention that may lead to violence. Material resources are valued by males and females

to meet survival needs, to earn status and respect and/or to dissociate from a life of poverty. In addition, Black residents of both genders may resort to violence as a self-help strategy as a consequence of the combined forces of discrimination and social isolation.

Female-Specific and Gender-Neutral Contexts that May Increase Female-on-Female Assault: A Summary

Disadvantaged members of both genders are exposed to sources of structural strain that block opportunity for conventional means of success. In sum, the research suggests that females become involved in violence for reasons both similar to and distinct from males. Females and males both become involved in violence over resources and personal respect. Within all contexts discussed, however, female-specific factors shape the nature and circumstances of female strain and subsequent risk for involvement in assault. For example, structural factors, including the shortage of marriageable men, intensify female-on-female violence. The impact of onerous family responsibilities assumed by young women often hamper their opportunity to excel in school and contributes to high school drop out rates. Subsequently, females adhere to alternative female-specific adaptations including an emphasized focus on boyfriends and reproductive success. Young men also fight over young women, but the nature of their violence is shaped by male-specific sources of success including increased respect earned by player behavior and a focus on approval by their male peers. The studies reviewed validate the need for a comprehensive theory of female-on-female assault among economically marginal Black women that integrates both gender-neutral and female-specific dimensions.

IV. Revisiting Two Limitations of Theories on Female-on-Female Assault

Chapter 2 closed with a summary of limitations regarding theoretical explanations of female-on-female assault. These limitations include (1) the paucity of studies that consider the relevance of gender, class and race/ethnicity to the study of female-on-female assault (2) and the lack of theories that include pertinent concepts drawn from both gender-neutral and gender-specific perspectives. The theoretical framework proposed in this research attempts to address these limitations. This is the topic of the following sections.

A. Addressing Limitation #1: The Importance of Gender, Race and Class

Among groups that vary by socioeconomic level, ethnic/racial composition, and gender, socialization patterns develop in favor of securing culturally-defined goals (e.g., boyfriends, respect). A group's cultural heritage, race/ethnicity, gender and economic status, however, shape the meanings that its members attach to the goals and the subsequent adaptations to blocked goal attainment. As with other groups, among economically marginal urban Black women, issues related to gender, class, and race/ethnicity influence adaptations that are expected to increase their risk of violent behavior. The effects of gender, race and class on the risk of female intragender assault are summarized below. The section on gender focuses on female-specific adaptations that have been identified among working class and disadvantaged females of diverse ethnicities/races. The section labeled the interaction of gender and class highlights female-specific adaptations among disadvantaged females in particular. The section labeled the interaction of gender, class and race emphasizes adaptations particularly faced by disadvantaged, Blacks females. The purpose of the organizational framework is to

demonstrate the cumulative (or perhaps multiplicative) effects of gender, class and race/ethnicity on the risk of intragender female assault.

Adaptations to blocked opportunities are summarized in Table 3-2. A check mark ("X") indicates that empirical evidence demonstrates, or theory suggests, that some members of the subgroup (female vs. disadvantaged female vs. Black disadvantaged female) under discussion have been found to adhere to the adaptation. In the section that follows that link between each adaptation and potential female-on-female violence is reviewed. Descriptions for each adaptation in the table are noted in the text with the same number noted in the table.

Table 3-2: The Significance of the Interaction of Gender, Class and Race For Understanding Female-on-Female Assault

	Disadvantaged Adaptation	Female	Disadvantaged Female	Black Female
#1	Horizontal group oppression	X	X	X
#2	Gendered respect	X	X	X
#3	Socialization patterns centered on Relationships	X	X	X
#4	Resistance to objectification	X	X	X
#5	Player behavior/Serial Monogamy		X	X
#6	Personal respect emphasized in disadvantaged neighborhoods		X	X
#7	Self-help strategies emphasized in disadvantaged neighborhoods		X	X
#8	Parentification, rejection of school/employment, adoption of alternative measures of self worth: boyfriends, babies, respect, material resources		X	X
#9	Oppositional Instrumental Aggression		X	X
#10	Reduced rates of marriage and norms that are less likely to stigmatize having children outside of marriage			X
#11	Historical discrimination combined with social isolation intensifies self-help strategies			X
#12	Protect male intimate partner from discrimination by mainstream society			X
#13	Capacity to access and express anger combined with a normative view of violence			X

Gender

The research reviewed in this chapter demonstrates the presence of four female-specific adaptations to blocked goals. Each increases the risk for female-on-female assault. These patterns are not unique to impoverished or Black women.

First, women who adhere to patriarchal norms may engage in “horizontal group oppression” against other females (Artz, 1998; Nurge, 2000). This oppression occurs when women become involved in violence against their female peers rather than boyfriends or male peers in order to boost their value within the dominant male group. Artz (1998) applied this interpretation to the behavior of white working class adolescent females in Canada, while Nurge (2000) applied this explanation to Black and Hispanic female adolescents living in inner-city neighborhoods of Boston (Nurge, 2000) (see Table 3-2, #1).

The second factor involves Nurge’s (2000) version of gendered respect. According to Nurge, a show of disrespect resulting from an accusation of promiscuity by one female toward another is one possible point of conflict. Nurge reported that among adolescent urban females, if one young woman develops a reputation (deserved or undeserved) for promiscuous sexual activity, she may be at risk for losing the respect of male and female peers, and may be required by the larger community to become involved in violence to restore her reputation. Without invoking the concept of the Code of the Street, Artz (1998) provides examples of gendered respect among white working class adolescent females in Canada (see Table 3-2, #2).

Third, female-unique socialization patterns that emphasize the value of interpersonal relationships (Chodorow, 1978; Gilligan, 1993) may increase the risk that

females will become involved in violence with other females in the service of protecting the reputation of friends and family. While no studies have assessed the link between the value placed on interpersonal relationships and intragender violence, research conducted at the cross-cultural level has identified defending family members as a top reason for female aggression (Burbank 1987b). Thus, it is likely that socialization patterns unique to women of diverse cultures and socioeconomic classes contribute to the use of violence (see Table 3-2, #3).

The fourth factor focuses on sexual harassment or "resistance to objectification" (Adams, 1999). According to Adams' (1999) case study, working class young women of diverse races and ethnicities responded to acts of sexual harassment with violence. For this group of females fighting has been equated with gaining access to power and control of their bodies and femininity (see Table 3-2, #4).

The Interaction of Gender and Class

Disadvantaged females across diverse ethnicities/races face additional sources of strain and subsequent adaptations. In addition to facing the four female-specific adaptations described above, disadvantaged females are likely to face five additional adaptations: three are female-specific (serial monogamy/player behavior, parentification, oppositional instrumental aggression) and two are gender-neutral (personal respect and self-help strategies).

First, the increase in rates of male under and unemployment and the decline in rates of long-term intimate relationships have contributed to the subsequent pattern of serial monogamy by Black and Latina females and player behavior by their male counterparts (Freudenberg et al., 1999; Oliver, 1989b). It is likely that these processes

intensify female competition over males and eventual intragender violence (See Table 3-2, #5).

Second, with the aftermath of deindustrialization and absence of conventional means to earn success, securing and maintaining personal respect (for males and females) has become a central concern and worth fighting for (Table 3-2, #6).

Third, social isolation and lack of faith in mainstream institutions and the police, in particular, have contributed to the emergence of self-help strategies shared by disadvantaged members of diverse ethnic/racial groups (Dodson, 1998). Consequently, some females (and males) are likely to take matters into their own hands, resorting to violence when necessary and socializing their children to do the same (See Table 3-2, #7).

Fourth, some disadvantaged females (more so than males) are assigned adult responsibilities at a young age (Dodson, 1998; Taylor et al., 1995). In disadvantaged communities with resource-poor schools teachers often fail to understand the daily realities of the girls' lives (i.e. hours of chores and care-giving and taking responsibilities), and consequently punish them for poor school performance. Eventually some young women reject public school as a measure of self worth and adapt by emphasizing alternative measures of status that include boyfriends, reproductive success, respect (gendered and gender-neutral) and material resources (gendered and gender-neutral). These revised measures of self worth become sources of competition between females and likely increase the risk of intragender female violence (see Table 3-2, #8).

The fifth factor involves the use of instrumental aggression. This type of aggression is characterized by the use of provocative threats and posturing used in an effort to prevent victimization. Circumstances of poverty, social disorganization,

disconnection from school and high rates of victimization have contributed to the use of instrumental aggression by some women (Campbell, 1999) (Table 3-2, #9).

The Interaction of Gender, Class and Race

Black women experience the cumulative (or multiplicative) effects of being female, disadvantaged and Black. In addition to the sources of strain and subsequent adaptations described above, Black females are faced with four additional barriers that likely increase the intensity of intragender female competition and eventual violence.

The first factor involves the impact of reduced rates of marriage on members of disadvantaged Black communities. As discussed earlier, the rates of marriage among members of disadvantaged Black communities decreased dramatically over the past two decades, which in turn, contributed to adaptations (e.g., serial monogamy) that likely increase the risk of female-on-female violence. While reduced rates of marriage also have impacted disadvantaged members of other ethnic groups (Bachrach et al., 2000), the decline in marriage rates among poor Black families has been by far the most dramatic (Wilson, 1996). According to Wilson (1996), the decline in marriage rates among poor Blacks is a consequence of the interaction of economic forces (e.g., reduced opportunities for employment) and attitudes toward marriage held by members of poor Black communities. Historically, poor Black families have been less invested in marriage than members of the middle class or other minorities of the lower class; given the unavailability of steady employment for low-income Black males, many Black low-income females have chosen not to marry. In addition, members of the Black community traditionally have placed a high value on motherhood and children and historically have rejected the idea of abortion (Browning et al., 1999; Ladner, 1971; Stack, 1974). These

factors, combined with the slim possibility of marriage, have contributed to the emergence of norms that have not stigmatized having a child outside of marriage to nearly the same degree as in middle class society. Instead, reduced rates of marriage and having children outside of marriage have been viewed by poor Black women as reasonable adaptations to poverty (Browning et al., 1999, Stack, 1974). As demonstrated in this chapter, however, these adaptations subsequently have contributed to poverty and patterns of behavior (e.g., serial monogamy, tensions between mothers and daughters, and between mothers and sons' girlfriends) that likely increase the risk of female-on-female violence

It is likely that for other economically disadvantaged groups, the presence of marriage removes some potential sources of conflict (e.g., serial monogamy) that may increase the risk of female-on-female violence. Wilson (1996), for example, reports that Mexican immigrant inner-city residents are more likely than Black residents to maintain a patriarchal view of the family, to succumb to community pressure to marry and to consider having a child outside of marriage unacceptable (although extramarital affairs have been tolerated). According to Wilson (1996), these cultural norms toward marriage are linked to and reflect structural realities. In comparison to their Black counterparts, Mexican residents maintain a stronger attachment to the work force and maintain a higher standard of living than poor inner-city Blacks. It is possible that different structural and cultural patterns characteristic of Mexican and Black inner-city residents have differential risks for female-on-female violence (see Table 3-2, #10).

The second factor that may increase the risk of female-on-female violence among Black women in particular involves the use of self-help strategies. Historical

discrimination has contributed to the emergence of socialization patterns that focus on these strategies. As a consequence, some young Black women display an assertive and confident attitude and consider asking for help a sign of weakness. Given the forces of pervasive historic discrimination, it is plausible that male and female members of Black communities have a greater propensity than other disadvantaged minority groups to adopt self-help behaviors (see Table 3-2, #11).

A third factor that impacts disadvantaged Black women, in particular, involves their desire to protect Black men from the dangers posed by the wider society. Young Black women interviewed by Dodson (1998), for example, referred to Black males as “endangered” by the larger society and under great pressure to “be a man” in a world replete with racism. Thus, to prevent re-victimizing Black men, some Black women tolerate behaviors that disadvantaged females of other ethnicities likely would consider unacceptable (Richie, 1996). Several women interviewed by Dodson (1998, p. 80) admitted to accepting the Black man’s need for “sexual conquest” or “dog” behavior as part of his effort to demonstrate manhood. It is likely that given the larger context of racism and poverty, some Black women hold ambivalent attitudes toward “sexual conquest” behaviors that contribute to tensions, horizontal oppression, and eventual violence between females (see Table 3-2, #12).

The fourth factor specific to Black females involves their ability to access and express anger. According to Taylor and colleagues (1995), this ability has emerged as a consequence of a socialization process shaped by the forces of discrimination that emphasize autonomy, independence and taking care of oneself. For Black females residing in disadvantaged communities where the use of violence among some residents

is normative and at times required for survival, the threshold required to turn anger into physical aggression may be reduced thereby increasing the risk of female-on-female violence (see Table 3-2, #13).

To the extent that Black females and their families lack institutional support, have ancestors or themselves have been victims of discrimination, and struggle to protect their male counterparts from further victimization, processes involving self-help behaviors and horizontal oppression may be intensified, ultimately contributing to the risk of female-on-female violence.

In sum, it is likely that disadvantaged Black women are at risk for involvement in female-on-female violence because they experience the cumulative effects related to being a female, economically disadvantaged and Black simultaneously. Clearly, female-on-female violence must be understood within the context of gender, class and race.

B. Limitation #2: The Need For An Integrated Theory of Female-on-Female Assault

The second limitation outlined earlier in this chapter focuses on the shortage of theories of intragender female assault that include relevant constructs drawn from gender-neutral and gender-specific theories. *Gendered Social Structural Strain Theory* described in this chapter addresses the limitations of past theories by incorporating female-specific and gender-neutral constructs into a single theory. Gender-specific dimensions focus on female gendered culturally-defined adaptations to blocked goals as well as intervening mechanisms that shape pathways and magnitude of the effects of relevant factors. The gender-neutral component focuses on sources of culturally-defined adaptations to blocked goals for both males and females.

Gender-specific constructs are based on feminist theory and insights gleaned from gender studies. It is expected that these factors will shape adaptations proximate to intragender female violence across numerous contexts: sexual rivalry over male intimates, competition over valued resources and gendered respect, and patterns of relational self-help. Gender-neutral constructs are based on the concept of personal respect, self-help, and resources. In accordance with the social structural strain perspective all constructs are based on cultural adaptations that emerge in response to blocked opportunities. In the following chapter research hypotheses for female-on-female injury drawn from the proposed "*Theory of Gendered Structural Strain Theory*" will be reviewed

CHAPTER 4. RESEARCH HYPOTHESES

I. Introduction

A theme woven throughout the last chapter is whether intragender female assault is most effectively explained by female-specific and/or gender-neutral constructs. It is worth repeating the distinction between female-specific and gender-neutral theories used in this dissertation.

A theory is categorized as "female specific" if the theory meets two criteria. First, the theory originally was developed based on female gendered assumptions. Second, research results have uncovered characteristics or underlying motivations unique to female involvement in violence that in some way distinguishes female violence from male violence. Distinguishing factors may involve causal or intervening factors. For example, lack of institutional support and historical racism may contribute to the use of violence by both Black males and females. Females, however, may be more likely to use under some circumstances because of socialization patterns that focus on care-taking and maintaining interpersonal connections. In contrast, males may be more likely to use violence under these circumstances to meet "male-specific" needs such as validation of one's manhood. In this dissertation the defining attribute of female-specific is the identification of a theory or corollary that provides an explanation for violence that is distinct for females compared to males.

In contrast to female-specific theories, "gender-neutral" theories do not include assumptions specific to gender and applications to date have not identified female-specific components. Scholars who have tested gender-neutral theories emphasize

similarities in participation in crime by both genders and support the application of theories originally developed with males to the study of female violence.

According to the proposed *Theory of Gendered Social Structural Strain*, a study of intragender female assault requires a blended theory that includes both female gender-specific and gender-neutral constructs. For example, research results demonstrate that the structural-cultural approach is applicable to violence by males and females, but adaptations to strain have both gender-neutral and female-specific dimensions. For instance, given adherence to the gendered double standard, sexual rivalry that results from the shortage of marriageable males (Oliver, 1989b) is classified as female-specific. Personal respect is considered gender-neutral (Anderson, 1999) while respect lost as a consequence of a female's tainted sexual reputation (Nurge, 1999) is considered female-specific.

Throughout this dissertation female-specific and gender-neutral theories have been discussed within the context of comparisons between male and female use of violence. For example, a factor defined as female specific takes into account gender differences and explains a female-unique phenomenon. In contrast, gender-neutral factors affect males and females similarly.

The research design applied in this dissertation provides the unique opportunity to test hypotheses derived from *Gendered Social Structural Strain Theory* by comparing females intentionally injured by non-partner females with females intentionally injured by non-partner males. Individuals injured by sexual partners (past and current) are excluded from this analysis.

If the proposed *Theory of Gendered Social Structural Strain* explains intragender female assault, but not cross-gender assault, then the need for a separate gendered theory will be demonstrated. It is expected that variables, which measure female-specific concepts, will distinguish between violent injuries to females by female antagonists and by male antagonists, respectively. When the gender of the antagonist varies, it is expected that gender-neutral concepts will require gendered corollaries that will distinguish between female-on-female violence and male-on-female violence. The defining characteristic of a gender-neutral factor is the absence of research that points to gender differences in the use of violence. Past studies, however, typically do not take into account the gender of the opposing party. The assumption underlying a comparative analysis of cross-gender and intragender violence is that all concepts are gendered.

II. Study Hypotheses

The research hypotheses for female-on-female injury will be drawn from *Gendered Social Structural Strain Theory*. This theory is based on strain theory and the structural-cultural perspective and integrates cultural adaptations drawn from feminist theory and gender studies (Chesney-Lind, 1988; Heimer and DeCoster, 1999) and the Code of the Street perspective (Anderson, 1994, 1999; Nurge, 2000). Adherence to these adaptations is expected to increase the risk of female-on-female violence compared to male-on-female violence.

As described in the previous chapter, feminist theory and insights from gender studies are considered female-specific; and the Code of the Street perspective is categorized as gender-neutral with a female-specific corollary. Study hypotheses are drawn from these theoretical perspectives. Brief reviews of feminist theory, findings

from gender studies, and insights from the Code of the Street perspective are discussed below.

Strain and Feminist Theory/Gender-Studies: Female-Specific Adaptations

In response to structural strain, female-specific adaptations emerge in response to three blocked goals. These goals include: (1) marriage or a long-term male intimate partner relationship, (2) academic and occupational success, and (3) safety and protection of oneself and one's family/friends. Three issues drawn from feminist theory and gender studies are expected to shape female-gendered adaptations to these goals and, in turn, increase the risk of female-on-female violence compared to male-on-female violence. These issues include: (1) the impact of adherence to patriarchal norms; (2) the impact of the unequal distribution of opportunities for economic success among females compared to males and the subsequent overrepresentation of females among the disadvantaged; and (3) the role of interpersonal relationships in the lives of males and females.

Strain and the Code of the Street Perspective: Gender-Neutral and Female-Specific Adaptations

In response to barriers to academic and occupational success, gender-neutral adaptations have emerged. The Code of the Street perspective offers a framework for understanding gender-neutral adaptations as well as an additional female-specific adaptation.

The key value shared by males and females is the importance of maintaining personal respect. With few traditional means to earn status (e.g., employment, family provider), personal respect among both males and females has become a commodity worth fighting over. Once one's self worth is challenged, it is necessary for the

disrespected woman to meet the challenge with physical aggression or aggressive words that likely increase the risk of escalation to violence. According to Anderson (1990), conflict and competition over respect, is likely to be emphasized during the adolescent years when issues related to identity formation and self-esteem are highly operative. In accordance with women's adherence to the Code of the Street, it is expected that female-on-female assault will be characterized by mutual participation. That is, both participants (victim and offender) actively contribute to the violent outcome. Moreover, it is expected that presence of witnesses will intensify the need to fight back to save face and subsequently will increase the risk of violence.

In addition to gender-neutral adaptations, Nurge (2000) identified a female-specific corollary of respect. She found that some young women, when accused of promiscuous activity feel compelled to become involved in assault against the accuser in order to restore their reputations in the eyes of both male and female peers.

A Partial Test of Gendered Social Structural Strain Theory

The hypotheses that follow serve as a partial test of *Gendered Social Structural Strain Theory*. Data measuring goals, sources of strain and intervening mechanisms were not collected as part of the emergency department data set. The hypotheses, therefore, are based on adaptations that are likely to increase the risk of intragender violence. For the purposes of this empirical test carried out in this dissertation, it is assumed that structural strain leads to blocked goals which, in turn, result in adaptations that intensify the risk for female-on-female violence. The rationale for this assumption is that the target community chosen for this study is characterized by structural disadvantage. A complete description of the community is given in Chapter 5.

Research Hypotheses

The research hypotheses are summarized in Table 4-1. They are based on adaptations to strain and are drawn from the Code of the Street perspective, Feminist Theory and insights from gender studies. Each hypothesis is labeled and presented according to two major constructs: culturally-defined female-specific adaptations that emerge in response to blocked goals; and culturally-defined gender-neutral adaptations that emerge (independent of gender) in response to blocked opportunities. In the section that follows an explanation for each hypothesis is provided.

Table 4-1: Summary of Research Hypotheses and Theoretical Derivations

<i>HYPOTHESES TITLES</i>	<i>THEORETICAL DERIVATION</i>
<u>FEMALE SPECIFIC</u>	
Player Hypothesis	Feminist Theory
Gender-Centric Concerns Hypothesis	Feminist Theory
Interpersonal-Concerns Hypothesis	Gender Studies
Relational-Protection Hypothesis	Gender Studies/ Gendered Code of the Street
Deference-Aggression Hypothesis	Feminist Theory/Gender Studies
Female-Valued Resource Hypotheses	Feminist Theory
<u>GENDER-NEUTRAL</u>	
Personal Respect Hypothesis	Code of the Street
Mutual Contribution Hypothesis	Code of the Street
Public-View Hypothesis	Code of the Street
Life Cycle Hypothesis	
a) age of respondent	Code of the Street
b) age of antagonist	Code of the Street

1. Culturally-defined Female-Specific Adaptations to Blocked Goals

a. Player Hypothesis

Females presenting for emergency department (ED) care for violent injuries by females are more likely to become involved in violence for reasons related to male player behavior than females presenting for ED care for violent injuries by males.

Hypothesis Rationale

In accordance with the feminist component of *Gendered Social Structural Strain Theory*, the potential for female-on-female assault is exaggerated by the demographic scarcity of eligible male intimate partners and findings that some males pursue multiple sexual partners. One adaptation involves intensified sexual rivalry for male intimate partners and increased risk for intragender female violence. Intragender violence that results as a consequence of player behavior is an indication that the female antagonist (the woman being played) adheres to patriarchal norms. Instead of targeting her anger toward the male she displaces her feelings onto the rival female.

On the contrary, females fighting for reasons related to male player behavior are less likely to be involved in a cross-gender violent event because points of conflict likely involve the women's attempt to secure a male intimate. This is not a likely concern for non-partner males who assault women.

b. Gender-Centric Concerns Hypothesis

Females presenting for ED care for violent injuries by females are more likely to be injured because of conflict over intimates, reproductive issues or accusations about promiscuous sexual activity than females presenting to ED care for violent injuries by males.

Hypothesis Rationale

In accordance with the female-specific corollary of the Code of the Street component of *Gendered Social Structural Strain Theory*, this hypothesis is based on adaptations to blocked opportunities to academic and occupational achievement. Adaptations include emphasizing and competing over culturally-defined goals including intimate partners, reproductive success and an untainted sexual reputation. Given the importance and emotional intensity related to this set of adaptations, arguments can turn violent.

It is not expected that male-on-female violence will occur over competition for culturally-defined measures of female success (e.g., intimate partners, reproductive success, sexual reputation) because these concerns are unlikely to be sources of competition between participants involved in non-intimate cross-gender assault. However, it is possible that some males may injure females as a consequence of rejection.

c. Relational-Protection Hypothesis

Females presenting for ED care for violent injuries by females are more likely to be injured by female antagonists who are protecting/defending friends or family than are females presenting for ED care for violent injuries by male antagonists.

Hypothesis Rationale

In accordance with the Code of the Street approach and the gender studies research, this hypothesis is based on blocked opportunities to safety that result from limited institutional support. According to findings from gender studies, female-specific socialization patterns that center on preserving interpersonal relationships combined with adherence to “self-help” strategies shape females’ adaptations to blockages to safety. One adaptation includes a tendency to take matters into one’s own hands and a readiness to use violence to protect friends and family members.

In accordance with *Gendered Social Structural Strain Theory* male antagonists are less likely than female antagonists’ to engage in violence against a female over relational protection because of the gendered difference in socialization patterns that center on taking care of others.

d. Interpersonal-Concerns Hypothesis

Females presenting for ED care for violent injuries by females are more likely to be injured for reasons relating to Interpersonal-Concerns (issues over being liked or rumors, gossip) than females presenting for ED care for violent injuries by male antagonists.

In accordance with the female-specific component of *Gendered Social Structural Strain Theory*, this hypothesis is based on the centrality of interpersonal relationships in the lives of females. It is likely that adaptations to blocked opportunities involve sources of competition that extend beyond intimate partners to interpersonal concerns more generally. These include incidents involving issues of not being liked as well as rumors and gossip. Research indicates that females are more likely than males to be oriented

interpersonally (Crick and Dodge, 1994). Consequently female-on-female violence is expected to involve issues of interpersonal concerns.

It is not expected that male-on-female violence will occur over interpersonal concerns to the same extent as female-on-female violence. Interpersonal issues are likely to be a major concern of male antagonists.

e. **Deference-Aggression Hypothesis**

Females presenting for ED care for violent injuries by females are more likely to be involved in short-term, uncommitted male intimate partner relationships (less than 9 months, and female is single and does not cohabit with a male intimate partner) than females presenting for ED care for violent injuries by male antagonists.

Hypothesis Rationale

In accordance with the feminist component of *Gendered Social Structural Strain Theory*, this hypothesis is based on females' adaptations to blocked opportunities for relationships with male intimate partners, as well as blockages to academic and occupational success. With limited means to earn success, securing a boyfriend assumes increased importance. Consequently, competition between females intensifies over male intimate partners.

Consistent with this perspective, Campbell (1995) and Campbell and colleagues (1998) maintains that some women who are involved in short-term, uncommitted intimate relationships are likely to target their jealousy toward the female rival instead of the intimate for fear of driving away the male intimate. Adherence to the gendered double standard is likely to increase the female's risk of involvement in intragender violence. Consistent with the double standard, the slighted female's use of violence

allows her to punish the rival female for unacceptable behavior and to boost her position within the dominant male group (Nurge, 2000). In accordance with the importance assigned to interpersonal relationships among females, by targeting the female instead of the male she also preserves her current relationship with the male or the opportunity for a future relationship.

In contrast, females involved in short-term, uncommitted male intimate partner relationships are less likely to be involved in cross-gender violent events with non-intimate males because points of conflict involve the women's attempt to establish a relationship with a male intimate. This is not a likely concern for non-partner males who assault women.

f. Female-Valued Resource Hypothesis

Females presenting for ED care for violent injuries by other females are more likely to sustain an injury to the face than females presenting for ED care for violent injuries by males.

Hypothesis Rationale

In accordance with the feminist orientation of *Gendered Social Structural Strain Theory*, this hypothesis is based on adaptations to blocked opportunities to academic and occupational success, which in turn shift the focus to competition over males. Rivalry is expected to intensify among women who adhere to patriarchal norms and/or face severe barriers to economic success.

In accordance with Campbell's (1995) discussion of valued goods, it is possible that women who display resources that are of interest to other women will provoke feelings of envy and at times conflict and violence. Campbell (1995) suggests that

female-on-female violent events involve “epigamic” selection that contributes to intragender competition. This process refers to the display of particular attributes that are valued by males and focus on physical attractiveness (e.g., hair, nails). Thus, it is expected that female-on-female assault will involve injuries to the face. Injury to the face may be a strategy used to reduce a rival female’s physical attractiveness by damaging those qualities valued by potential males.

On the contrary, injuries to females by males are less likely to occur to the face. This is not is not a likely concern for non-partner males who assault women.

2. Culturally-Defined Gender-Neutral Adaptations to Blocked Goals

a. Personal Respect Hypothesis

Females presenting for ED care for violent injuries are more likely to be injured because of violence over personal respect (defined by fighting in response to a verbal insult, threat or slight, or to prove one’s ability to stand up for oneself) than females presenting for ED care for violent injuries by males.

Hypothesis Rationale

In accordance with the Code of the Street component of *Gendered Social Structural Strain Theory* this hypothesis is based on adaptations to blocked opportunities to academic and occupational success. This adaptation elevates the value of personal respect in the absence of opportunities to achieve obtain material goods, academic or occupational success.

According to the Code of the Street perspective and its application to both women and men, it is expected that intragender assault commonly occurs over personal respect defined by fighting in response to a verbal assault, slight or provocation (e.g., name

calling, looks of disrespect) (Baskin and Sommers, 1998; Nurge, 2000). Within the context of a poor urban community, female intragender assault presumably involves a relatively equal playing field and a cultural imperative to fight back in order to save face.

Although this hypothesis is categorized as gender-neutral, it is expected that when the gender of the antagonist varies, a female-specific corollary will be present. The likelihood of a cross-gender conflict turning into a violent event is expected to be less likely because identity concerns for participants may not be as salient.

b. Mutual-Contribution Hypothesis

Females presenting for ED care for violent injuries by females are more likely to actively contribute to the violent outcome by using physical or verbal provocation and are more likely to fight back than females presenting for ED care for injuries by males.

Hypothesis Rationale

Consistent with the Code of the Street component of *Gendered Social Structural Strain Theory*, this hypothesis is based on blocked opportunities to academic and occupational success. Subsequently, females adapt by adhering to culturally-defined goals set forth by the Code of the Street. According to the Code, once one's self worth is challenged, it is necessary for the disrespected women to meet the challenge with physical aggression or aggressive words that likely increase the risk of escalation to violence. Thus, both participants (victim and offender) are expected to actively contribute to the violent outcome.

Although this hypothesis is categorized as gender-neutral, it is expected that when the gender of the antagonist varies, a female-specific corollary will be present. It is not

likely that females injured by males will be characterized by the same degree of active, mutual involvement by female participants. Given the size and strength differential between most men and women, and the absence of a cultural imperative or group expectation that a woman fight back against a male antagonist, it is unlikely that a woman will become involved in violence for reasons beyond self-defense.

c. Public-View Hypothesis

Females presenting for ED care for violent injuries by females are more likely be injured in conflicts characterized by the presence of bystanders than females presenting for ED care for violent injuries by males.

Hypothesis Rationale

In accordance with the Code of the Street component of *Gendered Social Structural Strain Theory*, this hypothesis is based on adaptations to blocked opportunities for academic and occupational success. Subsequently, young females place increased emphasis on obtaining culturally-defined measures of success in order to maintain a sense of self worth.

Consistent with the Code of the Street, the presence of third parties is expected to contribute to the escalation of intragender violence irrespective of gender by increasing the probability of face-saving retaliation. In public there is an obligation to fight back in order to save face. This hypothesis is consistent with research by Felson (1982) who demonstrated that the presence of third parties increases the severity of conflict when participants are of the same gender.

Although this hypothesis is categorized as gender-neutral, it is expected that when the gender of the antagonist varies, a female-specific corollary will be present. The

presence of third parties is not expected to enhance the severity of conflict involving cross-gender violent events because the audience is likely to disapprove of male assault against females (Felson, 1982).

d. Life Cycle Hypotheses

Females presenting for ED care for violent injuries by females are more likely to be under the age of 24 than females presenting for ED care for violent injuries by males.

In addition, females presenting for violent injuries by females are more likely to be injured by an antagonist(s) who is (are) within 5 years of the respondents' age than females presenting for ED care for violent injuries by males.

Hypothesis Rationale

In accordance with Code of the Street component of *Gendered Social Structural Strain Theory*, this hypothesis is based on adaptations to blocked opportunities to academic and occupational success. Subsequently, females place increased emphasis on obtaining culturally-defined measures of success.

According to research findings, younger women and men are more likely to be involved in intragender assault than older women and men. Female and male intragender competition may be present over the life course. However, conflict and competition are likely to be emphasized during the adolescent years when issues related to identity formation and self-esteem are highly operative. Arrest and self-report studies on female intragender assault document that younger females (under 24 years of age) more frequently assault females than males (Campbell et al, 1998). Moreover, females injured

by other females are most commonly injured by age peers or acquaintances (Campbell et al, 1998; *Home Office Statistical Bulletin*, 1996; Maccoby, 1988).

Although this hypothesis is categorized as gender-neutral, it is expected that when the gender of the antagonist varies, a female-specific corollary will be present. It is expected that females injured by females will be younger because during the earlier years females are expected to compete over sources of status including males, babies and respect.

In contrast, females who are younger will be less likely to be involved in cross-gender violence. Older females compared to younger females by virtue of their status in the life cycle are likely to be exposed to a different set of risk factors (e.g., risky lifestyle) that may increase their risk of injury by a male non-intimate.

CHAPTER 5. METHODS

I. INTRODUCTION

In the previous two chapters, theoretical constructs of *Gendered Social Structural Strain Theory* were outlined and hypotheses generated. This chapter details methods that will be employed to answer the main empirical question posed in Chapter 4: Are the same and/or different factors correlated with intentional injuries inflicted upon females by non-partner females and by non-partner males respectively. The chapter also will include methods used for the descriptive analyses and for generating further theory development.

This study is a secondary analysis. Data were drawn from a study of females presenting to one of three emergency departments in West Philadelphia for intentional injuries. In the original study "intentional injury" was defined as any physical pain or damage (including rape) that was intentionally inflicted by another person. Any altercation that resulted in injury was considered a violent injury regardless of whether the injured person instigated the altercation. A violent incident that caused physical pain but no apparent physical damage was considered an injury. Verbal aggression did not constitute a violent injury (Grisso, 1995).

The remainder of this chapter is comprised of three main sections. The first section describes methods employed in original study. Topics include: A) the study population and neighborhood characteristics; B) selection of emergency departments; C) inclusion and exclusion criteria for study participants; D) selection methods for study participants; E) procedures used to identify intentionally injured women and to collect data; F) description of the original study sample; G) and a brief description of the data set.

The second section describes methods used in the secondary analysis. Topics include the following: A) selection criteria and description of the sample; B) operationalization of concepts; C) a description of concepts and measures used for hypothesis testing; D) a description of concepts and measures used for descriptive purposes; E) a description of the analysis plan and F) potential limitations of a secondary data analysis and proposed remedies.

II. ORIGINAL STUDY

A. Study Population and Community Characteristics

The target community for the original study included the entire West Philadelphia community. In 1990, this population was estimated to include 301,598 individuals. Seventy percent of the West Philadelphia population was comprised of Black residents, 28 percent were white and two percent were Asian. Less than 1 percent were Hispanic (Grisso, 1995).

A previous study of violent injuries to women in West Philadelphia known as *The Philadelphia Injury Prevention Program (PIPP)* demonstrated the extent of violent injuries to West Philadelphia residents during the late 1980's and early 1990's. *PIPP* established a population-based emergency department surveillance system that focused on 17 (of the 22) census tracts within West Philadelphia (Schwarz et al., 1993). The study documented the incidence of fatal and nonfatal injuries in this community based on a review of all medical records. In 1987, the first year of surveillance, 3,083 injuries occurred to 2,811 women living in the census tracts under investigation, representing a rate of 21.4 per 1,000 women. By 1990, the rate increased by 55 percent to 33.2 per 1,000 women. During 1990, violence was the leading cause of death in this population.

The risk of violent injury to women between 25 and 34 years of age was 26 times higher than among women 65 years of age or older. Between 1987 and 1990, rates of violent injury among women 25 to 29 years old increased annually per 1,000 women from approximately 50 (in 1987), 60 (in 1988), 70 (in 1989), and 90 (in 1990) (Schwarz et al., 1993).

According to the *PIPP* study, violent injury rates in women were three to four times greater in West Philadelphia compared to a population-based study in the Midwest (Fife et al., 1984). During the first two years of the study falls were the leading cause of injury morbidity. By 1989, however, violent injuries surpassed all others as the leading cause of injury (Schwarz et al., 1993). Over the four-year study period, the rate of reported injuries due to interpersonal violence increased by 55 percent, with no declines in the rate of unintentional injuries. Based on this finding the authors argue that the dramatic increase represents a real increase rather than an increase in willingness to report the injury (Grisso et al., 1996).

Information drawn from several data sources characterizes the West Philadelphia Community as structurally disadvantaged. The data presented include: demographic, social and economic data collected by the 1990 U.S. Census; disease data collected by the Philadelphia Health Department in 1990; and violent crime and drug crime data collected by the Philadelphia Police Department in 1992. For each variable rates of occurrence were calculated based on the population living in each census tract (Yancy et al., 1995).

Table 5-1 includes a comparison of West Philadelphia Community ("West") indicators (N=67 census tracts) to Philadelphia tracts exclusive of West Philadelphia tracts or the "Greater" Philadelphia community (N=307).

*Table 5-1: A Comparative Analysis of Study (West Philadelphia)
Community and Philadelphia Community (Greater)*

<i>Indicator</i>	<i>West</i>	<i>Greater</i>	<i>Ratio of West: Greater</i>
% Black	71	32	2.2
% Below Poverty Level	28	19	1.5
% Teenage Mothers (under 19 yrs. old)	10	6	1.7
% Single Parent Households	56	37	1.5
% Babies Born with Low-Weight	13	9	1.4
% Mothers with Inadequate Prenatal Care	17	8	2.1
Tuberculosis Rate per 10,000	25	19	1.3
Syphilis Rate per 10,000	43	13	3.3
Drug Arrest Rate per 1,000	8	5	1.6
Violent Arrest Rate per 1,000	9	3	3.0

By every measure presented the census tracts that comprise the West Philadelphia community reveal higher rates (by at least 1.3 times) of poverty, disease, and crime compared to the greater Philadelphia community. Almost 30 percent of West Philadelphia residents live below the poverty level, 1.5 times the rate of the rest of Philadelphia. Over one half of the West Philadelphia families are headed by single parents, 1.5 times the rate representative of the greater Philadelphia area. The rate of syphilis is more than triple the rate of the remaining Philadelphia neighborhoods. A significant minority (17%) of West Philadelphia pre-partum residents failed to receive adequate prenatal care. The results indicate that West Philadelphia, compared to the greater Philadelphia area, is characterized by structural disadvantage. Research has shown significant correlations between rates of poverty and rates of disease, violence and inadequate access to health services (Yancy et al., 1995). This suggests that communities characterized by high rates of poverty are accompanied by hardships and tensions brought about by disease, crime and limited access to health services.

B. Selection of Emergency Departments

The original study was carried out at three hospital emergency departments: the Hospital of the University of Pennsylvania, Presbyterian-University of Pennsylvania Medical Center, and the Misericordia Division of the Mercy Catholic Medical Center. The selection of EDs was based on *PIPP* surveillance data, which documented that 90 percent of all interpersonal intentional injuries that occurred to women seeking services were treated at these three hospital emergency departments. Given that these are the only adult hospitals located in West Philadelphia, it was expected that the majority of women from West Philadelphia who sought emergency care for violent injuries would be identified. However, some women with violence-related injuries may present to primary care settings rather than EDs. A survey of primary care practitioners and clinics in West Philadelphia revealed that fewer than 5 percent of clinicians reported providing care for acute injuries in those settings (Grisso, 1995).

Emergency departments (EDs) were chosen as the site for identifying subjects for several reasons. First, the hospital ED is important to the health care of poor inner-city women because of the relative scarcity of accessible primary health care services in the community. Given the 24-hour availability and access to services regardless of insurance status, the ED may be the most common site of health care for women from West Philadelphia. Second, given the recency of the injury, data collection in the ED was expected to minimize possible inaccurate recall attributable to conducting a prevalence survey in the community or in other health care settings. Third, the results of this study can be used to develop programs to improve recognition and treatment and secondary prevention of violence in EDs that extends to women injured by non-intimates.

A study of violence based on emergency department visits does not permit accurate assessment of rates of violence to women. Some violent incidents, for example, do not result in physical injury and would not be identified in an ED-based study. The purpose of this investigation is to identify important correlates for violence that results in injury. It is this group who is at great risk for subsequent severe violent injuries and thus, constitutes an important group to identify (Grisso et al., 1995).

C. Inclusion and Exclusion Criteria for Study Participants

Table 5-2 : Inclusion/Exclusion Criteria

<u>Eligible Participants</u>	<u>Ineligible Participants</u>
Intentionally injured by another person	Non-English speaking
Resident of West Philadelphia	Major acute psychosis
Aged 16 to 45 years old	Repeat visit to the ED

Participants for the original study included women between 16 and 45 years of age because *PIPP* surveillance data demonstrated that violent injury rates were highest for women in this age range (Schwarz et al., 1993). In the original study eligibility was restricted to residence in West Philadelphia for two reasons that are equally applicable to this dissertation. First, ED use generally is determined by the need for emergency care or geographic ease of access, and women who have come long distances for treatment are probably referred from community hospitals or physicians and may be an unrepresentative group. Second, the purpose of the study was to characterize violence in a defined inner-city community (Grisso, 1995).

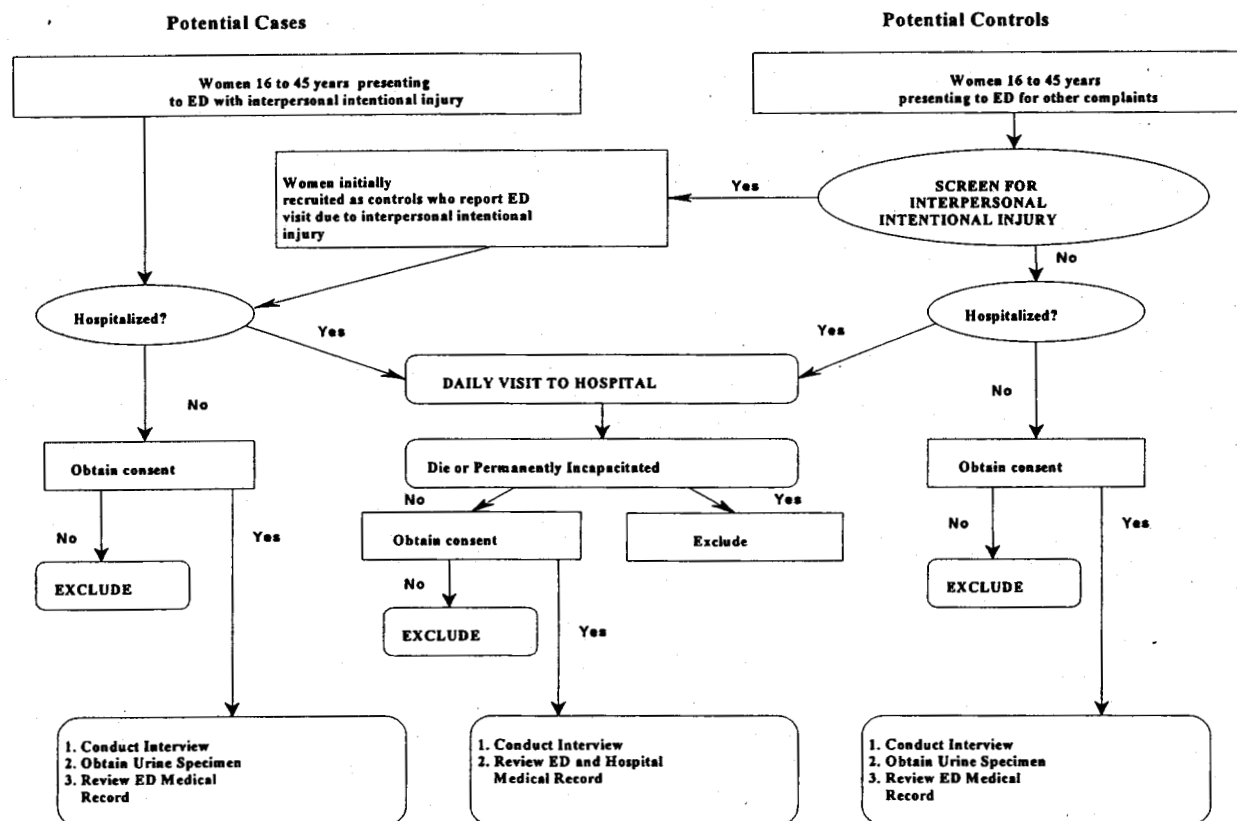
Non-English speaking females were excluded because of logistical difficulties

involving translation of the interview instrument. Actively psychotic women also were excluded on the basis that it may be difficult to obtain accurate information and the interview process would likely be a very stressful experience. The last exclusion criterion involved women who had previously participated in the study and returned to the ED as a result of a repeat injury. Women with a repeat visit were not eligible for participation because of the lack of independence between repeated interviews of the same individual.

D. Selection Methods for Study Participants

In the original study, "cases" refer to women who presented to one of the three emergency departments (EDs) for intentional injuries. Cases were compared with members of the "control group." Control group members included women seeking care at the same EDs because of other non-violent health concerns. Cases and controls were 16 to 45 years of age and resided in West Philadelphia (i.e. the urban community in which the three participating hospitals are located). Controls were randomly selected for participation in the study. Cases and controls were interviewed in the EDs to ensure safety and confidentiality and to minimize loss to follow-up. Interviews were conducted from October 1996 through August of 1998. Selection methods for the original study are described in Figure 5-1 (Grisso, 1995).

Figure 5.1: A Study of Violent Injuries in Women



E. Procedures Used to Identify Intentionally Injured Women and to Collect Data

Intentionally injured women were identified from two sources. The first included eligible women whose presenting complaint was an intentional injury. The second source included women initially recruited as controls who subsequently reported to the nurse interviewer that their ED visit was a result of intentional injuries.

In the original study each ED was staffed seven days a week by a nurse interviewer. The shift began at 5:00 p.m. and ended at 12:00 a.m. Potential participants were approached after a physician had completed an initial assessment. If the patient agreed, the nurse interviewer conducted a brief pre-enrollment interview to verify

eligibility criteria and to obtain informed consent. Any family members and friends (if present) were asked to leave and the interview was conducted in private. After the interview, a urine specimen was collected in order to test for the presence of alcohol or illicit drugs.

F. Description of Original Study Sample

A total of 911 women were identified who reported violent injuries to ED or study staff and 93 percent of the women identified were eligible to participate. Sixty-eight women (7%) were ineligible due to acute psychosis or cognitive impairment, departure from the emergency department before being seen, inability to communicate in English, or presence of custodial police officers in the emergency department that precluded a confidential interview. Of the 847 eligible cases, 700 women (88%) participated, 50 women (6%) declined to participate and 54 women (6%) were unable to be recruited because the interviewers were interviewing other subjects at the time. An additional forty-two women (5%) could not complete the entire interview and were excluded from the analysis.

Of the 700 women who presented to the ED for an intentional interpersonal injury and completed the interview, 167 (24%) reported having been injured by one or more females, including family member(s), acquaintance(s), friend(s) or stranger(s). And 155 (22%) injured women reported having been injured by one or more non-partner males, including family member(s), acquaintance(s), friend(s) or stranger(s). Seven females (1 percent) were injured by female intimate partners and 329 (47%) were injured by male intimate partners. Forty-two (6%) females were injured by mixed-gender groups.

G. Data Set

The data set from the original study includes characteristics of the respondent, intimate partner and relationship characteristics, and circumstances of the violent event. These data were collected with an interview instrument (see Appendix A). In addition, urine specimens were collected and screened for alcohol or illicit drugs. The variables selected for this study are detailed in Section IIIB below.

III. CURRENT STUDY

A. Selection Criteria and Description of Sample

Data for this dissertation was drawn from the case-control analysis of violent injuries to females presenting for emergency department care in West Philadelphia. Eligibility criteria for this study are similar to the original study. Participants include female residents of West Philadelphia who are between 16 and 45 years of age. However, participants for this study are restricted further to females injured by male or female non-intimates including family members (excluding spouses or common law partners), acquaintances, friends and strangers.

This study includes 322 study respondents, including 167 females injured by females and 155 females injured by males. This group of 322 comprises all females injured by non-partner male or female antagonists identified from the original study. Females injured by male or female intimate partners are excluded from the analysis based on the goal of this dissertation, which is to focus on the subgroup of females injured by non-intimate antagonists. Relatively few studies have focused on female intragender assault among predominantly Black women across a broad range of non-intimate relationships.

Women intentionally injured by mixed-gender groups are excluded from this study for several reasons. First, the nature and circumstances of mixed-gender violent interactions are likely to differ from female intragender assaults. When females collaborate with males, for example, they often take on auxiliary or secondary roles (Miller, 1998). This dynamic is likely to differ for females involved in intragender assault. The second factor involves the major aim of this study, which is to compare intragender and cross-gender assaults; including members of the mixed-gender group in either of the comparison groups would cloud the distinction between the two groups under investigation.

B. Operationalization of Concepts

Concepts and measures selected from the original data set for inclusion in the current study are summarized in Tables 5-3 and 5-4. Table 5-3 includes variables used for hypotheses testing. Table 5-4 includes additional variables used for descriptive purposes.

Part 1 below provides a rationale for operations outlined in Table 5-3. These include measures used to operationalize theoretical concepts of *Gendered Social Structural Strain Theory* and control variables. Part II includes brief variable descriptions for additional variables that are included in the descriptive analyses. Following each variable is a parenthesis that includes locator information drawn from the interview protocol (see Appendix A).

Table 5-3: Concepts and Measures Used For Hypotheses Testing

<i>CONCEPTS</i>	<i>OPERATIONAL MEASURES</i>	<i>THEORETICAL DERIVATION</i>	<i>CODING SCHEME</i>
<u>Female-Specific Components</u>			
Player Hypothesis	Incident involves a male who is flirting/ sexually involved with a rival female	Feminist Theory	1=yes, 0=no
Deference-Aggression Hypothesis	Intimate relationship of less than 9 months, single and not living together	Feminist Theory and Gender Studies	1=yes, 0=no
Gender-Centric Concerns Hypothesis	Incident over intimate, reproduction (having babies), sexual reputation	Feminist Theory	1=yes, 0=no
Interpersonal-Concerns Hypothesis	Incident over rumors, gossip and issues around being liked/disliked	Gender Studies	1=yes, 0=no
Relational-Protection Hypothesis	Incident over issues related to defending friends or family	Gendered Code of the Street and Gender Studies	1=yes, 0=no
Female-Valued Resource Hypothesis	Injury to the face	Feminist Theory	1=yes, 0=no
<u>Gender-Neutral Components</u>			
Life Cycle Hypothesis	Respondent's age less than 24 years old	Code of the street	1=<24 years old 0=24 years old or greater
Life Cycle Hypothesis	One of the antagonists is within 5 years of the study respondent's age	Code of the street	1=yes, 0=no
Personal Respect Hypothesis	Violence in response to verbal insult/slight or to prove self	Code of the street	1=yes, 0=no
Mutual Contribution Hypothesis	Respondent actively contributes to the violent event by using physical or verbal provocation and by fighting back	Code of the street	1=yes, 0=no
Public-View Hypothesis	Bystanders present	Code of the street	1=yes, 0=no

Table 5-3: Concepts and Measures Used For Hypotheses Testing (Continued)

<u>Control Variable Candidates</u>			
CONCEPTS	MEASURES	APPROACH/ THEORETICAL DERIVATION	CODING SCHEME
Socio-Economic Status	Receipt of public assistance	Economic Marginalization	1=yes, 0=no
Psychological Status	Low self-esteem	Psychiatric/Social-Psychological	1=yes, 0=no
Psychological Status	Depression	Psychiatric/Social-Psychological	1=yes, 0=no
Child Abuse	a) Physical abuse b) Physical abuse by mother c) Witness physical violence to mother-figure by father figure d) Sexual abuse	Victimization Approach	1=yes, 0=no
Past Violence	History of domestic violence	Victimization Approach Routine Activities /Lifestyle	1=yes, 0=no
Victim-Offender Relationship	Respondent-Antagonist Relationship	Situational	1=family members 2=friends 3=acquaintances 4=strangers
Co-Residence	Lives with antagonist	Routine Activities /Lifestyle	1=yes, 0=no
Violence by a male partner against someone exclusive of respondent	Recent partner violence toward others	Victimization Approach Routine Activities/Lifestyle	1=yes, 0=no
Educational Attainment	Level of education completed	Economic Marginalization	1=less than high school 2=completed high school 3=more than high school

Table 5-3: Concepts and Measures Used For Hypotheses Testing (Continued)

<u>Control Variable Candidates</u>			
<i>CONCEPTS</i>	<i>MEASURES</i>	<i>APPROACH/ THEORETICAL DERIVATION</i>	<i>CODING SCHEME</i>
Predatory Violence	Rape, robbery or theft led to injury	Routine Activities /Lifestyle	1=yes, 0=no
Substance use	Respondent used drugs within 4 hours of violent event	Routine Activities /Lifestyle; Victimization	1=yes, 0=no
	Respondent used alcohol within 4 hours of violent event	Routine Activities /Lifestyle; Victimization	1=yes, 0=no
	Respondent used drugs or alcohol within 4 hours of violent event	Routine Activities /Lifestyle; Victimization	1=yes, 0=no
	Antagonist used drugs within 4 hours of violent event	Routine Activities /Lifestyle; Victimization	1=yes, 0=no, 9=don't know
	Antagonist used alcohol within 4 hours of violent event	Routine Activities /Lifestyle; Victimization	1=yes, 0=no, 9=don't know
	Antagonist used drugs or alcohol within 4 hours of violent event	Routine Activities /Lifestyle; Victimization	1=yes, 0=no, 9=don't know
	Antagonist and respondent used drugs or alcohol within 4 hours of violent event	Routine Activities /Lifestyle; Victimization	1=yes, 0=no

1. Part 1: Descriptions of Concepts and Measures Used for Hypotheses Testing

Female-specific Constructs

a. Player Concept

The concept "Player" is measured with data drawn from the open-ended questions (B1, B18, B19, B20). The questions include the following: "What happened to you is very important, so can you tell me what happened?" (B1) What led to this happening? (B18) "Why do you think he/she/they did this?" (B19) What one thing in particular triggered her/him/them getting physical with you?" (B20). The response were examined for themes that reflect player behavior that including cheating and flirting. A detailed definition is provided in the *Qualitative Coding Manuel* (see Appendix B). Commitment to promiscuity by males can intensify female-on-female jealousy, competition for suitable male partners and the risk of female intragender assault. If player behavior was identified the variable was coded with a 1 for "Yes;" otherwise the variable was coded with a 0 for "No."

b. Deference-Aggression Concept

The concept "Deference-Aggression" refers to a short-term uncommitted intimate relationship. This concept is coded as a categorical variable. The category short-term uncommitted, was created based on four questions including marital status (1=Single, 2=Married, including common law), duration of relationship (in years and months), cohabitation (1=Yes; 0=No) and currently involved in a relationship (1=Yes; 0=No). If the respondent reported a current relationship (N=1) of less than 9 months (N1, N4), unmarried status including separated or divorced (A4) and not living with the partner (G4A), then the relationship is considered as short-term and uncommitted.

Campbell (1995, 1998) maintains that women who are involved in short-term, non-committed intimate relationships are at risk for targeting jealousy toward the female rival instead of the intimate for fear of driving away the male intimate. If the relationship is characterized as short-term and uncommitted the variables was coded with a 1 for "Yes;" otherwise the variable was coded with a 0 for "No."

c. Mutual-Contribution Concept

The "**Mutual-Contribution**" concept refers to whether the respondent contributed to the violent outcome beyond self-defense. This concept is measured with two variables. The first variable is measured with data drawn from the open-ended questions (B1, B18, B19, B20). If the respondent used physical or verbal aggression prior to sustaining the injury then the response is coded with a 1 for "Yes;" otherwise the variable was coded with a 0 for "No." This variable is labeled "mutuality."

"**Mutual -Contribution**" also is measured with the interview question that states: "*Did you fight back?*" (1=Yes, 0=No) (B21). In accordance with women's adherence to the Code of the Street, it is expected that female-on-female assault is characterized by mutual participation. In some low-income communities characterized by limited means to achieve conventionally-defined success, fighting back becomes a requirement to maintain respect and/or to prevent future victimization (Anderson, 1994, 1999; Nurge, 2000). If the respondent answered "Yes" to this question and if the incident is characterized by mutuality (as described above) then the variable was coded with a 1 for "Yes;" otherwise the variable is coded with a 0 for "No." Both criteria must be met in order to ensure that women who fight back for reasons limited to self-defense are not categorized as active mutual participants.

d. Interpersonal-Concerns Concept

The “**Interpersonal-Concerns Concept**” includes two categories that emphasize relational issues. The first involves negative feelings shared between individuals and is expressed by respondents as “she/he doesn’t like me.” The second is referred to by researchers as “indirect aggression” and by respondents as “he say/she say” and includes spreading false rumors and gossiping (Bjorkqvist et al., 1992).

Data obtained from the open-ended questions described above (B1, B18, B19, B20) were examined for themes including he say/she say and issues of being liked or disliked (see Appendix B). If the incident is characterized by one of these concerns then the variable was coded with a 1 for “Yes;” otherwise the variable was coded with a 0 for “No.”

e. Gender-Centric Concerns Concept

Gender-Centric Concerns include male- and female-centric concerns. The construct “**Female-Centric Concerns**” is drawn from feminist theory. In accordance with this perspective, women who adhere to patriarchal norms compete with each other over female-centric concerns including boyfriends, babies and maintaining an untainted sexual reputation. Given the importance and emotional intensity related to this set of concerns, arguments involving these issues can turn violent.

The construct “**Male-Centric Concerns**” is drawn from the Code of the Street perspective. Males who are focused on maintaining their reputation are likely to be at increased risk for engaging in violence with females who refuse their advances. This includes females who are perceived by males as potential (not current) girlfriends.

Data obtained from the open-ended questions described above (B1, B18, B19, B20) were examined for themes that reflect female- or male- centric concerns including issues related to intimates (e.g., player behavior, cheating, jealousy), reproductive success (e.g., jealousy over rival's pregnancy or competition over babies) and maintaining an untarnished reputation (e.g., fight results from accusation regarding sexual promiscuity) (see Appendix B). If the incident was characterized by a female or male-centric concern then the variable was coded with a 1 for "Yes;" otherwise the variable was coded with a 0 for "No."

f. Relational-Protection Concept

The concept "**Relational-Protection**" refers to involvement in violence in the service of protecting or defending friends or family. This concept is drawn from the gendered dimension of the Code of the Street and female-specific socialization patterns that center on interpersonal relationships (Campbell, 1993) and may contribute to a female's readiness to use violence to protect loved ones from physical harm or disrespect.

Data obtained from the open-ended questions described above (B1, B18, B19, B20) were examined for themes that reflect relational protection including fighting to protect or defend friends or family members. When the antagonist was described as fighting to protect a third party from physical harm or disrespect the variable was coded with a 1 for "Yes;" otherwise the variable was coded with a 0 for "No."

g. Female-Valued Resource Concept

The concept "**Female-Valued Resource**" refers to assets that females are likely to value and compete over. Injury to the face may be a strategy used to reduce a rival female's physical attractiveness by damaging those qualities valued by potential males.

This construct is measured with the following interview question: "*Can you circle the areas where you were hurt or hit?*" (B13). If the response is "face" then the variable was coded with a 1 for "Yes;" otherwise the variable was coded with a 0 for "No."

Gender-Neutral Constructs

a. Life Cycle Concept

The "Life Cycle" concept is operationalized by two variables including age of the respondent and whether or not antagonist is within five years of the respondent's age. The age of the respondent (A1) was assessed as a continuous and dichotomous variable (1=less than 24 years of age; 0=24 years old or greater). The age-peer variable was assessed as a dichotomous variable and coded with a 1 for "antagonist is an age-peer," otherwise the variable was coded with a 0 for "No."

In this study an age-peer is defined one who is within five years of the respondent's age. This variable was calculated based on questions that inquire about the age of the respondent and the age of the antagonist(s) (A1, B33).

b. Personal Respect Concept

The concept "Personal Respect" refers to violence in response to a verbal insult, slight or provocation (e.g., name calling, look or actions of disrespect). Data obtained from the open-ended questions (B1, B18, B19, B20) were examined for themes that reflect personal respect. This concept is drawn from the Code of the Street perspective and its application to women (Anderson, 1999; Baskin and Sommers, 1998; Nurge, 2000). If themes related to personal respect were present the variable was coded with a 1 for "Yes;" otherwise the variable was coded with a 0 for "No." Incidents that include protecting the reputation of a third party were excluded in order to differentiate between

Anderson's (1999) gender-neutral individualized version of personal respect and Adams' (1999) female gendered version of relational protection.

c. Public-View Concept

The "Public View" concept refers to violence that occurs with bystanders present. According to the Code of the Street, the presence of third parties is expected to contribute to the escalation of violence by increasing the probability of face-saving retaliation. This concept is consistent with research by Felson (1982) who demonstrated that the presence of third parties increases the severity of conflict among participants of the same gender. This concept was measured with the following interview questions: "*Were people other than [the antagonist] there when he/she/they started getting physical with you? What is your relation to him/her them?*" (B15). Bystanders that include children only were excluded because children are not likely to elicit the need to save face which is characteristic of adult bystanders. If a bystander (including at least one adult) was present the variable was coded with a 1 for "Yes;" otherwise the variable was coded with a 0 for "No."

Candidate Control Variables

Several variables were considered for inclusion as control variable candidates because they have been shown to be associated with female involvement in assault. They include measures of economic disadvantage (Baskin and Sommers, 1998; Campbell et al., 1998), psychological status (Ellickson et al., 2000; Ellickson et al., 1997) a history of childhood abuse (Artz, 1998; Baskin and Sommers, 1998; Leischied et al., 2000, Widom and Maxfield, 2001) substance abuse (Goldstein et al., 1991; Mann, 1990, 1996; Widom and Maxfield, 2001), a past history of domestic violence or rape (Richie, 1996) and injury

by someone known to the respondent (Campbell et al, 1998). The following variables also were considered for inclusion as control variables: co-residence, predatory violence and violence by a male partner against someone exclusive of the respondent and education.

a. The construct **economic disadvantage** is included to control for economic marginalization. This construct is considered an indication of having few economic resources and is based on receipt of government assistance from DPA (department of public assistance) (J5 or J6 or J7) at the time of the interview. If the respondent answered Yes to J5 (receipt of food stamps) or J6 (receipt of SSI) or J7 (receipt of cash assistance) then the variable was coded with a 1 for "Yes;" otherwise the variable was coded with a 0 for "No." Level of educational attainment also is considered a measure of economic disadvantage (A3) and is measured using the following categories: 0=None; 1=Some grade school; 2= Some junior high; 3= Some high school; 4=High school graduate; 5=Some post high school training other than college; 6=Some college; 7=College graduate; 8=Graduate work. These categories are collapsed into the following categories: 1= less than high school; 2= completed high school; 3=more than high school.

b. The concept **psychological status** is measured using two variables: self-esteem and depression. A respondent is considered as having psychological problems if she meets criteria for low self-esteem or symptoms of depression. These measures were assessed separately. Self-esteem was measured with a 10-item Likert scale developed by Rosenberg (1965) (L1-L9). Sample questions include: "*I feel that I am a person of worth, at least on an equal basis with others*" (1=Strongly Agree, 2=Agree, 3=Disagree, 4=Strongly Disagree); "*I feel I do not have much to be proud of*" (1=Strongly Agree,

2=Agree, 3=Disagree, 4=Strongly Disagree). Reverse scoring procedures were implemented for questions phrased in the affirmative. The correlation between the results on testing and re-testing is high with this scale ($r=0.85$), as are convergent and predictive validity (Rosenberg, 1965). A score of less than 27 indicates low self-esteem (Grisso et al., 1999). Self-esteem was assessed as a dichotomous variable and coded with a 1 for "low-self-esteem;" otherwise the variable was coded with a 0.

Depressive symptoms are evaluated with *the Depression Scale of the Center for Epidemiologic Studies (CES-D)* (Radloff, 1977) (1a-1t). Respondents rated 20 items related to depressed mood on a scale from 0 (symptoms not present) to 4 (present most of the time). Sample questions include: "*I was bothered by things that usually do not bother me;*" "*I felt sad;*" "*I felt lonely.*" Scores higher than 16 indicate seriously depressed mood. Depressive symptoms were assessed as a dichotomous variable and coded with a 1 for "The presence of depressive symptoms;" otherwise the variable was coded with a 0.

c. The concept **child abuse** is drawn from the Victimization Approach and includes physical abuse, sexual abuse and witnessing physical abuse of one's mother. The questions follow: "*When you were growing up, did any adult ever beat up on you?*" If yes, "*What was his/her relationship to you?*" "*When you were growing up, did any adult force you to have sex?*" "*What was his/her relationship to you?*" "*When you were growing up, did anyone beat on your mom?*" If yes, "*What was your relationship to that person?*" (Q16, Q17, Q15 respectively). Five variables were assessed. Questions Q16, Q17 and Q15 were assessed separately. For each variable the presence of child abuse was coded with a 1 for "Yes," otherwise the variable is coded with a 0 for "No."

In addition, physical abuse by the mother was coded with a 1 for "Yes," otherwise the variable was coded with a 0 for "No." (Q16). This question was included because research has shown a link between physical abuse by the mother and the daughter's use of physical aggression (Artz, 1998).

If the respondent witnessed violence to a mother-figure by a father-figure or was physically beaten by a father-figure then the variable was coded with a 1 "Yes," otherwise the variable was coded with a 0 for "No." This variable is included because research suggests that a female who is beaten by a father-figure or has witnessed a father-figure beat her mother internalizes a male dominant view of the world and subsequently engages in horizontal oppression (Artz, 1998).

Of all the child abuse measures, the variable that showed the highest correlation with the outcome was included as a candidate control variable. Child abuse measures were tested because a vast literature documents an association between early physical and sexual childhood abuse and subsequent violent behavior by the victim. In contrast to the existing literature, the measures of child abuse included in this study are limited. For lack of alternative measures, however, the selected measures are included as control variables.

d. Past violence and its relationship to current violence has been explained from various theoretical perspectives. In this dissertation the relationship between past victimization and current involvement in violence is best explained from the Victimization Perspective and Routine Activities/Lifestyle Approach. Past violence was assessed with questions about domestic violence (P1) and non-partner rape (Q7). Responses to the following two questions are included as control variables: "*How many of your partners kicked, hit, punched or pushed you?*" and "*Did any male [non-partner]*

ever force you to have sex when you didn't want to?" (1=Yes; 0=No). The first question was recoded as a categorical variable (0=None; 1=One partner; 2=Two or more partners) because fewer than 7 percent of the respondents were injured by more than two partners.

e. **Victim-offender relationship** also is included to control for the finding that that females are more likely than males to commit assault against someone they know than against a stranger (Campbell et al., 1998). This information was obtained with the following question (B14): "*What is his/her/their [antagonist's] relationship to you?*" The data were recoded into four indicator variables: family members, friends, acquaintances and strangers.

f. **Co-residence** is considered for inclusion to control for the likelihood that respondents and antagonists who live together have a greater opportunity for contact and violent interaction. This concept reflects Routine Activities Theory and was post-coded based on information from the following questions: "*Who did this [the violent injury] to you?*" (B14) and "*Think of the main place where you live. Do you live with any of the following people?*" (G4a-1).

g. **Violence by a male partner against someone exclusive of respondent** based on the following question (N10): "*Over the past six months, how often would you say he has been in a physical fight with someone not including yourself?*" This concept reflects Routine Activities Theory. Categories include the following: 0=None; 1=Once; 2=more than once.

h. **Educational attainment** is based the highest level of education achieved (N7) using the following categories: 0=None; 1=Some grade school; 2= Some junior high; 3= Some high school; 4=High school graduate; 5=Some post high school training other than

college; 6=Some college; 7=College graduate; 8=Graduate work. These categories are collapsed into the following categories: 1= less than high school; 2= completed high school; 3=more than high school.

i. **Predatory violence** refers to violent injuries that occur during the course of theft, robbery, or attempted sexual assault. This variable was chosen to reflect the Routine Activities/Life Style Perspective. Data obtained from the open-ended questions (B1, B18, B19, B20) described above were examined for injuries sustained during an attempted sexual assault, robbery or theft (see Appendix B). If any of these themes were present the variable was coded with a 1 for "Yes;" otherwise the variable was coded with a 0 for "No."

j. **Substance use** has various theoretical underpinning. In this dissertation the relationship between substance use and involvement in violence is best explained from the Victimization Perspective and Routine Activities/Lifestyle Approach. Substance use prior to the violent event is based on the following questions. *Do you think [the antagonist] was drinking beer, wine or liquor within 4 hours before this happened?"* ; *"Do you think [the antagonist] was using marijuana or drugs within 4 hours before this happened?"*; First these questions (B34, B35) were assessed separately. For each question if the respondent answered "Yes," then the variable was coded with a 1; if the respondent answered "Don't Know" then the variable was coded with a 9; if she answered with a "No" then the variable was coded with a 0. A variable also was created based on both questions (B34-B35). If the respondent answered "Yes," to either question then variable was coded with a 1 for "Yes;" if she answered "Don't Know" then the variables was coded with a 9; otherwise the variable was coded with a 0 for "No."

The respondent's substance use was assessed with the following two questions (B36, B37): "*Were you drinking beer, wine or liquor within 4 hours before this happened?*" and "*Were you using marijuana or drugs 4 hours before this happened?*" First these questions (B36, B37) were assessed separately. For each questions if the respondent answered "Yes," then the variable was coded with a 1; otherwise the variable was coded with a 0 for "No." Another variable was created based on both questions (B36-B37). If the respondent answered "Yes," to either question then variable was coded with a 1 for "Yes;" otherwise the variable was coded with a 0 for "No."

The variables listed above were used to create a composite measure of drug or alcohol use by the respondent and the antagonist. If both the respondent and antagonist reportedly used drugs or alcohol within four hours of the violent event then the variable was coded with a 1; otherwise the variable was coded with a 0 for "No."

Of all the substance use measures, the variable that showed the highest correlation with the outcome was included as a candidate control variable.

2. Part 2: Concepts and Measures Used for Descriptive Purposes

Table 5-4 includes concepts and measures used for descriptive and hypotheses analyses. Brief descriptions are provided below for variables not discussed in the prior section.

Table 5-4: Concepts and Measures Used For Descriptive Data

CONCEPTS	MEASURES
Respondent Characteristics (Self-Reported Data)	
a) Demographic Factors	age, race, marital status
b) Socio-Economic Status	government assistance, borrowed money, employment
c) Educational Attainment	highest grade completed
d) Psychological Status	self-esteem scale, depression scale
e) Past Violence	Domestic violence, rape
f) Social Interaction	frequency of social visits with friends or family
g) Recent Drug Use	cocaine, marijuana
h) Recent alcohol Abuse	problem drinking scale
i) Illegal Activities	recent prostitution, recent drug distribution
j) Household Composition	# of people with whom respondent lives, relationship to cohabitants (e.g brother, mothers, partner, friend)
k) Living Arrangements	lives in public housing
Intimate Partner and Relationship Characteristics (Self-Reported Data)	
a) Demographic Factors	age, race
b) Socio-economic Status	Employment
c) Educational Attainment	highest grade completed
d) Substance Use	cocaine, marijuana, alcohol
e) Criminal Justice System Involvement	ever arrested
f) Physical Fights	recent fights by male intimate with others
g) Intimate Partner Relationship	marital status, short-term and uncommitted relationship, cohabitation
Circumstances (Self-Reported Data)	
a) Time/Place	time of day, location of event
b) Substance Use (by respondent and antagonist)	use of alcohol or drugs
c) Relationship to the Antagonist(s)	friend, acquaintance, stranger, family
d) Antagonist(s) demographic characteristics	race, age
e) Interaction/ sequence of Events	precipitating causes of event, actions of respondent, number of antagonists
f) Presence and role of bystanders	present, did bystanders try to stop fight
g) Location of injuries sustained	police showed up
i) Injury	location on body
j) Player image	fight involves a male who flirts with or has an affair with a woman other than his current female partner
k) Deference aggression concept	short-term uncommitted relationship
l) Mutual contribution concept	respondent contributes to the violent outcome
m) Gender centric concerns	fighting over intimates, sexual reputation
n) Relational-Protection Concept	fight involves respondent or antagonist fighting to protect a third party
o) Female-Valued Resource Concept	injury to the face
p) Life Cycle Concept	age of respondent age of antagonist
q) Personal Respect Concept	fight involves issues related to personal respect
r) Public View Concept	presence of witnesses
Respondent Characteristics (Laboratory Data)	
Urine Toxicology Drug Screen Results	cocaine, marijuana, alcohol

Respondent Characteristics

a. **Demographic Variables** reported by the respondent include age (A1), race (A2) and marital status (A4). Age is measured in years. Race is coded as a categorical variable (1=Black, 2=White, 3=Other). Marital status is coded as a categorical variable and includes the following categories: 1=Single; 2=married (including common law).

b. **Socioeconomic Status** is assessed with three questions. The standard measure included as a control variable (and discussed previously) is receipt of government assistance. Two additional measures include having borrowed money in the past six months to make ends meet (J4b) and employment (F1). Both measures are coded as dichotomous variables (1=Yes; 0=No).

c.-e. **Educational Attainment, Psychological Status, and Past Violence** variables are reviewed in the prior section.

f. **Frequency of Social Interactions** is assessed with the following question (G9): "*How often do you get together with a friend or relative that you don't live with?*" The response is coded as a categorical variable (0=none; 1=one or two visits; 2=three to six visits; 3= more than six visits).

g. **Recent Illicit Drug Use** is measured with two questions that ascertain whether the respondent used cocaine (K7) or marijuana (K3) during the 6 months prior to the violent index event. The responses are coded as dichotomous variables (No=0, 1=Yes).

h. **Alcohol Abuse** is measured with the TWEAK questionnaire (K17-K21), which is a brief set of 5 questions addressing tolerance to alcohol's effects, psychological consequences of drinking and others' concern. Sample questions include the following:

“Have close friends or relatives worried or complained about your drinking in the past year?” (No=0, 1=Yes, 9=Don’t Know); *“Do you sometimes take a drink in the morning when you first get up?”* (No=0, 1=Yes, 9=Don’t Know). A score of greater than 2 indicates the presence of problem drinking (Russell et al., 1994). The TWEAK has a higher sensitivity and specificity than alternative screeners including the ACE, B-MAST and CAGE (Russell et al., 1994).

i. Involvement in Illegal Activities is measured with two dichotomous variables. The first question inquired about participation in prostitution (J4e) and the second inquired about involvement in drug distribution (J4f) (No=0, 1=Yes).

j. Household Composition is measured with four variables that are drawn from the following question (G4a-1): *“Think of the main place where you live. Do you live with any of the following people?”* The variables include whether the respondent lives with other adult family members, other non-family adults, and whether she lives with children. The fourth variable includes a sum of the number of people with the whom respondent lives.

k. Living Arrangements is measured with a question that assesses whether the respondent lived in public housing (G2) and is coded as a dichotomous variable (1=Yes; 0=No).

Intimate Partner and Relationship Characteristics

a. Demographic Characteristics of the respondent’s most recent intimate partner include age (N9) and race (N8). Age is measured in years. Race is coded as a categorical variable (1=Black, 2=White, 3=Other).

b. Socioeconomic Status is based on employment (N10). This measure is coded

as a dichotomous variable (1=Yes; 0=No).

c. **Educational Attainment** is based the highest level of education achieved (N7) using the following categories: 0=None; 1=Some grade school; 2= Some junior high; 3= Some high school; 4=High school graduate; 5=Some post high school training other than college; 6=Some college; 7=College graduate; 8=Graduate work. These categories are collapsed into the following categories: 1= less than high school; 2= completed high school; 3=more than high school.

d. **Substance use** is examined with three questions. The first two questions ascertain whether the male intimate used cocaine (N21b) or marijuana (N21a) during the month prior to the violent event. The third question follows: *"Do/did you ever feel that he should cut down on drinking?"* (N18).

e. **Criminal Justice System Involvement** is based on the following question (N25), *"Has he [your most recent male intimate] ever been arrested and charged for anything?"* This measure is coded as a dichotomous variable (1=Yes; 0=No).

f.-g. **Past injury history and Relationship characteristics** were described in the prior section.

Circumstances of the Violent Events

Questions regarding the circumstances of the event include open- and closed-ended questions.

a. **Time and place** measures are based on the following questions: *"About what time of day? Was it in the place where you live? Was it on the street where you live? Was it inside or outside?"* (B5, B6, B7, B8, B9). These measures are coded as dichotomous variables (1=Yes; 0=No).

b.-c. Substance Use (by respondent and/or antagonist) and relationship to the antagonist. These variables are described in the prior section.

d. The antagonist's demographic characteristics include age (B33) and race (B32) Age is measured in years. When there is more than one antagonist identified, the age of the first antagonist is used. Race is coded as a categorical variable (1=Black, 2=White, 3=Other).

e. Interactions Leading up to the Violent Event and the Sequence of Events include reasons for the violence, the roles assumed by the respondents, violent acts by the participants as well as the number of antagonists. These data will be post-coded according to themes that emerge. The open-ended questions (B1, B12, B18, B19, B20) were described in the prior section. The number of antagonists (B14) was coded as a continuous variable and recoded as a dummy variable (1= one; 0= more than one).

f. Presence and role of bystanders focuses on three questions including the following: *"Were people other than [the antagonist] there when he/she/they started getting physical with you"* *"What is your relationship to him/her? Did anyone say anything or do anything to try to stop it while it was happening?"* *"What is your relationship to him/her?"* (B15, B16) Bystanders including children only are excluded. These measures are coded as dichotomous variables (1=Yes; 0=No).

g. Location of injuries sustained refers to the place on the body where the respondent was injured (B13). The participant was shown a body map and asked the following, *"Can you circle the areas where you were hurt or hit?"* The interviewer used this data to code one or more body parts where the respondent was injured.

h. Police Involvement information is based on the following questions (B27, B28): *Did anyone call the police? About how long did it take for the police to come?*

This information was used to create a dichotomous variable indicating whether or not the police showed up (1=Yes; 0=No).

Laboratory Data includes urine toxicology results for alcohol, marijuana and cocaine. These measures are each dichotomous (1=Positive and 0=Negative).

C. Analysis Plan

1. Quantitative Analysis: All data are statistically analyzed using quantitative statistical software (SPSS Version 10).

a. Analysis Addressing Major Research Aim: A Theoretical Test

This aim is to compare females intentionally injured by females and females intentionally injured by males in order to test the merits of *Gendered Social Structural Strain Theory*.

Bivariate analyses are conducted for all theoretically relevant variables to determine if the independent variable is related significantly to the predicted outcome (same-gender incident) without controlling for any potentially confounding variables. The Chi-square test is used with categorical variables. T-tests are used with continuous variables.

Multivariate logistic regression is used to assess correlates simultaneously. This statistical technique permits identification of variables that will be useful in predicting whether a woman presenting to the ED for a violent injury by a non-intimate will have been involved in a same sex or cross sex violent event. Multivariate analysis allows assessment of the independent effects of individual variables in the model. In other

words, the effect of each independent variable can be examined net of the effects of the other variables in the model.

Logistic regression is an appropriate procedure for this analysis because the dependent variable is dichotomous and representative of women classified as members of two distinct populations differentiated by the gender of the antagonist (Afifi et al., 1996): intragender assault and cross-gender assault. Moreover, logistic regression is more appropriate than ordinary least squares (OLS) or discriminant analysis. Use of OLS would violate several assumptions, including heteroscedasticity and a nonnormal distribution of residuals. Similarly, using discriminant analysis would violate other assumptions, including the presence of equal covariance matrices in each of the groups and multivariate normality (Afifi et al., 1996).

The statistical measure computed with logistic regression is the odds ratio, which is defined as the ratio of the odds of the exposure in the first group to the odds of exposure in the second group. When a dichotomous independent variable is used, the odds ratio is interpreted as the odds that group one exhibits the risk factor relative to the odds that group two exhibits it. The Pearson Chi-Square statistic is analyzed and reported as a summary measure of goodness of fit for the regression model, as well as odds ratios. P-values, magnitude and direction of each coefficient will be assessed and reported.

b. Analysis Addressing Major Aim: Descriptive Analysis

The goal of this analysis is to provide basic descriptive information regarding non-intimate related violent injuries among urban women. The analyses are descriptive and consist of characterizing females injured by females and females injured by males by all variables described above including characteristics of the respondent, of the male

partner, of the male partner relationship and of the violent situation. Categorical variables are summarized by frequencies. Continuous variables are summarized by means and standard deviations.

2. Qualitative Analysis Addressing Three Major Research Aims

Qualitative data analysis is used to analyze the information obtained from the open-ended questions regarding the circumstances of the index violent event. The use of open-ended questions permits the study participants to supply their own meanings and rationales for the behavior under investigation, in this case violence (Patton, 1990). This method also permits a wide range of data to surface. This is a necessary element for further theory development. Data analysis is conducted according to the constant comparative method (Glaser and Strauss, 1967). Topics are categorized according to common themes, and new categories are created for negative cases.

Qualitative analysis was used for three purposes. First, the open-ended questions were assessed and coded for themes that defined numerous concepts used for hypothesis testing. Hypothesis tests include Mutual-Contribution, Female-Valued Resource, Personal Respect Relational-Protection and Interpersonal Concerns. Second, verbatim accounts reported by the respondents were categorized by reasons for the violence as well as variables that characterize events that led up to the violence. Vignettes are provided in order to describe respondents' perceptions regarding reasons and events that led up to the violent events. Third, the constant comparative method was used for purposes of further theory development of situational factors characteristic of females injured by acquaintances or friends.

Definitions for codes created based on the qualitative data are provided in Appendix B. All data were entered into NUD*IST version N5, a qualitative data analysis program. The data were analyzed further for common themes. Finally the data were merged with the SPSS database and recoded for quantitative analysis.

D. Potential Limitations of a Secondary Data Analysis and Remedies

Relying on secondary data involves several potential sources of error that can reduce the study's validity and reliability. Possible problems of validity include conceptualization, measurement and sampling errors. Problems of reliability exist if the data collected in the original study does not accurately report what the data claim to report. In the sections below threats to validity and reliability are described as well as remedies implemented to minimize error.

1. Threats to Internal Validity

a. Conceptualization and Measurement Errors

In this study a major potential threat to validity involves mistakes in conceptualization. Given that the analysis is limited to the use of preexisting data collected for another purpose, the existing data may not include valid representations of the concepts under investigation. Had interviews been carried out with the study participants to test "*Gendered Social Structural Strain Theory*," questions would have been tailored to operationalize the constructs directly. For example, questions regarding "player behavior" by the respondents' male intimates would have been asked directly. As with several other constructs, "player behavior" variables do not exist in the original data set. Measures of "Gender-Centric Concerns" and "Female-Valued Resources" are not assessed directly. Instead they are based on themes that emerge from the open-ended

questions. Consequently, observed measures are used as indicators of constructs for which they were not designed. Because this is a secondary analysis, some variables have more questionable validity than other variables. Most of the variables under investigation, however, are operationalized with variables that would have been chosen had this been the primary investigation. For example, socioeconomic status is operationalized with receipt of government assistance; self-esteem is assessed with the Rosenberg Scale (1965) and problem drinking is assessed with the TWEAK questionnaire (Russell et al., 1994). In addition, to ensure that selected indicator variables were chosen to represent concepts underlying *Gendered Social Structural Strain Theory*, all indicator variables were selected in accordance with preexisting theory (Jacob, 1984).

Measurement error represents another threat to validity and may result from the use of self-report data. Limitations of self-reports include misrepresenting and misremembering information (Maxfield, 1998). In the original study nurse interviewers were trained in techniques regarding the building of trusting relationships with the participants to enhance the participants' willingness to disclose intimate details of their lives. Moreover, a unique aspect of the original study that would appear to increase the accuracy of self-report data was that information was obtained on acute violent events near the time of injury occurrence.

To establish concurrent validity in this study, self-reported drug use was correlated with urine toxicology test results of the drugs of interest. The presence of objective measures for additional self-reported information would establish a broader measure of validity. The only objective measures available of self-reported data,

however, are for the drug questions. Nevertheless, the analysis of multiple measures and multiple methods of substance use is expected to enhance confidence in the study results. Despite the limitations of urinalysis for the purpose of establishing validity of self-report studies (see a review by Harrison et al., 1997), self-report validation studies based on urinalysis technology, uncovered validity rates between 70 and 90 percent (Mieczkowski, 1990). Additional validity studies using urine screens concluded that self-reports reliably measured drug use (Cook et al., 1997; Wetherby et al., 1994; Zanis, 1994). In this study, urine toxicology reports indicate a positive or negative result for each study participant for alcohol, marijuana and cocaine. Of the 322 participants, 210 (65%) provided a urine sample.

A kappa test was used to assess the degree of agreement between urine toxicology results and self-reported use of alcohol, cocaine and marijuana. The relationships between the measures of alcohol ($\kappa=.61$, $t=8.9$, $df=1$, $p=.000$), marijuana ($\kappa=.61$, $t=9.1$, $df=1$, $p=.000$), and cocaine ($\kappa=.56$, $t=8.7$, $df=1$, $p=.000$) were statistically significant indicating that it is unlikely that the observed relationships occurred by chance (see Table 5.5). One limitation of this finding, however, is the large (35%) percentage of missing urine toxicology data due to women for whom urine samples were not collected. The reasons for the high rate of missing urine specimens are unclear. Anecdotal information provided by the interviewers suggests that the study respondents were distraught and in physical pain, and consequently were unwilling to be subjected to further invasive procedures. In order to test for response bias, relevant characteristics were compared for women who provided samples and for women who did not (see Table 5.6). There were no statistically significant differences with respect to the proportion of

women who reported use of alcohol, marijuana or cocaine. There also were no statistically significant differences in race, age or receipt of government assistance. Notwithstanding the large proportion of missing data, the use of urine toxicology data appears to increase confidence in the validity of the study results.

Table 5.5: Validation of Self Reports using Toxicology Results

Alcohol Self Report

<i>Alcohol Toxicology Results (N=209)</i>	Yes	No
Positive	12.9%	4.3%
Negative	7.7%	75.1%

Kappa=.61, t=8.9, p=.000

Marijuana Self Report

<i>Marijuana Toxicology Results (N=210)</i>	Yes	No
Positive	34.8%	7.6%
Negative	11.0%	46.7%

Kappa=.62, t=9.1, p=.000

Cocaine Self Report

<i>Cocaine Toxicology Results (N=209)</i>	Yes	No
Positive	16.7%	15.8%
Negative	1.4%	66.0%

Kappa=.56, t=8.7, p=.000

Table 5.6: Percent Self-Reported Substance Use for Women Who Provided Urine Toxicologies versus Women Who Did Not

	<i>Provided Tox (N=210)</i>	<i>Tox Missing (N=112)</i>	<i>X²</i>	<i>P- value</i>
<i>Cocaine Use</i>	18.2%	20.5%	<1.0	.72
<i>Marijuana Use</i>	45.7%	52.7%	<1.0	.28
<i>Alcohol Use</i>	20.6%	25.9%	<1.0	.34
<i>Race – Black</i>	93.3%	95.5%	<1.0	.66
<i>Age < 24 yrs old</i>	44.0%	39.5%	<1.0	.54
<i>Receipt of Government Assistance</i>	60.0%	59.8%	<1.0	.98

b. Selection and Sampling Error

For the original study, the selection process included women who met the study criteria (e.g., age, residence), and presented to one of the three EDs for intentional interpersonal injuries between 5:00 p.m. and midnight.

Case ascertainment procedures were followed throughout the study period to ensure that all eligible women were identified and that attempts were made to enroll them in the study. Documentation of all eligible women was recorded in a study log. This includes women who were not approached, but according to study criteria should have been asked to participate. These women were categorized as “missed” because they were not asked to participate because the nurse interviewer was interviewing another subject at the time. In order to check for selection bias a vailable characteristics including age and hospital of the “missed” subjects were compared to the respective characteristics of the study respondents. The same comparison was conducted for women who refused to participate and study respondents. A third comparison was made between women who consented and began the interview, but did not finish the interview, and study respondents. For one comparison only there was a statistically significant difference by

hospital. Missed cases were overrepresented among women who presented to Presbyterian hospital. A total of 25 potential respondents were missed at Presbyterian, compared to 18 at the University of Pennsylvania Hospital and 10 at Misericordia Hospital. Information regarding the gender of the antagonist and relation to the respondent is unknown. Of all injured respondents, however, less than half (42 percent) were injured by non-intimate male or females. Using this proportion to estimate the number of women injured by non-intimates, it is likely that only 11 (42 percent of 25) women were missed. While there appears to be selection difference among missed respondents presenting to Presbyterian, the small numbers make it unlikely that they will confound the study results. For all comparisons, older women were over-represented among respondents classified as "missed," "refused" and "incompletes." To remedy this selection difference, the multivariate model is assessed using age of the study respondents as a control variable.

Sampling error also would occur if intentionally injured women failed to inform hospital personnel that their visit to the ED was the result of intentional injuries subsequently resulting in exclusion from the study. A procedure used in the original study guarded against underreporting of violent injuries. All control subjects (by definition, non-violently injured women) randomly selected for participation in the original study were screened by nurse interviewers to determine if the reasons for the ED visit were related to intentional violence. Several studies have demonstrated that nurse-administered questionnaires increase the proportion of women who report experiencing violence (McFarlane et al., 1991; Tilden et al., 1987). Of all 895 controls recruited into the study only 12 (1percent) were identified as intentionally injured women who had not

reported their injuries to hospital staff. Of the 12 respondents, only four were injured by non-intimate partners. The small percentage of controls turned cases suggests that underreporting is not a major source of sampling error.

Another potential source of sampling error involves the hours during which the emergency departments were staffed. In the original study each ED was staffed seven days a week by a nurse interviewer. The shift began at 5:00 p.m. and ended at 12:00 a.m. Sampling bias would occur to the extent that intentionally injured women presenting for ED care outside of the staffed hours were theoretically different from the study participants. The initial design for the original study proposed the use of a systematic sampling technique. The plan was to have interviewers rotate days of the week, shifts and times such that a patient had an equal probability of being enrolled regardless of the day, time of the week or study site to which she presents (Grisso, 1995). The proposed rotating schedule proved impractical because too few women presented to the EDs prior to 5:00 p.m. and after midnight to operate a cost-effective project. To establish that the group of women presenting for ED care between 5:00 p.m. and midnight is representative of all women presenting for care outside of these hours, the characteristics of recruited women should be compared to those participants who presented for care outside of these hours. Data for women presenting to the ED outside of study hours are not available. Thus, the extent to which the recruited women represent all women remains a question for further study, perhaps in a future replication. According to victims' reports revealed in the *NCVS*, victimizations of women most likely occur between noon and midnight (72%) (Craven, 1996). It is noteworthy that of all study respondents in the current study, 84 percent reported victimization between noon and midnight. The intervals between

time of the incident and ED arrival, and between arrival and treatment are variables that might be considered in future research.

2. Threats to Reliability

Reliability is another concern for researchers using secondary data and refers to the "ability to obtain consistent results in successive measurements of the same phenomenon" (Jacob, 1984, p. 33). Protection against problems with reliability requires knowledge of the data collection process implemented in the original study. Issues of reliability that can affect the current research are minimized because the author of this dissertation was responsible for quality assurance procedures of the original study, including instrumentation, case ascertainment, recruitment, data entry and editing. In the original study, for example, the data entry team keyed all data twice to ensure accuracy. In addition, a research assistant was hired to edit all completed questionnaires for correctness. Nevertheless, additional measures to minimize error were carried out for this secondary analysis.

First, to reduce reliability errors in the current study scatter plots were examined for all variables to inspect for outliers that may reflect data entry mistakes (Jacob, 1984). All suspicious results were examined by re-reviewing the raw data (hard copy interviews).

A second precaution against reliability error involves changes in collection procedures that may affect the quality of the data (Jacob, 1984). During the original study, for example, several questions were revised. All data collection revisions/decisions were documented in the "*Question by Question Interviewer Manual*" (Hirschinger, 1998). To minimize problems with reliability, the manual was reviewed for

all variables assessed.

A third issue involves the manipulation of data. To ensure that the computerized data were not contaminated by ideological or organizational values, a subset of hard copy questionnaires was checked against the data entered to confirm that no data manipulation had taken place.

A fourth issue involves the use of qualitative data. Several of the study hypotheses are operationalized with data post coded from open-ended questions. These constructs include, for example, "respondent actively contributed to the violent event by using physical or verbal provocation," "respondent engaged in violence over personal respect," "respondent engaged in violence to defend family/friends." The qualitative data were collected as part of the original study, but were re-coded in accordance with the study hypotheses. To minimize coding bias, a coding manual with guidelines for coding decisions was developed and can be found in Appendix B. In addition, a research assistant was trained on the coding process. The coder was blinded to the research hypotheses to ensure that coding decisions were not be influenced by prior conceptions of what the outcome should be. Inter-rater reliability regarding consistency of coding was established based on subgroup of 25 study respondents. The research assistants scored the same for 95 percent of the 200 codes scored.

3. External Validity

The purpose of this investigation is to describe and identify correlates of violent injuries requiring emergency care and occurring to inner-city women. Thus, the results of this study have some external validity, but they cannot be generalized to all women experiencing violence or to women who do not sustain physical injuries resulting in

emergency care. Some women with violence-related injuries do not seek care at all. This dissertation does not permit estimation of the number of intentionally injured women who do not seek care.

Given the study design, the results only have generalizability to the West Philadelphia community. The findings, however, should have some generalizability to women residing in other urban areas who present to inner-city EDs for injuries resulting from interpersonal violence.

CHAPTER 6. A DESCRIPTION OF THE STUDY RESPONDENTS: UNIVARIATE AND BIVARIATE ANALYSES

I. Introduction

Three hundred and twenty-two women (322) injured by non-partners completed interviews, including 167 females injured by females and 155 females injured by males. To provide a portrait of the study respondents, descriptive characteristics are presented in this chapter, including: (1) characteristics of the respondent; (2) characteristics of the respondent's most recent male intimate partners and; (3) characteristics of the partner relationship. All data presented are drawn from self-reported information provided by the study respondents.

In the following two sections, univariate and bivariate statistics (by gender of the antagonist) are presented. Descriptive characteristics of the study respondents include demographic and socioeconomic characteristics, psychological status, history of exposure to violence, personal and social contacts and household composition, and participation in substance use and illegal activity. Characteristics of the respondents' most recent intimate partners include demographic and socioeconomic characteristics, substance use, violence against others (exclusive of the study respondent), and involvement in the criminal justice system. Characteristics of the intimate partner relationship include the status (current or ex-partner), cohabitation, stability of the relationship (i.e., length of relationship) whether the relationship terminated recently and recent partner violence.

Information on the respondents' male intimate partners is included because a central tenant of the theoretical framework and hypotheses outlined in Chapter 4 focus on male partners and intimate partner relationship characteristics. These factors are expected

to play a major role in differentiating intragender and cross-gender violent events. For example, the Player Hypothesis, Gender-Centric Concerns Hypothesis, Female-Valued Resource Hypothesis and Deference-Aggression Hypothesis all involve issues related to male partners or male intimate partner relationships.

II. Univariate Analyses

A. Description of Study Respondents

1. Demographic and Socioeconomic Characteristics

Demographic and socioeconomic characteristics of study respondents are presented in Table 6-1. These responses are based on single-reply questions.

Table 6-1: Demographic and Socioeconomic Characteristics of Study Respondents

Race (N=322)	
% Black	94.1%
% White	1.9%
% Other	4.0%
Average Age (yrs.) (N=322)	27.5 (s.d.=8.0)
Marital status (N=321)	
% Married	12.8%
% Separated/Divorced	12.1%
% Single	75.1%
Education (N=322)	
% Less than high school	45.7%
% High School	37.6%
% More that high school	16.8%
% Receipt of government assistance (N=321)	59.9%
% Borrowed money in past 6 months (N=322)	46.3%
% Lives in public housing (N=319)	26.3%
% Unemployed (N=322)	58.1%

According to Table 6-1, the major finding is that respondents are almost universally Black (94%). The average respondent is 27.5 (sd=8.0) years old and the proportion of single females is markedly high (75.1%). Forty-six percent have less than a high school education. Sixty percent receive government assistance, 46 percent report

having borrowed money recently and 58 percent are unemployed. Twenty-six of the respondents live in public housing. Financial indicators and educational attainment point to a high level of economic stress. The unemployment rate, for example, is more than five times the unemployment rate for the city of Philadelphia (Wial, 1998).

2. Psychological Status

Respondents' psychological status is described in Table 6-2. The presence of low self-esteem was measured with the 10-item Rosenberg Scale (1965). Sample questions from the self-esteem scale include: "*I feel that I am a person of worth, at least on an equal basis with others*" (1=Strongly Agree, 2=Agree, 3=Disagree, 4=Strongly Disagree); "*I feel I do not have much to be proud of*" (1=Strongly Agree, 2=Agree, 3=Disagree, 4=Strongly Disagree). Depressive symptoms are evaluated with *the Depression Scale of the Center for Epidemiologic Studies (CES-D)* (Radloff, 1977) (1a-1t). Sample questions include: "*I was bothered by things that usually do not bother me;*" "*I felt sad;*" "*I felt lonely.*" The response to the psychiatric medication query is based on a single-response question.

Table 6-2: Respondents' Psychological Status

% Presence of depression (N=321)	63.9%
% Low self-esteem (N=318)	10.9%
% Take psychiatric medication (N=322)	7.5%

The data reveal a high prevalence of psychological stress among the respondents. Almost two-thirds (63.9%) of women meet criteria for depression. The finding that 7.5 percent of the sample takes psychiatric medication is markedly high compared to the general population (Veysey, 2002). These indicators reveal a high prevalence of psychological stress among the study respondents.

3. History of Exposure to Violence

The study respondents' exposure to violence is described in Table 6-3 and includes information on childhood abuse, domestic violence and rape. All questions are based on single-response answers. The time period for the number of past abusive partners is over the life course. The question on rape/forced sex includes incidents that occurred after the age of 16. The child abuse questions include incidents that happened prior to the age of 16.

Table 6-3: Respondent's History of Violence

# Past abusive partners (N=314)	
% None	43.6%
% One	36.0%
% More than one	20.4%
% Childhood physical abuse (N=313)	20.8%
% Childhood physical abuse by mother-figure only (N=313)	12.5%
% Witnessed violence to mother-figure by father-figure childhood (N=308)	41.6%
% Raped or forced to have sex by a male (N=314)	10.5%
% Childhood sexual abuse (N=314)	18.2%

The majority (56%) of respondents report having a history of partner abuse by a male partner, more than twice the proportion of violent crime against women in the general population as reported in the *NCVS* (22% versus 56%) (Reenison and Welchans, 2000). Twenty one percent reported a history of childhood physical abuse. A markedly high (46%) proportion of women witnessed violence during childhood. These indicators point to high rates of exposure to violence during childhood and adulthood.

Eleven percent reported a history of rape or forced sex and 18 percent reported a history of childhood sexual abuse. Although only a minority of women reported rape or sexual abuse, these proportions take on significance given the potential negative

aftermath, including depression, post-traumatic stress disorder, and substance use associated with sexual victimization.

4. Personal and Social Contacts and Household Composition

Table 6-4 describes the study respondents' contacts with friends, family and institutions as well as measures of household composition. Number of social visits is based on a single question, which queried the number of times per week the respondent gets together with friends or family they don't live with. Participation in organized activities also is based on single-response answers. Household composition questions were recoded from the original question which inquired about the people with whom the respondent lives.

Table 6-4: Personal/Social Contacts and Household Composition

# Of social visits per week (N=320)	
% None	24.4%
% One or two	25.9%
% Three to six	21.3%
% More than six	28.4%
% Participation in social groups or organized activities in last 6 months (N=322)	14.3%
# of people with whom respondent lives (N=318)	3.5 (sd=2.3)
% Respondent lives with children (N=318)	67.0%
% Lives with adult family members (N=316)	32.4%
% Respondent lives with other adults (N=318)	34.5%

Twenty four percent of the respondents do not socialize with friends or relatives weekly. Almost one half (49.3%) visit with friends or relatives three or more times per week. In spite of the high proportion of respondents who engage in social activities, only 14.3 percent of the respondents reported participating in organized social activities. These data describe social participation that takes place within friendship and family networks to the exclusion of institutional participation.

The average number of people with whom the respondent lives is 3.5 (s.d.=2.3). Two thirds (67.0%) live with children. The findings that 32.4 percent live with adult family members (excluding partners) and 34.5 percent live with other adults (extended family and acquaintances) reflect the importance that extended kin play in the lives of the study participants.

5. Alcohol, Illicit Drugs and Illegal Activity

Data on the respondents' substance use and involvement in illegal activity are described in Table 6-5. All of the questions are based on single-response answers except for the measure of problem drinker. Problem drinker is measured with the TWEAK questionnaire, which is a brief set of 5 questions addressing tolerance to alcohol's effects, psychological consequences of drinking and others' concern about the respondent's alcohol use (Russell et al., 1994).

Table 6-5: Alcohol, Illicit Drugs and Illegal Activity

% Used marijuana in last 6 months (N=322)	48.1%
% Used cocaine in last 6 months (N=321)	19.0%
% Problem drinker (N=318)	17.0%
% Sold drugs in last 6 months (N=322)	3.4%
% Exchanged sex for money in last 6 months (N=322)	3.4%
% Arrested in past 6 months (N=322)	6.5%

Almost half of the women report recent marijuana use (48.1%), which suggests the presence of a marijuana subculture. Participation in drug involvement is not limited to marijuana use. Almost one in five (19%) respondents reported recent use of cocaine or crack. This is a significant proportion given the addictive quality associated with cocaine/crack and associated problems (i.e. drug seeking behaviors, violence). Moreover, 17 percent of the respondents meet the screening criteria for a alcohol addiction.

It is notable that in spite of high rates of substance use, only three percent of the sample report involvement in selling drugs or exchanging sex for money and only 6.5 percent report having been arrested in the past six months.

B. Description of Study Respondents' Most Recent Male Intimate Partners and Intimate Relationships

1. Demographic and Socioeconomic Characteristics

Demographic and socioeconomic characteristics of male intimate partners are presented in Table 6-6. This information is based on the respondents' self reports. All but two respondents reported having had a male intimate partner sometime in the past. The questions are based on single-response answers.

Table 6-6: Demographic and Socioeconomic Characteristics of Male Partners

Average Age (yrs.) (N=315)	30.7 (s.d.=10.35)
Race (N=316)	
% Black	87.7%
% White	1.6%
% Other	5.6%
% Don't Know	5.1%
Education (N=315)	
% Less than high school	21.0%
% High School	55.9%
% More that high school	18.4%
% Don't Know	4.8%
% Unemployed (N=315)	24.8%

The average male intimate is 30.7 (s.d.=10.35) years old, an average of 3.4 years older than the study respondents. Similar to the study respondents, most (87.7%) male intimate partners are Black with a high school education or less (76.9%). Twenty-five percent were reportedly unemployed at the time of the interview, approximately twice the unemployment rate of Black males in the city of Philadelphia (Wial, 1998). Measures of

educational attainment and unemployment characterize the male partners as economically disadvantaged.

2. Substance Use, Violence and Criminal Justice System Involvement

Substance use, violence and criminal justice system involvement among male partners are presented in Table 6-7. All answers are based on single-response answers.

Table 6-7: Substance Use, Violence and Criminal Justice System Involvement of Male Partners

% Used marijuana in the last month (N=316)	40.5%
% Used cocaine in the last month (N=316)	11.1%
% Respondent feels partner should cut down on drinking (N=315)	24.6%
Violence against others, exclusive of partner in past 6 months (N=316)	
% None	76.1%
% One time	10.6%
% More than one time	11.7%
% Don't Know	1.6%
% Ever arrested (N=316)	31.3%

Similar to the study respondents, substance use is common among the male partners. Forty one percent reportedly used marijuana during the month prior to the respondent's ED visit and 11 percent used cocaine during this time period. Twenty five percent of the respondents reported that their partners should cut down on drinking alcohol. It is notable that almost one third (31.3%) of the male partners have a history of arrest. Twenty four percent of the partners engaged in violence against someone other than the respondent during the 6 months prior to the interview. On the whole these data reflect a high prevalence of non-normative behaviors by the partners of study respondents.

3. Intimate Partner Relationship Characteristics

Intimate partner relationship characteristics are described in Table 6-8. All of the questions are based on a single response except for the variable "short-term uncommitted relationship." Respondents who meet the following criteria are considered to be involved in this type of relationship: duration of current relationship is less than 9 months, respondent does not live with partner, respondent is single (not married).

Table 6-8: Characteristics of Study Respondents' Intimate Partner Relationship

% Current relationship (N=318)	64.5%
% Lives with intimate partner (N=318)	25.2%
% Short-term uncommitted relationship (N=317)	23.0%
% Violence by intimate in last 6 months (N=311)	16.7%
% Relationship ended in last 6 months (N=315)	21.0%

Two-thirds (64.5%) of respondents report current involvement with a male intimate. The finding that only 25 percent live with their male partners points to the non-permanency of intimate partner relationships.

Seventeen percent of the respondents reported physical abuse by the male partner within the past six months. Twenty-one percent reported a recent breakup within the past six months. These findings reflect the presence of relationship instability.

Summary

"This section has focused on describing the study respondents, their most recent male partners and partner relationships. The portrayal of the respondents that emerges is one of having limited resources and substantial disorder in their lives. The majority of women reported receipt of government assistance, the presence of depression, and a history of past partner abuse. Almost half of the respondents reported substance use by their most recent male partners and almost a third reported that their partner had a history

of arrest. Although most women reported involvement in a current intimate relationship, one-quarter reportedly had been involved in a relationship that ended within the past six months. In sum, many of the women face numerous vulnerabilities including resource scarcity, violence within multiple contexts, illicit substance use and disruption in intimate relationships.

III. Bivariate Analyses

Throughout this section categorical variables are summarized by frequencies. Chi-square test statistics are reported. Means and standard deviations summarize continuous variables and two-tailed t-test statistics are reported.

A. Characteristics of the Study Respondents Disaggregated by Gender of the Antagonist

Demographic and Socioeconomic Characteristics

According to Table 6-9 there are notable similarities and differences between females injured by females and females injured by males.

Table 6-9: Respondent Demographic and Socioeconomic Characteristics by Gender Of the Antagonist

	<i>Intragender Assault</i>	<i>Cross-gender Assault</i>	<i>Test Statistic</i>	<i>P-Value</i>
Marital status (N=321)				
% Married	10.8%	14.9%	$\chi^2=1.4$ (df=2)	.490
% Separated/Divorced	13.2%	11.0%		
% Single	76.0%	74.0%		
% Unemployed (N=322)	58.1%	58.1%	$\chi^2=.00$ (df=1)	.997
% Receipt of government assistance (N=321)	58.7%	61.3%	$\chi^2=0.1$ (df=1)	.716
Race (N=322)				
% Black	97.0%	91.0%	$\chi^2=7.7$ (df=2)	.021
% White	3.0%	5.2%		
% Other	0%	3.9%		
Average Age (yrs.) (N=322)	25.6 (s.d.=7.5)	29.5 (s.d.=8.0)	t=4.5 (df=320)	.000
Education (N=322)				
% Less than high school	53.3%	37.4%	$\chi^2=9.9$ (df=1)	.007
% High School	34.7%	40.6%		
% More than high school	12.0%	21.9%		
% Lives in public housing (N=319)	31.7%	20.6%	$\chi^2=4.5$ (df=1)	.034
% Borrowed money in past 6 months (N=322)	38.9%	54.2%	$\chi^2=6.9$ (df=1)	.008

There are no differences in the proportions of females from both groups who are single, unemployed or receive government assistance. In spite of the finding that the vast majority of study respondents are black, there are significant differences between intragender and cross-gender respondents with respect to race ($\chi^2=7.7$, df=2, p=.021). Ninety-seven percent of the same gender assault victims were Black versus 91 percent of the cross-gender victims.

Females involved in intragender assault compared to females involved in cross-gender assault are significantly more likely to be younger ($t=4.5$, $df=320$, $p=.000$), to have fewer years of education ($X^2=9.9$, $df=1$, $p=.007$) and to live in public housing ($X^2=4.5$, $df=1$, $p=.034$). Women involved in cross-gender assault, however, were significantly more likely to have borrowed money in the past six months in order to make ends meet ($X^2=6.9$, $df=1$, $p=.008$).

The data reveal that females involved in intragender and cross-gender assault are financially strained. However, the finding that females injured by males were more likely to borrow money to make ends meet than females injured by females suggests that this group of females is more economically desperate.

Psychological Status

Psychological status of respondents by gender of the antagonist is presented in Table 6-10.

Table 6-10: Psychosocial Status by Gender of the Antagonist

	<i>Intragender Assault</i>	<i>Cross-gender Assault</i>	<i>Test Statistic</i>	<i>P-Value</i>
% Presence of depression (N=321)	58.7%	69.5%	$X^2=3.6$ (df=1)	.058
% Low self-esteem (N=318)	7.2%	14.6%	$X^2=3.8$ (df=1)	.052
% Takes psychiatric mediation (N=322)	9.0%	6.0%	$X^2=0.7$ (df=1)	.408

The tests of significance yielded no significant differences across measures of psychological status. It is noteworthy, however, that the majority of members from both groups reported the presence of depressive symptoms. It also is notable that twice as many females injured by males compared to females injured by females reported low self-

esteem (14.6% of victims of cross-gender assault compared to 7.2 percent of intragender victims).

History of Violence

The study respondents' experiences with violence are described by the gender of the antagonist in Table 6-11.

Table 6-11: History of Violence by Gender of the Antagonist

	<i>Intragender Assault</i>	<i>Cross-gender Assault</i>	<i>Test Statistic</i>	<i>P-Value</i>
% Childhood physical abuse (N=313)	24.2%	16.9%	$X^2=2.1$ (df=1)	.144
% Childhood sexual abuse (N=314)	16.3%	20.3%	$X^2=0.6$ (df=1)	.440
% Witnessed violence by father-figure toward mother-figure (N=313)	43.9%	45.5%	$X^2= 0.0$ (df=1)	.865
% Raped or forced sex (N=314)	7.2%	14.2%	$X^2=3.3$ (df=1)	.068
% Childhood physical abuse by mother-figure (N=313)	16.4%	8.1%	$X^2=4.1$ (df=1)	.042
History of abusive partner relationship (N=314)				
% none	50.6%	36.0%	$X^2=7.3$ (df=1)	.026
% one abusive partner	32.9%	39.3%		
% > one abusive partner	16.5%	24.7%		

Similar proportions of females injured by females and females injured by males reported childhood physical abuse, childhood sexual abuse, witnessing parental violence during childhood and rape during adulthood.

In contrast, females injured by females were significantly more likely than females injured by males to experience childhood physical abuse by a mother-figure ($X^2=4.1$, df=1

p=.042). However, a history of a partner abuse was associated with cross-gender assault ($X^2=7.3$, $df=1$ $p=.026$).

High proportions of members from both groups have been exposed to violence. The majority of members from both groups reported at least one abusive partner sometime in the past. Over forty percent of females injured by females and females injured by males witnessed violence during childhood. Nevertheless, there are differences with respect to violent experiences by gender of the antagonist.

Personal and Social Contacts and Household Composition

Table 6-12 describes the respondent's household composition and contacts with friends, family and institutions.

Table 6-12: Personal and Social Contacts and Household Composition by Gender of the Antagonist

	<i>Intragender Assault</i>	<i>Cross-gender Assault</i>	<i>Test Statistic</i>	<i>P-Value</i>
% Respondent lives with children (N=318)	68.9%	64.9%	$X^2=0.4$ (df=1)	.528
# of people with whom respondent lives (N=318)	3.7 (s.d.=2.3)	3.2 (s.d.=2.4)	$X^2=.8$ (df=316)	.081
% Lives with adult family member(s) (N=316)	37.1%	27.2%	$X^2=3.2$ (df=1)	.075
% Respondent lives with other adults (extended family, acquaintance)(N=318)	33.3%	35.6%	$X^2=0.1$ (d.f=1)	.769
% Participation in organized activities (N=322)	13.8%	14.8%	$X^2=0.0$ (df=1)	.909
# Of social visits per week (N=320)				
% None	21.0%	28.1%	$X^2=10.1$ (df=3)	.018
% One or two	22.8%	29.4%		
% Three to six	20.4%	22.2%		
% More than six	35.9%	20.3%		

There are no significant differences in household composition for females injured by females and females injured by males. Sixty-nine percent of females injured by females and 65 percent of females injured by males report living with children (not necessarily their own). The average number of people with whom the respondent lives is 3.7 (sd=2.3) for females injured by females and 3.2 (sd=2.4) for females injured by males.

Similar proportions of members from both groups, however, report participation in organized activities.

With regards to social interactions, there is a positive and significant relationship between frequency of social activity and intragender assault ($X^2=10.1$, $df=3$, $p=.018$).

Alcohol, Illicit Drugs and Illegal Activity

Data on the respondents' substance use and involvement in illegal activity by gender of the antagonists are described in Table 6-13.

Table 6-13: Alcohol, Illicit Drugs and Illegal Activity

	<i>Intragender Assault</i>	<i>Cross-gender Assault</i>	<i>Test Statistic</i>	<i>P-Value</i>
% Used marijuana in last 6 months (N=322)	47.3%	49.0%	$X^2=0.0$ (df=1)	.843
% Arrested in past 6 months (N=322)	5.8%	7.3%	$X^2=0.1$ (df=1)	.783
% Exchanged sex for money in last 6 months (N=322)	2.4%	4.5%	$X^2=0.5$ (df=1)	.459
% Sold drugs in last 6 months (N=322)	1.8%	5.2%	$X^2=1.8$ (df=1)	.176
% Problem drinker (N=318)	12.6%	21.9%	$X^2=4.2$ (df=1)	.040
% Used cocaine in last 6 months (N=321)	10.8%	27.7%	$X^2=13.8$ (df=1)	.000

Similar proportions of females injured by females and females injured by males reported recent marijuana use (47.3% and 49.0%). Only 5.8 percent of females injured by females and 7.3 percent of females injured by males reported a history of arrests. Less than six percent of members from both groups reported involvement in illegal behaviors.

Nevertheless, there are significant differences in substance use. Females injured by males are significantly more likely than female injured by females to meet criteria for a

problem drinker ($X^2=4.2$, $df=1$, $p=.040$) and to report using cocaine in the past six months ($X^2=13.8$, $df=1$, $p=.000$).

The results indicate that females injured by males have more serious substance abuse problems than females injured by females.

B. Description of Study Respondents' Most Recent Male Intimate Partners and Intimate Relationships Disaggregated by Gender of the Antagonist

Demographic and Socioeconomic Characteristics

Demographic and socioeconomic characteristics of the respondents' male partners are presented in Table 6-14. They are presented by gender of the antagonist and reveal differences and similarities.

Table 6-14: Demographic and Socioeconomic Characteristics of Male Partners by Gender of the Antagonist

	<i>Intragender Assault</i>	<i>Cross-gender Assault</i>	<i>Test Statistic</i>	<i>P-Value</i>
Race (N=316)				
% Black	87.9%	87.4%	$X^2=2.0$ (df=3)	.569
% White	2.4%	0.7%		
% Other	4.8%	6.6%		
% Don't Know	4.8%	5.3%		
% Unemployed (N=315)	25.6%	23.4%	$X^2=0.1$ (df=1)	.816
Education (N=315)				
% Less than high school	24.8%	16.7%	$X^2=7.7$ (df=3)	.053
% High School	57.6%	54.0%		
% More that high school	14.5%	22.7%		
% Don't Know	3.0%	6.7%		
Average Age (yrs.) (N=315)	28.3 (s.d.=9.6)	33.4 (s.d.=10.5)	$t=4.5$ (df=313)	.000

Similar proportions of male partners of females involved in intragender assault and male partners of females involved in cross-gender assault reportedly are Black

(87.9% and 87.4% respectively), and unemployed (25.6% and 23.4% respectively).

There are no significant differences with regards to educational attainment.

Females involved in intragender assault compared to females involved in cross-gender assault are significantly more likely to have male partners who are younger in age ($X^2=4.5$, $df=313$, $p=.000$). This is consistent with the earlier finding that females injured by females are significantly younger than females injured by males.

Substance Use, Violence and Criminal Justice System Involvement

Substance use, violence and criminal justice system involvement among male intimate partners are presented by gender of the antagonist in Table 6-15.

Table 6-15: Violence, Substance Use, and Criminal Justice System Involvement of Male Partners

	<i>Intragender Assault</i>	<i>Cross-gender Assault</i>	<i>Test Statistic</i>	<i>P-Value</i>
% Used marijuana in the last month (N=316)	40.4%	40.6%	$X^2=0.0$ (df=1)	1.000
% Used cocaine in the last month (N=316)	7.9%	14.6%	$X^2=2.9$ (df=1)	.087
% Respondent feels partner should cut down on drinking (N=315)	22.6%	26.8%	$X^2=0.6$ (df=1)	.455
% Ever arrested (N=316)	35.8%	26.5%	$X^2=2.7$ (df=1)	.098
% Violence against someone exclusive of partner in past 6 months (N=316)	27.9%	12.6%	$X^2=10.4$ (df=1)	.001

The proportion of male partners who reportedly engage in substance use is similar for females injured by females and females injured by males. About 41 percent of

partners from both groups reported recent marijuana use, which is similar to the proportions of females who reportedly used marijuana. Twenty-two percent of partners of females involved in intragender assault and 27 percent of partners of females involved in cross-gender assault reportedly need to cut down on their alcohol use. In this sample almost twice as many partners of females involved in cross-gender assault compared to partners of females involved in intragender assault reportedly used cocaine use recently (14.6% versus 7.9%). However these differences are not significant.

The partners of females injured by females were significantly more likely than partners of females injured by males to have engaged in violence in the past 6 months against someone, exclusive of the respondent ($X^2=10.4$, $df=1$, $p=.001$).

Male Intimate Partner Relationship Characteristics

Intimate partner relationship characteristics for females injured by females and females injured by males are described in Table 6-16.

Table 6-16: Characteristics of Study Respondents' Male Intimate Partner Relationships

	<i>Intragender Assault</i>	<i>Cross-gender Assault</i>	<i>Test Statistic</i>	<i>P-Value</i>
% Currently has a male intimate partner (N=318)	62.7%	66.4%	$X^2=.35$ (df=1)	.556
% Lives with intimate partner (N=318)	24.0%	26.5%	$X^2=.15$ (df=1)	.695
% Uncommitted relationship (N=317)	24.7%	21.2%	$X^2=.37$ (df=1)	.544
% Relationship ended in last 6 months (N=315)	23.6%	18.0%	$X^2=2.54$ (df=1)	.231
% Violence by intimate in last 6 months (N=311)	18.2%	15.1%	$X^2=.34$ (df=1)	.561

Partner characteristics are proportionately similar for females injured by females and females injured by males. Sixty-three percent of females injured by females and 66 percent of females injured by males have a current partner. However, less than one quarter of respondents from each group live with their male partners. This finding suggests that most females injured by females and females injured by males are involved in non-permanent relationships.

IV. Summary

This chapter has highlighted similarities and differences between female-on-female violence and male-on-female violence across several domains including characteristics of the respondents, and characteristics of their most recent male partners and partner relationships.

Females injured by females and females injured by males are almost universally Black. Most are unmarried and have symptoms of depression. Few are involved in organized activities and the majority of respondents receive government assistance. Marijuana use is common among females and their partners.

Notwithstanding the similarities between females injured by females and females injured by males, an intriguing set of bivariate differences emerges. In comparison to females injured by males, females injured by females are more likely to be younger, to have fewer years of education and to engage in more frequent social activity. They also are more likely to have male partners who are younger and partners who engage in violence with others.

Females injured by males compared to females injured by females were more likely to report having borrowed money to make ends meet. This finding points to severe financial strain. Higher proportions of substance use and involvement with abusive partners also characterize females injured by males. These results suggest that females involved in cross-gender assault compared to females involved in intragender assault have very limited financial resources and extensive turmoil in their lives.

CHAPTER 7. A DESCRIPTION OF THE VIOLENT EVENT: UNIVARIATE AND BIVARIATE ANALYSES

I. Introduction

This chapter describes characteristics of the violent event. According to *Gendered Social Structural Strain Theory* situational factors are expected to differ for intragender violence compared to cross-gender violence. Part II presents univariate analyses and includes two sections. The first includes analyses based on closed-ended questions and consists of the following: the victim-offender relationship and characteristics of the antagonist; time and location of the event and the involvement of others; alcohol and illicit drug use; violent acts by the participants; and injury information.

The second section presents frequency distributions based on open-ended questions. This section covers the following topics: reasons for the violent event; the role of the respondent; emotions on the part of the participants; background characteristics to the violence, characteristics of the verbal provocation, alcohol and illicit drug involvement and experiences with the police. As described in Chapter 5, the data from this section are based on the following interview questions: "*What happened to you is very important, so can you tell me what happened?*" "*What led to this happening?*" "*Why do you think he/she/they did this?*" "*What one thing in particular triggered her/him/them getting physical with you?*" Contextual, qualitative information is provided through the presentation of verbatim accounts reported by study respondents in order to describe their perceptions concerning reasons, characteristics and events that led up to violent events.

Part III presents bivariate comparisons of females involved in intragender violence with females involved in cross-gender violence, including differences in characteristics of the violent event. The first section includes analyses based on the closed-ended questions. The second focuses on the open-ended questions. Throughout the section on bivariate analysis categorical variables are summarized by frequencies. Statistical tests drawn from categorical variables are based on the Chi-square statistic. Means and standard deviations summarize continuous variables and statistical tests are based on two-tailed t-tests.

II. Univariate Analyses

A. Data Obtained From the Closed-Ended Questions

1. Characteristics of the Antagonist and Victim-Offender Relationship

Characteristics of the antagonist and the victim-offender relationship and are described in Table 7-1. An age-peer is considered to be within five years of the respondents' age.

Table 7-1: Victim-Offender Relationship and Characteristics of the Antagonist

Average estimated age (N=311)	28.8 (s.d.=11.4)
Age Group (yrs.)	
% < 16	3.2%
% 16-24	39.5%
% 25-35	32.8%
% ≥36	24.4%
Race (N=319)	
% Black	90.9%
% White	5.3%
% Other	3.8%
Victim-Offender relationship (N=322)	
% Family member	20.8%
% Friend	14.0%
% Acquaintance/neighbor	43.5%
% Stranger	21.7%
Respondent lives with antagonist (N=320)	9.7%
% Age-peers (N=320)	48.8%
Number of Antagonist(s) (N=322)	
% One	73.3%
% Two or three	14.9%
% More than three	11.8%

According to the respondents' reports, the typical antagonist is estimated to be 29 (sd=11.4) years old and Black. In most incidents the antagonist is someone the respondent knows (78.3%), though only 9.7 percent of the respondents live with the antagonist. Only 21.7 percent of the antagonists were strangers.

In almost half of the incidents the respondent was injured by a person within 5 years of the respondent's own age. In 73.3 percent of the incidents the antagonist inflicted the violent injury alone.

2. Time, Location, Involvement of Others

The time, location and involvement of others including police and bystanders are described in Table 7-2. These questions are based on single-response answers.

Table 7-2: Time, Location and Involvement of Others

Time of Incident (N=320)	
% 6:01 a.m.- 9:00 a.m.	1.9%
% 9:01 a.m.- noon	3.8%
% 12:01 pm - 3:00 p.m.	14.4%
% 3:01 p.m.- 6:00 p.m.	26.9%
% 6:01 p.m.- 9:00 p.m.	29.1%
% 9:01 p.m.- 12:00a.m.	16.9%
%12:01 a.m. - 3:00a.m.	5.0%
% 3:01 a.m.- 6:00am	2.2%
% Violence occurred inside respondent's residence (N=321)	37.4%
% Violence occurred on respondent's street (N=199)¹	17.6%
Location of Violence: Indoor, Outdoor or Both (N=320)	
% Indoor location	38.1%
% Outdoor location	55.3%
% Both indoor and outdoor	6.6%
% Presence of bystanders (N=320)	81.6%
% Bystander tried to stop violence (N=278)²	63.3%
% Police arrived (N=312)	66.7%

¹ The question, "Was it on the street where you live?" was only asked if the violence did not occur in the respondent's residence.

² Question on bystander involvement was asked only if bystanders were present.

Fifty-six percent of the violent incidents occurred between 3:00 p.m. and 9:00 p.m. Fifty-five percent of the incidents occurred in the respondent's home or on her street. The majority of incidents occurred in outdoor locations (62.8%) within the public context; in most incidents (86%) bystanders were present. Of this group, sixty-three percent tried to stop the violence. In two-thirds of the incidents the police arrived at the scene.

The results reveal that violence frequently occurs at or near the respondent's home during the time when social density is at its highest. Violence to women by non-intimates

takes place on view and is not a private affair. These results suggest that violence is part of everyday life.

3. Alcohol and Illicit Drug Use by Respondents and Antagonists

Alcohol and illicit drug use by respondents and antagonists within four hours of the violent event are described in Table 7-3.

Table 7-3: Alcohol and Illicit Drug Use by Respondents and Antagonists

	Respondent	Antagonist
% Used either alcohol or drugs within four hours of violent event (N=321)	25.9%	56.1%
% Used alcohol within four hours of violent event (N=321)	22.4%	38.0%
% Used drugs within four hours of violent event (N=321)	9.0%	45.2%
% Respondent and antagonist used drugs or alcohol within 4 hours of violent event (N=321)	19.0 %	

Twenty six percent of the respondents and fifty six percent of the antagonists reportedly had used illicit drugs or alcohol within four hours of the violent event.

Almost three times as many respondents reportedly used alcohol compared to illicit drugs (22.4% versus 9.0%). In contrast, a greater proportion of antagonists reportedly used drugs than alcohol (45.2% versus 38.0%). In almost one out of five (19%) incidents both the respondent and antagonist had used either illicit drugs or alcohol.

Earlier findings (see Chapter 5) indicate that self-reported substance use by the respondent is correlated significantly with urine toxicology reports. This finding likely minimizes the possibility of a response bias and points to substance use as an important situational factor that fuels violence.

4. Violent Acts by Respondents and Antagonists

A description of violent acts including weapon use is provided in Table 7-4. All questions required single-response answers. The last two questions only were asked with respect to the respondent.

Table 7-4: Violent Acts and Weapon Use

	Violent Act by Respondent to Antagonist	Violent Act by Antagonist to Respondent
% Slapped, punched, pushed kicked or bit (N=322)	55.8%	83.2%
% Threatened with something hurtful (N=321)	8.1%	42.4%
% Hit antagonist with something (N=321)	6.9%	33.6%
% Stabbed or cut antagonist with something (N=321)	1.6%	23.1%
% Shot at with a gun (N=321)	0.3%	2.8%
	Respondent	
% Respondent fought back (N=321)	61.7%	-
% Respondent was carrying something to keep herself safe (N=321)	6.9%	-

According to Table 7-4 most (83.2%) respondents were slapped, punched, pushed, kicked or bitten by antagonists. Forty-two percent were threatened with something harmful. Of this percentage, 19 (or 14%) were threatened with a gun (not shown). According to Table 7-4, thirty-four percent had been hit with something and 23.1 percent had been stabbed or cut. The most frequently cited weapons used to stab or cut included a razor blade, followed by a knife and glass (not shown). Based on Table 7-4, 2.8 percent of the respondents had been shot at with a gun and one sustained a gun injury.

Sixty-two percent of the study respondents fought back. Of this group, the majority (55.8%) slapped, punched, pushed kick or bit the antagonist. Seven percent of the respondents (N=22) were carrying something to keep themselves safe at the time of the violent event. Of the 22 respondents (not shown) the most frequently cited carried items include a knife or razor (N=10) and mace (N=6); three respondents reported

carrying a sharp object; one respondent reported carrying a stick; one reported carrying a bat; and one reported carrying a gun. According to Table 7-4, seven percent of the respondents hit the antagonist with an object and 2 percent stabbed or cut the antagonist. One respondent shot a gun at the antagonist.

The results demonstrate that weapon use is more often the exception than the rule. The most prevalent form of violent act by the respondent and antagonist is one-on-one bodily physical contact; however, injuries inflicted are severe enough to warrant emergency department care.

5. Injury Information

Injury data are presented in Table 7-5. To determine the injury location the participant was shown a body map and asked the following, "*Can you circle the areas where you were hurt or hit?*" The interviewer used these data to code one or more injured locations.

Table 7-5: Injury Location and Fatalities¹

% Face or Head (N=322)	67.1%
% Face (N=322)	52.5%
% Head (not face) (N=322)	35.4%
% Arm/Shoulder (N=322)	30.4%
% Back/Buttocks (N=322)	26.4%
% Hand/Wrist (N=322)	25.5%
% Leg (N=322)	24.4%
% Neck (N=322)	16.1%
% Stomach/Groin (N=322)	13.7%
% Chest (not Breast) (N=322)	13.0%
% Breast (N=322)	5.6%
% Someone was killed (N=318)	0.6%

¹ Multiple locations coded per respondent

The most frequently cited areas of injury include the face (52.5%), followed by the head (35.4%) and arm/shoulder (30.4%). During one percent (N=2) of the incidents, a person had been killed.

The high proportion of women who sustained injuries to the face or head likely reflects the most frequent types of violent acts that include hitting or punching. Targeting the face also may reflect a strategy used to reduce a female's physical attractiveness by damaging qualities that she values such as physical attractiveness. Moreover, injury to the respondent's face may serve as public emblem of victory for the antagonist.

B. Data Obtained from the Open-ended Questions

Respondents' accounts are provided in the following section in order to describe respondents' perceptions regarding reasons and events that led up to the violent events. They also are presented to illustrate the definitions of numerous concepts that were operationalized (e.g. Mutual-Contribution, Female-Valued Resource, Personal Respect Relational-Protection and Interpersonal Concerns).

1. Reasons for the Violence

Reasons for the violence are described in Table 7-6. The reasons were post-coded from the open-ended questions that inquire how the violence began, the events that led up to the violence, why the violence occurred and factors that triggered the violence. The definitions of each reason are described in the sections below.

Table 7-6: Reasons for the Violence¹

% Issues related to personal respect (N=319)	25.1%
% Money/resources (N=319)	17.9%
% Gender-centric concerns (N=319)	16.3%
% Interpersonal-concerns (N=319)	14.1%
% Predatory violence (N=319)	13.5%
% Related to children or parenting (N=319)	9.1%
% Mental illness (N=319)	5.6%
% For a thrill/type of person he/she is(N=319)	3.4%
% Player behavior (N=319)	3.1%
% Physical attractiveness (N=319)	1.9%

¹ More than one reason can be coded per incident.

a. Issues Related to Personal Respect

The most frequently cited reason (25.1%) for the violence involves issues related to “personal respect.” As noted earlier, at the heart of respect is the issue of maintaining one’s self-esteem. In communities characterized by limited means to earn status, respect becomes worth fighting over (Anderson, 1999; Nurge, 2000). While some respondents used the term “respect,” most respondents did not. Instead they described insults, slights (e.g. name calling, cursing) or accusations made prior to the violent event without using the actual term respect. One respondent (#1406) injured by a female explained:

Someone was ringin' my bell at 3:00 in the morning and I really didn't feel like getting up. At that time it continued to ring and then I answered my intercom to find out who it was. It was the lady on the second floor. I don't know her. She asked me to let her in. and I told her I didn't appreciate her ringing my bell at 3:00 in the morning with my children sleepin' and I didn't let her in then. [At] 6:00 in the evening... I saw some lights outside my window. So I went to the door to see what was going on and she was standing in the front door and I turned to walk away.. cause she just called the cops on me twice... As I went into the apartment I hear her say, 'There goes that bitch there.' And when I heard her say that I came out of my apartment and said, 'You're not gonna keep calling the cops on me and not gonna keep disrespecting me.' And we was arguing, she tried to push past me, that's when I hit her and then we started fighting.

The following examples illustrate an exchange of insults between acquaintances.

One respondent (#3038) explained:

I was standing in the doorway and a girl walked by and bumped me. So I came in classroom and said, 'O.K.. It's Friday. I see how girls want to play.' Then she pushed me. We started fighting... [it was] about her bumping me in the hall... [and] I guess me commenting about her after she bumped me.

Another respondent (#3082) provided the following account:

I saw this guy I know buying drugs and I said, 'If you can buy drugs you can pay me the \$5 you owe me.' He said 'Fuck you bitch' and I said, 'The one that had you.' The next thing I know is he went to his car and got his club and came back over to me and started beating me in my head and my arm and hand. My hand is broken and they had to sew an artery in my head to stop the bleeding. I have stitches on both sides of my head.

b. Money/Resources

Eighteen percent of the incidents involved arguments over money or resources.

Arguments usually centered on owing money, stealing money or competing over resources. The finding that a top reason for violence involved fights over money or resources is consistent with *Gendered Social Structural Strain Theory*; with limited means to achieve conventionally-defined success, resources take on increased importance. A typical scenario follows (#1317):

My husband's nephew walked straight in the house, straight up the stairs and started punching me in my face and choking me. And he picked me up and threw me down a flight of steps and then started punching me and choking me again. And that's when I called 911... He did this because I was stopping him from taking my mother-in-law's money.

Another respondent (#1554) explained:

It was over \$50...things got out of hand, words were exchanged and I got jumped. I was with my cousin who paid this girl to braid her hair and she went to have her hair done and the girl didn't want to...[the] argument was about the money.

The following is an example of fighting over resources. The respondent (#3782) sustained an injury by a friend and explained:

I was in the laundromat with one of my friends and it started off that he was playing, gripping me around my chest and pushing me. And that when I fell and hurt my knee and then he climbed on top of me and was still grabbing me...[He did this] because a friend of both of ours gave me some basketball tickets to give to me. James decided that... he wanted them tickets.

c. Gender-Centric Concerns

Fourteen percent of the incidents focused on gender-centric concerns among females and males. Female concerns include attempts to impress a boyfriend (actual or potential), competition over boyfriends, jealousy related to pregnancy, and player behavior. As explained earlier (see Chapter 3) jealousy over a rival's pregnancy may reflect competition over a male intimate (Anderson, 1990). Player behavior by males involves maintaining more than one girlfriend at a time or flirting/having an affair with a second woman. According to previous research, male player behavior perpetuates rivalries between women (Artz, 1998; Oliver, 1989; Nurge, 2000).

In contrast to female-centric concerns, male-centric concerns that emerged from the data center on rejection by a female friend or potential girl friend. This finding is consistent with past research that has associated male violence with threats to one's manhood (Anderson, 1999; Oliver, 1989b).

i. Female-Centric Concerns

Female-centric concerns reveal the central role of boyfriends in the lives of the study respondents and the importance assigned to maintaining a positive appearance in the eyes of males. One respondent (#3654) explained:

Me and my roommate got in a physical fight. She threw a glass in my face and I hit her back. My brother and my boyfriend separated us. Somehow my arm got hurt. [It was about] something very childish. You know how you play and say things about each other. She was teasing me about my butt and I was trying to be cute in front of my boyfriend so I disagreed and she got mad and called me a bitch. [What triggered the violence was that] I called her one back and she threw a glass in my face.

Another respondent explained (#3432):

Me and some girl got into an argument. She was trying to be big and tough because guys were around. She got in my face and I hit her. When people were trying to break the fight up I hit her. I went home to change my shirt because it was ripped and we started fighting again because she followed me home.

Competition over male intimates was a common theme. One respondent (#1121) described the following scenario:

A girl kept playing with the phone. She was calling all the numbers on a beeper to see who they were and she called me. Then she called my mom's number. I went to her house. She had a knife in her hand and we started fighting. She stabbed me. [It was about] her playing on my phone. Cuz she want my boyfriend.

Another respondent (#1183) reported:

I was fighting. It was some girl. She bit my finger and in my chest. [It was about] rumors. I was supposedly messing with her boyfriend. I 'posed to be lying, saying I was pregnant by him.

One respondent (#1362) explained:

She came to my house. I don't even know her by name. It was over a guy. She said she wanted to fight and when I got out on the street she maced me. Then she just started stabbing me all over. [It was] cause she wanted

my son's father as a man – so she came after me. It was about a guy... [What triggered the violence was that] she was mad cause she couldn't have him.

Female-centric concerns also emerged between respondents and their boyfriends' mothers. One respondent (#3450) who was injured by her boyfriend's mother provided the following description:

[Last night] we got back together. His mother doesn't like me and don't want me around. We was sitting there watching T.V. I said, 'If your mom finds me here she won't like it.' He said, 'Don't worry.' Well, his mom came and told me to get out of the house. She had a knife and my boyfriend took it away. Then she got a pair of scissors and he took them away. Then she came upstairs had me pinned up against the dresser. That's when she cut me. [This happened because of the] previous argument between my boyfriend and I. She is very protective of him.

Numerous scenarios reveal that male player behavior contributes to violence between females. A typical account (#3327) follows:

I was in a club and it as crowded and when men approaches, you don't know that they have a girlfriend. His girlfriend came in with her girlfriend and he sat down with me. I was telling him that I was married. She saw us and said we'll see you when you get outside. When I was coming out the door, I was intoxicated, she started cussing at me. I told her I didn't need her man. There was a whole lot of people crowding around she broke the window of my car with the 'club' from the car, and I got the bat out from the back seat and I started swinging it. One of the girls grabbed me and the other girl grabbed the bat and she hit me in the arm when I tried to block it then I hit her in the head with the bat. And then I went wild and started swinging and they started to break it up.

One respondent (#1148) described a scenario that involved being jumped by four women, one of whom was having an affair with her husband:

I was on my way home and four women had jumped me. They just kept kicking me and beat me... They constantly harassing me... [It's] just really about my boyfriend having an affair with 'em.

Another respondent (#1565) expressed a similar sentiment:

My girlfriend and I were driving. We was going to the swimming pool. These guys blocked the car and then one of the girls sprayed me with mace. Everybody was just fighting...[It was because] I was messing with this guy. He let me hold his car. He must have had another girl and she had her things in the car. I guess she was mad that I was driving the car.

Resentment over a rival female's pregnancy also contributes to violence. One respondent (#1588) expressed the following:

I got jumped...it was two girls. I'm pregnant. As soon as I got pregnant I have enemies for no reason. [It's about] jealousy. They don't like me. I'm pregnant. They don't like me.

Other females reportedly engaged in violence against respondents as a means to release emotional distress over boyfriends. One respondent (1454) explained:

I called the two girls from my house asking for my aunt because I was home alone and afraid. One of them answered the phone and hung up on me. They called me back and said not to hang up on them. We started having an argument on the phone...I don't know [why she got violent]. [What triggered the violence was that] I heard that one of them and their boyfriend broke up so now she's looking for problems with other people.

ii. Male-Centric Concerns

Male-centric concerns center on rejection by a female friend or potential girlfriend. For example, one female respondent (#3843) who reportedly was injured by a male neighbor reported the following:

Me and my cousin and this boy came over and they started arguing and I told him to leave me alone. So he punched me. Then he kicked me in my stomach, and in my lips and we started fighting...He and my cousin was arguing because he calls us African, African. [He did this] because he had a crush on me before and I wouldn't go out with him, or sleep with him.

Another respondent (#1367) injured by two females described the following scenario:

I work as a street cleaner. I was at work. One of the other guys from the job came into my zone and told me that the supervisor wanted me. But when I got there, there wasn't no supervisor. There were 2 girls there and they jumped me... It was a setup. One of the guys who told me to go to the

supervisor likes me. I told him that I don't want to get involved with someone at work. He's been harassing me. He told me that if he can't have me no one else will and he gonna make my life miserable. The girls came up behind me to the front, punched me and then ran. [What triggered the violence was that]... he might have paid them.

One respondent (#1189) who was injured by a male acquaintance described the importance of importance of upholding one's reputation for males. She explained:

I just had a fight because I didn't want to have sex with somebody I didn't know. [He got violent] cuz I told him no and I guess he hate to be told no. ... he got to uphold his reputation and when somebody tell him no, it get messed up.

d. Interpersonal-Concerns

Fourteen percent of the respondents attributed the violence to two issues categorized as interpersonal concerns. The first involves includes issues of dislike. The second is referred to by researchers as "indirect aggression" and by respondents as "he say/she say" and includes spreading rumors and gossiping (Bjorkqvist et al., 1992).

i. "She/he Doesn't Like Me"

The following accounts illustrate the relevance of not being liked in the lives of the study participants. One respondent (#3812) explained:

I was coming from the store and my neighbors, they jumped me...Six of them. [Because] the girl, she just doesn't like me...she said that she thinks that I'm cute.

Another respondent (#2059) said:

It's some girl across the street who don't like me for some reason. Today she ran right up across the street and started trying to fight me. I was punching and kicking her, then her girlfriend came and held me and she bit me in my chest. Then I hit her head with a bottle. Then I tried to run in the house but she came after me so I was pouncing her till she ran. She just don't like me. She's jealous. It's about jealousy, I don't know why.

ii. "He Say/ She Say"

According to the respondents' accounts rumors and gossip are commonplace.

One respondent (#3443) who sustained an injury by a male friend shared the following:

The boy hit me because of some 'he say she say' argument. I was coming from my house. He snuck up on me and hit me. I flipped out and over... My mouth was bleeding...then he started running from the cops. [It was over] some argument. I told some girl he was smoking dope. I don't know what's going on. I guess he was trying to prove himself to somebody.

Another respondent (#3203) explained:

I had got a phone call about 7:30 p.m. A girl asked me if I could come around the corner for a minute. I said 'sure.' I didn't think nothing. She was questioning me. I turned around, and when I turned around there was another girl, and they jumped me and when I got up there was a whole bunch of people on top of me. [It was because] a female had told another female that I had said something about her, which wasn't true but she didn't want to listen to my side of the story.

e. Predatory Violence

Predatory violence includes acts of theft, rape or attempted sex. Fourteen percent of respondents sustained an injury during predatory violence. One respondent (#1448) who was injured by a stranger responded:

I was going to my car to put my pocketbook in the trunk. Four girls drove by in a red Honda and stopped and said 'Give that shit up' and then I told her if she ain't have a gun she ain't getting nothing. She said she was one of the bad ones. She jumped out of the car and tried to steal my herring bone necklace. We got to tussling. There was a police officer in the schoolyard and he told her to go away. She took off. I realized I was bleeding.

Another respondent (#1208) provided the following account of theft by a male acquaintance:

This guy had entered our house without our permission and tried to steal our cable box. He did steal our cable box. Then I started to get in a fight with him because I couldn't understand why he would do that when I knew him for years. When he went to hit me back he pulled out a knife and cut my hand – that's when my brother jumped into and started fighting with him. After we caught him, we asked him about the money he borrowed from my grandmother - \$100, but he didn't have it. Earlier he and his sister tried to fight me and when I got home he was just there. Nobody let him in and that's how it started...he wanted money to get drugs.

One woman who was injured by a stranger (#1254) responded:

I was sitting in traffic digging in my pocketbook for a light and the glass just shattered and broke all over me. I pulled off, put my foot on the gas and went to my sister's house...[What triggered the violence was] maybe it was a smash and grab thing. Smash the window and grab my pocketbook...I sped off. I didn't have time to see what he or they was doing.

Numerous women sustained injuries as a consequence of attempted sex. One respondent

(#3011) shared the following:

I was putting my Christmas lights out and this street acquaintance who works at a local barbershop said, 'suck my dick.' I told him to get from in front of the damn door. So he said, 'don't make me do what I'm going to do.' He sucker punched me and knocked me down...He tried to force me to suck his dick.

Another respondent (#1232) shared the following:

It happened yesterday because I didn't want to have oral sex. He wrapped a belt around my legs...He said, 'I'll teach you.' I really shouldn't. He cut me, he beat me, he tied a belt around my ankles and cut my hair. He tried to force me to have sex but I fought him off.

f. Fights Involving Children and Parenting

Nine percent of the incidents involved issues related to children or parenting. The most common theme involved disputes between children. One respondent (#1025) explained:

The woman came banging...[to] my home saying that my son hit her daughter. I told her, her daughter is the one that hits my son and with objects too. The next thing I know I turned around and then she snuck me with a bottle. I had no chance to block it or anything...I called the police. When I came back down she had a bat or a board after my son. [Its because] he said my son hit her daughter... She was just hollering. I mean kids will be kids...they fight today...play tomorrow. My son said her daughter was lying. He didn't hit her, she hit him with a rope. I told my son not to play with her because she is sneaky.

According to another respondent (#1467):

Two four-year old children caused the fight. One being my nephew and the other being the grandson of a resident who lived across the street. The playground is where we were having a community meeting, in a recreational center. What happened was we were in a center, while the children were playing outside of the center in the playground. All of a sudden I heard a child crying...Since I was leading this meeting, I told someone else to go check to see what was going on. And it was my sister who went outside to see what was going on. It happened to be her son and the other little boy...her grandson was crying when my sister got out there. The grandmother is 41 years old and is known in the neighborhood as [an] obnoxious, hard, loud, wild person. She was hollering and threatening my nephew, cussing him saying 'What the 'F' did you hit my grandson for?' She continued cussing him out and getting closer to him like she was going to hit him. My sister asked her politely, 'If you have anything to say to him, I'm his mother, say it to me.' I came out of the building because I heard 2 adults arguing, not knowing that one of them was my sister. As I approached the grandmother, she was walking close to my sister. I said 'what's going on?' She said 'your "F" nephew hit my "F" grandson and I want to know what the "F" he hit him for?' My sister was trying to tell her if she calmed down, we can try to find out what happened. She said I know what happened your "F" son hit my "F" grandson... I told her my sister's 5 1/2 months pregnant, we are trying to do something positive in the community here. We don't have time for this. She told me to mind my own business... And then she walked away. We continued back with the meeting. An hour and a half later, her family came inside the recreation center and attacked my sister. I kept screamin' to them, 'she's pregnant, fight me.' But they kept going after my sister. The fight kept going on...15 people were trying to pull them off my sister. I got my sister away from them and sheltered her with my body. In the process, my back was towards them. They pulled my hair out and was just punchin' me in the back and kickin' me.

Another common topic involving children focused on issues related to parenting. One respondent (#1089) who was injured by her brother explained:

Me and my brother got in a fight over my kids. He called DHS [Department of Human Services] on me. See, last night I wasn't home because my kids were with my husband. My brother came and he called DHS, so when I went there I was mad.

One respondent (#1109) provided the following account:

I was assaulted by my daughter's boyfriend...I defended myself the best way I know how. I got out of his sight and put a dresser and mirror in front of the door. Then when I thought he had gone to his car I started to get dressed and go out. [It was about] me trying to chastise my grandson for his unruly behavior. It was about his son thinking his son is better than anybody else in the world... I just tried to use the bat as a protection shield just to keep him off me.

g. Mental Problems

In six percent of the fights the respondent mentioned that mental problems contributed to violent outcome. In all, but one incident the respondent described the antagonist as mentally ill. In the exceptional case the respondent described herself as suicidal.

One respondent (#2133) who was injured by her son explained:

My son caught me. My son did this. And I was home asleep. My son is mentally disturbed, he won't admit it. I tries to get him help. He was trying to stab me with a knife and then he took and hit me with a glass. I can't make it. I can't go on...I hate him. I hate him. I just hate him...He's crazy. I hate him and he hates me...He's mentally disturbed. I try to get him help, but he don't listen.

Another respondent (#3744) who was injured at work reported:

I was working at a nursing home. One of residents at home cornered me and began hitting me. When I did get away he threw a pitcher of water at me. He was very agitated, verbally abusive... I really don't know [why it happened] other than [him] being upset...He was a psych[iatric] patient and really didn't belong on the floor.

h. For a Thrill

Six percent of the respondents attributed the antagonists' violent acts to wanting to thrill. This category also includes antagonists described as troublemakers or the type of person to act violent. One respondent (#2450) explained:

I was walking to the bus to catch a bus and three guys were running towards me and they just knocked me down... I guess I didn't get out of their way fast enough. They laughed and just kept running. [They got violent]...For a thrill...for kicks.

Another respondent explained (#3246):

I was taking a bath and heard a girlfriend of mine coming up the stairs. She kicked open bathroom door hit me in the face with a blunt object. It was either a billy club or the butt of a gun. I went under the water the first time then I got out and realized blood was dripping from my head. There was a discrepancy over a phone bill. My phone was in her name at first. I paid the bill when I moved and got my new phone put in my own name. But she thought I didn't pay the bill because the phone company disconnected her phone. [She did this because] she's that kind of person. She tries to intimidate people.

i. Physical Attractiveness

Two percent of the incidents involved issues related to physical attractiveness.

One respondent (#3576) provided the following account:

I was at my girlfriend's. I saw another girl that I had an argument with over there... [She got violent because] she's jealous. [What triggered the violence was that] when I walked in my girlfriend said to me how nice my hair looked. She got mad.

2. The Role of the Respondent

Table 7-7 summarizes the roles assumed by respondent during the violent event.

All roles except, protector, are limited to descriptions of the respondents' roles. The category labeled "Protection" includes incidents where either the respondent or antagonist

engaged in violence to protect a third party. The information in Table 7-7 was post coded from the open-ended responses that queried why and how the violent event occurred.

Table 7-7: The Role of the Respondent¹

% Mutual contribution (N=319)	24.5%
% Protection (N=319)	17.0%
% Innocent victim (N=319)	14.4%
% Respondent initiated physical violence (N=319)	7.5%
% Drawn into violence (N=319)	5.3%
% Tried to break up fight (N=319)	3.8%

¹ Mutual contribution, Innocent victim and Respondent initiated physical violence can be coded in more than one category

a. Mutual Contribution

Twenty-five percent of the incidents are characterized as “mutual.” In these incidents the respondent contributed to the violent outcome through verbal or physical provocation prior to the violence and fought back with violence. However, the respondent often appears to be an innocent target of the initial attack. A typical response (#1560) cited by a female injured by another female follows:

I was in a fight with a girl who was two times bigger than me. The fight, it was actually with her mom who says that I disrespected her. This has been going on for a while. Then mom asked why I disrespect her and I said she disrespected me so I disrespected her and that's when she smuck me, she popped me upside the head. So then I really called her a bitch and we started fighting. [What triggered the violence was that] I called her mom a 'B'.

One respondent (#1288) who sustained an injury by a friend's relatives provided the following description:

I got in fight with girl. I was getting the best of her and so her two girlfriends jumped in and started fighting me. I could handle all three of them so she (one of the girls) dropped a cinderblock on my head... She said something. I said something. She said something again. Then she said, she'd slap me. I said 'go ahead.' She put her hands up so I hit her.

Then she hit me in head with [a] children's radio. I hit her in head with children's radio and boot heel.

One respondent (#3155) who was injured by one of her parent's male friends explained:

I was going swimmin' and some guy I didn't know but I seen him before asked me if I could do it. He grabbed my butt and I grabbed his penis and put my nails in it. Then we started arguin' and he socked me in the jaw. He wanted to have sex and I told him no. [What triggered his violence was that] I put my nails in his penis.

Another respondent who was injured by a co-worker described the following scenario

(#1252):

I was at work. We was all around the table and this guy named Drew he kept laughing when I was talking. And I had called him a kid. And he asked one of his friends what did I say. And the friend told Drew. So he told me to stop 'fucking playing.' Then I called Drew a bitch and he pushed me to the floor and I grabbed a chair to hit him with and he punched me in the eye.

One woman, an innocent victim of a stranger robbery, contributed to the violent outcome by using verbal and physical aggression. She (#1609) explained:

I was going to the check cashin' place to pay all my bills and stuff. Before I got to the check cashing place, two young black males pulled up to me in a burgandy Maxima and asked me directions... I was tellin' them how to get there... The driver gave the passenger a gun and the passenger watched for it and I turned away to run to the beer shop across the street. I wasn't even really runnin' because when you live in the hood, you see guns everyday. Shoot everyone has one. They are gonna make me get one. So the guy swung the door open, grabbed my shirt, snatched my purse. And I said 'Oh no you don't, you son of a bitch' and I went to hit him and we was fightin'. The driver must have got scared and drove off, but I was still holdin' onto the car, chokin' the guy. He was pokin' me and hit my glasses off. They drove off like a bat out of hell and I was completely stunned. They dragged me for a block while the car was tryin' to get away.

The finding that mutual contribution characterizes one fourth of the incidents is consistent with past finding that violence to women is not one of simple victimization (Baskin and Sommers, 1998).

b. Protection

Seventeen of the participants (including respondents and antagonists) engaged in violence in the service of protecting a third party. This includes 9 percent of the respondents and 9 percent of the antagonists. Three forms of protection emerged: (1) protecting someone from physical injury; (2) protecting someone's resources; and (3) protecting someone's reputation.

An example of attempting to protect someone from physical harm follows. The respondent (#3220):

My sister and her old man were fighting. When he picked up a board to hit her with I tried to stop him and he got mad and started hitting at me with it. I put my arm up to block my face and he hit me on the right arm with it. He was attacking my sister and I tried to stop him from hurting my sister.

One respondent described an attempt to protect her sister-law from being scammed by a cab driver. She (#3302) explained:

My sister-in-law buzzed the door...I heard her arguing with this man so I came downstairs and I seen the man pushing her and that's when I went to help her and he punched me in my face...He went the wrong way and he tried to charge her more money. She told him that she wasn't going to pay him more than \$3.00. [What triggered the violence was] because I pushed him.

The next example illustrates the relevance of protecting someone else's reputation. One respondent (#1262) who was injured by residents in a shelter explained:

I was doin' my daughter's hair and I needed the lights on ten more minutes to finish. Lamps can stay on. This woman said she was turning the lights out and I asked if she could keep it on for a little while longer and she got real nasty with me. Words were exchanged, the lights were turned off anyway. I laid down with my kids. Somebody told this lady's daughter we exchanged words and she said, 'Nobody disrespects my mother. Nobody disrespects my mother.' She came lookin' for me and she hit me with a bottle of laundry detergent. I came off the bed and we

started fighting. After that, I came to defend myself. Her and her mom jumped me somehow. I blacked out.

Another respondent (#1373) described the following scenario.

I got jumped...I got kicked in the head with this girl's boot... Basically a bump. It was a misunderstanding and one of the girls came after me and kicked me in the head...[She got violent because] she wanted to help her friend...the girl that I accidentally bumped.

c. Innocent Victim

In 14 percent of the incidents the respondent described herself as an innocent victim (although she may have contributed to the violent outcome through verbal or physical provocation). In five percent of the incidents she was drawn into the violence for reasons beyond her control and in four percent of the incidents she sustained an injury while trying to break up a fight. Thus, in 23 percent of the incidents the respondent described herself as an innocent victim or one who played an altruistic role.

One respondent (#2026) who sustained an injury while trying to break up a fight gave the following description:

My sisters was fighting. I came outside to break it up. A girl head-butted me in the face...I don't even know what they were fighting about. I think she thought I was tryin' to jump in the fight. I was just trying to break it up. I don't go for that fighting crap.

Another respondent had tried to break up a fight between her cousin and her cousin's boyfriend. She explained (#1404):

They were fighting and I happened to be at her house. I was coming down the steps to get my nieces because they were fighting. I took my nieces back upstairs and I came back down the steps to break the fight up. I was in the middle...in between them two. I had my back toward my cousin pushing her back, as I was pushing her back, her boyfriend was trying to swing over me to get to her with his left hand. As he was swinging to get her all I knew is that I blacked out because he hit me.

Other women sustained an injury because they were drawn into the fight for reasons beyond their control, usually serving as the target for someone else's anger. In numerous cases the respondent sustained an injury because of situations that involved her male partner. One woman (#1097) explained:

Me and my husband was assaulted going to the Chinese store. I knew one of the guys. My husband knew one. They were mugging us. We're ex-crack users and my husband owed them money... [The violence happened because] my boyfriend not telling me about this debt that he should have told me about. We trying to clean up our lives. [What triggered the violence was] 'cause I asked them not to hurt my husband...He said 'shut up bitch' and pushed me.

One woman (#2370) who was the target for her boyfriend explained:

I was in Hoagie City. I ordered. This guy came in and was brushing against me. I told him to leave me alone. I paid, and then when I was leaving, he punched me, so I pushed him. Then he started going off and hit me again. Some people in the place started yelling at him and then I went to use the phone (to call the cops). He knew me from my boyfriend. He was angry and high. I think he took it out on me, but he was really mad at my boyfriend...for getting evicted...and he thought he could go after me instead of my boyfriend.

Another respondent (#1301) explained:

I was just in a fight. We were fighting. I cut myself with a bottle. My sister retaliated from these women jumping her because she was mad. They thought that because I'm pregnant I wouldn't hit back so they jumped me. I wouldn't let them talk to me anyway they wanted to.

d. Respondent Initiates the Violent Act

In eight percent of the cases the respondent was the first person to use violence.

In some incidents she provoked the argument. In other incidents, she reported being provoked, but used violence first. Two examples follow. One respondent (#3806) explained:

I was arguing with a girl. She said something I didn't like and I hit her. It was an argument [about] jealousy. [She become violent] because I hit her.

Another respondent (#3349) explained:

Well, this girl constantly spreading rumors about me that's not true and its getting back to my husband. I beat her up cuz of what she said, and I told her I'm gonna whip her ass every time I see her if she talk about me. I'm not no violent person but I had enough of that chick. This been brewing for three summers.

In contrast to the examples above, in the following scenario (#3508) the respondent resorted to violence to prevent self-injury:

My block is full of young people...gossipers. Something about my kids told her nephew that I was going to beat her up. She called...I asked my kids if they said it...they said, 'No.' I told her that if she wanted to say something to me she should come around to my house. She and her sister came over. We had words and started fighting. I defended myself (my daughter brought me a hammer handle). She had a sharp metal pointy thing in my arm and my leg. She came after me. I can't wait to move. This neighborhood is crazy... I hit her first... Always hit first. Cause if you let them get in the first hit, you might never get up.

3. Respondents' and Antagonists' Emotions

Emotions on the part of the respondents and antagonists prior to and during the violent event are described in Table 7-8. Each category includes incidents where the respondent and/or antagonist mentioned the emotion under investigation.

Table 7-8: Respondents' and Antagonists' Emotions¹

% Anger/Has a problem/went off (N=319)	29.8%
% Jealousy (N=319)	15.0%
% Stressed (N=319)	4.1%
% Fear (N=319)	2.2%

¹ One incident can be coded in more than one category.

a. Anger/ Has a Problem

According to the respondents, in 29.8 percent of the incidents their own anger or anger by the antagonist contributed to the violent event. This category includes "having a problem" or "going off." One respondent explained (#1189):

I just had a fight because I didn't want to have sex with somebody I didn't know...He just got mad cuz I didn't want to have sex... [What triggered his violence was] cuz I told him I wasn't scared of him. That's what made him really get mad.

Another respondent (#3033) reported:

My children's father's wife and a friend of hers attacked me after I was walking home with my children from school. Her friend sprayed me with mace. Then they started pushing me on the ground, pulling my hair and punching me in the face. [It was because] I put my son and daughter's father in court for child support and [they are] mad.

In the following scenario the respondent (#3279) described her own anger:

I was with a friend of mine and we got into an argument because he's a child molester, and I let him play with my kids. I got angry and he said something nasty to me and I hit him and then he cut me. I put ice on his cut, and ice on his hand and I started praying and the blood stopped...[it happened over] him being a child molester and not telling me.

One respondent (#1415) who was injured by her supervisor at a residential home described feelings of rage:

I was talking to a child advocate about my sister being adopted. My supervisor was rude while I was on the phone and she wanted me to get off the phone. I ignored what she was saying and when she asked me again I told her who it was and she told me to hang up or she'd pull the plug. I got upset and started cursing at her and became violent because of her comments regarding my family history, my rape and other problems in my family. I talked with my therapist and mother about how I felt wanting to assault the woman for throwing my past in my face. I became bothered by her following me and when she came down the steps I tried to hit her. She got mad and started banging my head against a dining room table. I became angry and bit her left arm and scratched her face. I also got scratches underneath my eyes because she dug her fingernails in my face.

b. Jealousy

Fifteen percent of the respondents reported that jealousy contributed to the violent outcome. In addition to jealousy over an intimate partner, respondents reported jealousy over non-partners and money. One respondent (#3720) explained:

When I entered the domicile, my children's father ran upstairs. His other ex-girlfriend, who was there, said 'I heard you called my child a white B.' I get confronted with this! I said 'I don't know what you're talking about.' Than she hit me. She threw the first punch. I hit her back twice and scratched her on her face. We were fighting and fell on the floor and broke a lamp...This started four years ago. She couldn't accept that he rejected her. He and I had two children together and were engaged to be married. She's living in the past. She's trying to find a way back into his heart. But he don't love her. [Its over] jealousy. Her daughter has a better bond with me than her. She's immature.

One respondent (#1147) who was injured by her cousin explained:

Somebody hit me in the head with a crowbar and it was not right. They took the tools. They took the purse and when I told the cops they let 'em go. Yesterday they hit me 40 miles per hour in a car. Today I said give my tools and purse. He started cursing me. I called the cops and he slapped my head into the phone. He was proving me. He had no reason to. He hit me over the head. [Why did they do this?] The truth? The guy that just walked outside (my husband) got a \$500 dollar job two days ago. It was about jobs. My husband gets a job for \$500 and now everybody knows him. Before nobody cared. Cuz they're jealous.

c. Stress

Four percent of the respondents described a stressful event that contributed to the violent incident. These events usually involved the death of a family member or separation from parents. One respondent (#1321) explained:

Me and my sister were having an argument and my mom came in and she started arguing with my mom. We lost a sister a couple of years ago in a house fire. My mom had to work hard since then and then my sister said, 'Hey bitch you're the cause of my sister dying.' I smacked her and we started fighting. She picked up the ashtray and me in the head.

Another respondent (#1172) reported:

My brother was killed March 28, 1996 and I always go through this phase where I just can't handle it. I felt like I wanted to go to sleep. I want to see him again. I cut my wrists and I wanted to die so I could be with my little brother. I got into a fight with my little sister who is trifling. She got 5 children, 3 of which are DHS [Department of Human Services] and the bitch is pregnant again. So we were fighting and she hit me in the head with a pipe.

d. Fear

In only two percent of the incidents feelings of fear were mentioned. One respondent (#3301) who was injured by a cab driver explained:

Ever night when I come home from work, I catch a cab from my sister's to my house. My fare is \$2.40-\$2.70. I got a cab driver tonight. I don't know where he was taking me but he wasn't taking me to my house, I was nervous and scared. I reached my house. I pulled the balloons out, I told him to wait one minute. He came out grabbed me, pushed me up against the wall. I was crying, and he's calling out...Black Bitches. I got to my apartment. He snatched my wallets and took my balloons.

One respondent (#1125) responded:

My fiancé and his brother were fighting. My fiancé and I are about to move to California. His brother was drunk. I fell asleep. When I woke up his brother was running toward the car with a 2 x 4. He broke the window behind the driver's side. He thinks I'm taking his brother from him. I was in the car. His nieces were telling me to drive away. I was in the driver's seat... I don't know if he was trying to kill me. I think he was. I drove the car into a gate...it was so scary.

It is notable that so few respondents mentioned fear as an emotion associated with the violence. This finding may be an artifact of the research process because emotions were not inquired about directly. However, it also may be that females associate fear with weakness and consequently do not admit (and/or experience) feelings of fear.

4. Background Characteristics of the Violent Event

Background characteristics including the presence of arguments and ongoing problems are presented in Table 7-9.

Table 7-9: Background Characteristics of the Violent Event¹

% Current argument (N=319)	56.1%
% History of ongoing problems or retaliation for past argument/fight (N=319)	25.1%

¹ One incident can be coded as an ongoing problem and current argument

The majority (56%) of incidents involved an argument or exchange of words prior to the violent event. In addition, 25 percent of the respondents described ongoing problems with the participant(s) including incidents that involved retaliation for a past argument or fight. One respondent (#2452) explained:

It all started when me and Beatrice were livin' in a shelter... She would pick with me and call me retarded and get her little 8 or 9 year old son to pick on my 8 or 9 year old son to fight him. And when I sees Beatrice by herself, I would beat the shit out of her because what she did to my son. And she told my case worker... that I was pickin' on her...she was lyin'. So I got put out [from the shelter] first and then she got put out second. There's the good part here...I got my section 8 house [public housing] and she got an apartment...a piece of an apartment. She lost her section 8 and she holds that against me. She told her mother about me before I know that was her mother. I was friends with her mother...We are the same age. Her mother would borrow money from me and come in my house. And I stopped loanin' her money because she would take one to two to three months to pay me back and she started talkin' about me because I said I need my money back. Beatrice's mom told one of the drug dealer's across the street that I told the cops that he was sellin' dope. And he came and asked me. I told him she is lyin' on me cause I don't let her get money from me no more... Beatrice's mother wants me to pay her money (\$50.00) or she's going to tell the drug dealers that I snitch on them. She said the drug dealers are going to pay some body to blow you house up. And she asked me if I was going to give her the money on Friday and I said I'm not givin' her nothin and she hyped. She grabbed me and hit me and then I threw her down...I can't beat her, she weighs over 200 lbs. Her daughter (Beatrice) had me from the back and hit me in the back with her knee. Beatrice's mom bit my hand and pulled me on the ground.

Another respondent (#2157) explained:

I walked in my mother's house, my brother says he was getting ready to go. I said I wasn't going anywhere. He came over to me and started beating stomping me. I never hit one punch back. He pulled on my coat. He started stomping and kicking me. I don't speak to him at all, because he was raping us when we were young, me and my sister. I couldn't even have a friend overnight. He beat me before, and my son. I can't even look in his face. He used to put his peter in my face, in my mouth. My mother was real mean to me when I told her about the incest. He also called me lots of names, fat sloppy bitch, that's good to you (that he had sex with me...he thinks its a joke) what he did to me and my sister.

Another respondent (#2017) described an account that focused on retaliation:

Since last night I was fightin'. She bit me. This afternoon I was walkin' to the other apartment and my girlfriend was already hit with a chain across her back. The girl who done it called her family and they came down... [It was] 4-5 of us and 20-25 of them and everyone was standing all fine and dandy and suddenly this girl hits me and I start fightin' and got slashed on my face with a razor blade. Then 4-5 females were fightin' me. [It was] because I beat a girl up last night and they're jealous.

Another respondent (#3349) explained:

Well, this girl constantly spreading rumors about me that's not true, and its getting back to husband. Why I beat her up is cuz of what she said, and I told her I'm gonna whip her ass every time I see her if she talk about me. I'm not no violent person but I had enough of that chick. This has been brewing for three summers.

The finding that one quarter of the incidents are characterized by past problems suggests that some females hold on to and accumulate feelings of emotional distress. This observation is consistent with Campbell's (1993) research on expressive aggression.

5. Characteristics of Verbal Provocation

Information on the verbal provocation is presented in Table 7-10.

Table 7-10: Characteristics of Verbal Provocation

% Provocation by Antagonist (N=319)	42.3%
% Provocation by Respondent (N=319)	34.8%

In 42 percent of the incidents the respondent described the antagonist as verbally provocative prior to the physical violence. One respondent (#3836) explained:

I was at work and a woman came in, and I told her I'd be with her in a second, I was on the phone. She was counting money on counter, and I told her I'd be with her again. She started calling me names, being disrespectful. I got tired so I went from behind the counter and started fighting. She bit me.

Another respondent (#3421) responded:

I was standing on Market Street at a store, waiting for my food, and a girl came up to me and said, 'What do you and Gloria have to say about me, and told me to come outside and fight her.' And I said, 'No. I'm too old for that.' Then I told her to get out of my face. As she left the door, she pulled out a blade and cut me on my leg.

In 35 percent of the incidents the respondent described her own words or actions as provocative. For example, one respondent (#3806) said:

I was arguing with a girl. She said something I didn't like and I hit her. [What triggered her violence was] because I hit her.

In many of these incidents both the respondent and antagonist exchanged provocative words. One respondent (#3926) reported:

Friday night before Memorial Day my brother called my mother and he didn't like now I answered him. [I] told him mommy was asleep. He started bad mouthing me and I hung up on him. He came over about 1 hour later and kicked my ass. We didn't fight, he just beat me, jumped me when I was asleep, stomped me, my father pulled him off.

Another respondent (#1571) who was injured by a female acquaintance explained:

I'd seen the girl that threatened me on the phone and I hit her. There was so many people tryin' to break up the fight... [It happened because of] the threat on the phone. The threat was when she sees me she was gonna punch me in my face. [What triggered her violence was] 'cause I punched her in the eye.

6. Alcohol and Illicit Drug Involvement

Information on alcohol and illicit drug involvement is provided in Tables 7-11 and 7-12. In Table 7-11 the "Use/Problem" categories include mentions by the respondent of antagonist substance use prior to the violent event or that the antagonists' substance abuse problem contributed to the violence. Mentions of the respondents' own substance use or problems with drugs or alcohol also are included in this category.

Table 7-12 includes information on circumstances surrounding alcohol and drug involvement. This includes violent incidents that occurred within the context of drug-seeking behavior, association with drug dealers and bar fights.

Table 7-11: Alcohol and Illicit Drug Involvement

	Respondent	Antagonist
% Any alcohol/drug involvement (N=319)	23.2%	
% Drug or alcohol use/problem (N=319)	6.0%	17.2%
% Drug use/problem (N=319)	2.2%	11.3%
% Alcohol use/problem (N=319)	4.1%	7.8%

In almost one quarter (23%) of the incidents the respondent mentioned that substance use contributed to the violent event. Six percent of the respondents reported using alcohol or illicit drugs during the violent event or cited a problem with substance use as a contributing factor. In contrast, the respondents reported that 17 percent of the antagonists had been using alcohol or drugs or had a substance abuse problem that contributed to the violent event.

These percentages (6.0% and 17.2%) are substantially smaller than the percentages obtained through the use of closed-ended questions (see Table 7-3). Nevertheless, the vignettes provide informative data regarding circumstances of the violent events that involve substance use. For example, one respondent (#2215) who reported being injured by a trick explained:

He owed me money and I was like can I have my money... I kept asking and asking and he said, 'I'll be back.' And I said, 'You're not leaving here without giving me money. I want my money now.' He kept on trying [to leave] so I pulled and threw him and that's how it started. Then he bit me, punk. Can you imagine a man biting a woman. People were laughing. We were getting high. [What triggered the violence were] the drugs and he got paranoid.

Another respondent (#3231) who sustained an injury by a 73 year-old women explained:

I was sitting around there. I had a few drinks and the woman that we call her Mama, she's the oldest around here. She was kind of high too. We were talking about my... my baby brother. We were in a hit-picking argument. She had picked up this bottle and just threw it. It hit me in the head, then I had fell out... There was snow out and the snow brought me back consciously... I think it was jealousy... I was talking about my brother and she jealous. She is like that, she gets drunk and stuff.

One respondent (#1532) described a conflict with her brother. She reported:

I'm a licensed cosmetologist and I do hair from Tuesday-Friday. I had got a side job so I could afford stuff. My brother and I work at the same video store. He had an assistance manager position. I worked Saturday and Sunday. Sunday two people called out and the head manager asked me if I could stay, then I wouldn't have to work on Monday. My brother got mad because I didn't go to work on Monday and I told him what the manager did. The argument carried on for three days. Last night he finally punched me in the arms, leg... everywhere... Maybe he felt as though the job was more important than us and what we've had for a lifetime... usually when he doesn't have his marijuana he gets an attitude. He didn't have his marijuana.

One respondent (#1372) described a conflict with her mother. She explained:

My mother and I got into a huge argument. She wants things her way. She pushed me in chair, she went to grab me, and she punched me in the

stomach... [What triggered her violence was that] she wants me to bring money into the house. She has a drug problem. And I told her I'm not doing that.

Another respondent (#2329) provided the following account:

My grandma was drinking. She has a drug problem. I said something and she didn't like what I said so she smacked my face. I ran and she chased at me. We got in a tussle and she fell then scratched my face. I guess [it happened] because she was drunk and I disagreed. [What triggered her violence was that] I said, 'I'm 16 now.'

Another respondent (#1048) who was injured by an "ex-friend" explained:

Me and my next door neighbor was fighting and she stabbed me...She just was talking while she had a knife against me. I supposedly had told somebody some bad things about her. And she approached me about them when it suppose to have happened a couple of months went by and I thought it was over. She jealous. She's more of on a mannish side. She's alcoholic. She carry herself in a mannish way, like a gangster. Her mouth is bad. She don't respect herself. She don't even like herself. She had been drinking. And that's what brought it on.

Aside from substance use, about eight percent of the women were injured in a bar fight or as a consequence of drug seeking behavior or association with drug dealers.

Table 7-12: Circumstances Surrounding Alcohol and Illicit Drug Involvement

% Drug-seeking behavior (N=319)	5.3%
% Association with drug dealers (N=319)	1.9%
% Bar fight (N=319)	1.3%

Of the five percent (N=16) of women who were injured as a result of drug-seeking behavior, most respondents were victims of others' drug-seeking activities. One respondent (#3919) explained:

I was in the wrong place at the wrong time. I had my pocketbook snatched. The person that snatched my pocketbook hit me with something. I don't know what it was. He came up to me and asked me if I wanted to buy drugs. I said I didn't do them. I struggled with him. I didn't let him get it. It had all my money, a money order, my kids' pictures, things that are really personal and important to me. Then he hit me and something and I lost it.

Three respondents sustained injuries because of their own drug-seeking behaviors. One of these respondents (#3977) explained:

I got into a little debate with this guy. I really didn't know him well, but we ended up walking away from each other. As I was walking away a little later, I saw him in the distance running towards me or in my direction. Then as he got closer as I turned around he hit me in the back of my head with a gun. It fell onto the ground. It was a disagreement over a drug sale...drugs.

Two percent of the respondents sustained an injury because of their association with others who were involved in drug sales. One respondent (#1605) explained:

I was confronted with a matter that involved my boyfriend. It was a lie being told on him. The person who I had a confrontation with had said to another person that my boyfriend had took \$200 and that led up to what happened. My feelings is since she knows that my boyfriend often deals crack off and on...She told the people incognito that my boyfriend took money from his old man. She didn't get physical with me. She didn't know that I knew what she told other people that my boyfriend took \$200 from her old man...but it didn't happen like that. So when she came over my girlfriend's house, I came at her.

7. Respondents' Experiences with Police

Several respondents offered negative comments about police (see Table 7-13).

Table 7-13: Experiences with Police

% Negative comments about/ experiences with police (N=319)	5%
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Five percent of the respondents described the police as unhelpful or harmful. Six respondents sustained injuries by male police officers. One respondent (#3636) who sustained an injury by two undercover cops provided the following account:

I was walking up [the] street. I passed the muffler store when I passed this car. This man in plain clothes, a regular car, opened the door and grabbed me and started with fighting me and he started frisking me and I was trying to get him off of me, and he threw me to the ground. I hit my head and hurt my back and shoulder and he handcuffed me. He didn't

identify himself as an officer and I said why are you handcuffing me, what is the charge? [He said], 'Resisting arrest, you're resisting arrest.' The Black officer attacked me, the white officer told me I was an asshole. I said, 'If you had IDed yourself I wouldn't have had to fight you.' This is my first offense. I've never been locked up before... I was just walking down the street. They said that I had purchased a bag of weed and they were arresting me.

Another respondent (#1572) who sustained an injury by a police officer explained:

I was coming from the store and a girlfriend of mine was sitting on the steps rolling pot. I had a bag in one hand and a spring water. We were talking and the cops drove up and told her to throw it out and said face the wall...put our hands on the wall. I went to the car to call for female officer to search us, but she didn't do nothing...A white cop came up from behind out of nowhere and started to 'f' with me. I was stunned. I said, 'Get off of me. What are you doing? You aren't supposed to be touching me.' The other two officers said he was in the wrong...He shoved me...He hemmed me up by force...twisted my arm behind me...touched my body.

Six respondents described the police as unhelpful. One respondent (#2256) who

went to the police station for help described her experience:

I was copping (that means to go get drugs) and I drove into a bad neighborhood. I had gotten what I wanted without having to get out of the car. Someone yelled my name (it's written on the back of my car) and some man came to the window when I hesitated. It was the passenger side. He opened the door. He said, 'Why didn't you stop when I called your name.' He got in the car. I said, 'Cause I don't know you.' I tried to unlock my door and take the keys. He grabbed my hands and started yelling at me to shut up or he was going to hurt me. I tried to do everything logical. He had a gun in my side. I knew it was survival at that point. I would do whatever to stay alive. He told me to drive. I kept trying to throw and catch him off guard. I tried to get out of the car. He was hitting me. I got out of the car and realized there was another car following us to make sure the rape was successful. The two men caught me and put me back in the car and made me drive. The other car left. He made me pull over and then he raped me in the car. I fought initially. I kept trying to run. I even saw a police car go by...but they didn't see me. I finally got out of the car and he chased me and caught me and raped me in the street. I could see him deciding if he was going to hurt me. I tried to act like I actually remembered him so he'd think I was crazy...just to make him stop hitting me. We got back in the car...I made sure I was driving. We see friends of his. There were borderline so I kept pretending I knew

him. One of the guys got in the car. An exchange of money took place. We drop off the rapist so the other guy can have me. He thinks I'm a prostitute, right? Then he raped me. He forced me at gunpoint into his mother's house. Then he let me go. I drove around all night, trying to decide if I was going to find him and kill him. I couldn't find him...I went to the police and told them what had happened. When they saw my track marks, immediate disrespect. I left...I was furious. I thought I didn't need to be victimized all over again.

Additional descriptions of the police by respondents follow (#3471, #1059):

The two male cops had an attitude about domestic violence.

I have no idea [what happened to the antagonist]. Knowing the police in my neighborhood probably nothing.

Summary

The information surrounding the violent event shared by the study respondents reflects the complexities of their lives. Several conclusions can be drawn based on the closed-ended questions. Typically, women were injured by age-peers and by someone they knew. Violence was almost universally intraracial and the antagonist usually inflicted the injury alone, without the help of others. In the majority of incidents bystanders were present and the police arrived at the scene. Over half of the antagonists reportedly had used drugs or alcohol prior to the violent event. The most common acts of violence by both the respondents and antagonists were slapping, punching, pushing or kicking. Respondents typically sustained injuries to the head or face.

The majority of incidents involved an argument. The most commonly cited reasons for violence involve issues related to respect and money/resources which conforms with *Gendered Social Structural Strain Theory*. In communities characterized by a shortage of opportunities for conventionally-defined success, material and nonmaterial measures take on increased importance. In a significant minority of incidents

the respondents contributed to the violent outcome through a verbal provocation. Yet, one quarter of the women became involved in the violence as an innocent victim or for altruistic reasons.

The vignettes provide contextual information that detail intricacies of the violent events from the insider's perspective. The next section will attempt to illuminate some of these complexities by analyzing the data disaggregated by gender of the antagonist.

III. Bivariate Analyses

A. Data Obtained From Closed-Ended Questions

1. Victim-Offender Relationship and Characteristics of the Antagonist

The victim-offender relationship and characteristics of the antagonist are described in Table 7-14. All variables are disaggregated by gender of the antagonist.

Table 7-14: Victim-Offender Relationship and Characteristics of the Antagonist

	<i>Intragender Cross-gender Test</i>			
	<i>Assault</i>	<i>Assault</i>	<i>Statistic</i>	<i>P-Value</i>
% Respondent lives with the antagonist (N=320)	10.8%	8.5%	$X^2=0.3$ (df=1)	.617
Race (N=319)				
% Black	90.1%	91.6%	$X^2=1.0$ (df=2)	.594
% White	6.6%	4.2		
% Other	3.3%	4.2%		
Victim-offender relationship (N=322)				
% Family member	19.2%	22.6%	$X^2=30.8$ (df=3)	.000
% Friend	13.2%	14.8%		
% Acquaintance	56.3%	29.7%		
% Stranger	11.4%	32.9%		
Antagonist age group (yrs.) (N=311)				
% < 16	3.0%	3.4%	$X^2=21.6$ (df=3)	.000
% 16-24	51.5%	26.0%		
% 25-35	24.8%	41.8%		
% >35	20.6%	28.8%		
% Age-peer (N=320)	55.7%	41.2%	$X^2=10.3$ (df=1)	.006
# of Antagonist(s) (N=322)				
% One	65.3%	81.9%	$X^2=12.5$ (df=2)	.002
% Two or three	18.0%	11.6%		
% More than three	16.8%	6.5%		

There are no significant differences by gender of the antagonist with respect to the race of the antagonist or whether the antagonist lives with the respondent.

There is a significant difference, however, in the victim-offender relationship by gender of the antagonist ($X^2=30.8$, df=3, p=.000). According to Table 7-14, females injured by males are more likely to be victimized by a stranger (32.9% versus 11.4%). In contrast, females injured by females are more likely to be victimized by an acquaintance (56.3% versus 29.7%). Females injured by females also are more likely to be injured by

a younger antagonist ($X^2=21.6$, $df=3$, $p=.000$), an age-peer ($X^2=10.3$, $df=1$, $p=.000$) and to sustain a group attack ($X^2=12.5$, $df=1$, $p=.002$).

The results are consistent with *Gendered Social Structural Strain Theory*.

Conflict and competition are likely to be emphasized during the younger years when issues related to identity formation and self-esteem are highly operative (Campbell et al., 1998).

2. Time, Location, Involvement of Others

The time, location and involvement of others including police and bystanders for females injured by females and females injured by males are described in Table 7-15.

Table 7-15: Time, Location, Involvement of Others

	<i>Intragender Assault</i>	<i>Cross-gender Assault</i>	<i>Test Statistic</i>	<i>P-Value</i>
% Event occurred inside respondent's residence (N=321)	38.3%	36.4%	$X^2=0.1$ (df=1)	.805
% Event occurred on respondent's street (N=199)¹	17.5%	17.6%	$X^2=0.0$ (df=1)	1.000
Indoor, Outdoor or Both (N=320)				
% Indoor location	34.3%	42.2%	$X^2=3.5$ (df=2)	.174
% Outdoor location	60.2%	50.0%		
% Both indoor and outdoor	5.4%	7.8%		
% Police arrived (N=312)	62.6%	71.1%	$X^2=2.198$ (df=1)	.138
Time of Violent Event (N=320)				
% 6:01 a.m-3:00 p.m.	14.5%	26.0%	$X^2=12.4$ (df=4)	.015
% 3:01 p.m-6:00 p.m.	31.3%	22.1%		
% 6:01 p.m-9:00 p.m.	29.5%	28.6%		
% 9:01 p.m-12:00 a.m.	19.9%	13.6%		
% 12:01a.m- 6:00 a.m.	4.8%	9.7%		
% Presence of bystanders (N=320)	88.0%	74.5%	$X^2=8.8$ (df=1)	.003
% Bystander tried to stop violence (N=278)²	69.1%	56.3%	$X^2=4.3$ (df=1)	.039

¹ The question, "Was it on the street where you live?" was only asked if the violence did not occur in the respondent's residence.

² Question on bystander involvement was asked only if bystanders were present.

There are no group differences by gender of the antagonist in the location of the events. For both groups the majority of events occurred outdoors and in or near the

respondent's home. There also are no significant differences with respect to police arrival at the violent event.

There was a significant group difference with respect to the time of the violent event ($X^2=12.4$, $df=4$, $p=.015$). A smaller proportion of females were injured by females by than males between 6:01 a.m. and 3:00 p.m.(14.5% versus 26.0%). In contrast, a larger of females were injured by males than by females between 3:01p.m. and 6:00 p.m. (31.1% versus 22.1%).

For both groups, bystanders usually were reported to be present. Bystanders, however, were significantly more likely to be present during female-on-female violent events compared to male-on-female events ($X^2=8.8$, $df=1$, $p=.039$). It is noteworthy that bystanders at intragender violent events were significantly more likely to try to stop the violence than bystanders at cross-gender violent events ($X^2=4.3$, $df=1$, $p=.039$).

The finding that females involved in intragender assault are more likely to engage in violence during the after school and early evening hours likely reflects the times during which social interactions are the most frequent. The finding, however, that bystanders were more likely to try to stop female-on-female violence versus male-on-female violence is an unexpected finding. It is possible that bystanders were allies of the male antagonist or were afraid of sustaining injuries themselves.

3. Alcohol and Illicit Drug Use by Respondents and Antagonists

Substance use by respondents and antagonists for females injured by females and females injured by males are described in Table 7-16. This information is based on closed-ended questions asked of all respondents.

Table 7-16: Alcohol and Illicit Drug Use by Respondents and Antagonists

	<i>Intragender Assault</i>	<i>Cross-gender Assault</i>	<i>Test Statistic</i>	<i>P-Value</i>
% Respondent used drugs within four hours of event (N=321)	6.0%	12.3%	$X^2=3.2$ (df=1)	.074
% Antagonist drug or alcohol use within 4 hours of violent event (N=321)	54.5%	57.8%	$X^2=0.2$ (df=1)	.629
Antagonist alcohol use within 4 hours of violent event (N=321)				
% Yes	35.3%	40.9%	$X^2=5.8$ (df=2)	.056
% No	52.1%	39.6%		
% Don't Know	12.6%	19.5%		
% Respondent used either alcohol or drugs within four hours of event (N=321)	20.0%	33.0%	$X^2=6.1$ (df=320)	.014
% Respondent used alcohol within four hours of event (N=321)	17.4%	27.9%	$X^2=4.5$ (df=1)	.034
Antagonist drug use within 4 hours of violent event (N=321)				
% Yes	43.7%	46.8%	$X^2=6.9$ (df=2)	.032
% No	44.3%	32.5%		
% Don't Know	12.0%	20.8%		
% Respondent and antagonist drug or alcohol use within 4 hours of violent event (N=321)	14%	24%	$X^2=4.2$ (df=1)	.039

According to Table 7-16, there are no group differences by gender of the antagonist in respondent drug use, antagonist drug or alcohol use or antagonist drug use.

Several significant differences emerged. Respondents involved in cross-gender assault were significantly more likely than those involved in intragender assault to report alcohol or illicit drug use within four hours of the violent event ($X^2=6.1$, $df=1$, $p=.014$). Moreover, cross-gender events were more likely than intragender events to be characterized by substance use by both respondent and antagonist ($X^2=4.2$, $df=1$, $p=.039$). These findings point to the relevance of substance use for cross-gender assaults in particular.

4. Violence Acts by Respondents and Antagonists

A description of violent acts including weapon use is provided in Table 7-17.

Table 7-17: Violent Acts and Weapon Use

	<i>Intragender Assault</i>	<i>Cross-gender Assault</i>	<i>Test Statistic</i>	<i>P-Value</i>
Violent Act by Antagonist				
% Slapped, punched, pushed kicked or bit (N=322)	83.8%	82.6%	$X^2=1.0$ (df=1)	.764
% Threatened with something harmful (N=321)	43.1%	41.6%	$X^2=0.0$ (df=1)	.866
% Hit with something (N=321)	32.3%	35.1%	$X^2=0.2$ (df=1)	.690
% Stabbed or cut with something (N=321)	29.9%	15.6%	$X^2=8.5$ (df=1)	.004
% Shot with a gun (N=321)	0.6%	5.2%	$X^2=4.6$ (df=1)	.016 ¹

Violent Act by Respondent				
% Threatened with a weapon (N=321)	6.0%	10.4%	$X^2=1.5$ (df=1)	.215
% Hit antagonist with something (N=321)	7.8%	5.8%	$X^2=0.2$ (df=1)	.641
% Stabbed or cut with something (N=321)	1.2%	1.9%	---	.674 ¹
% Slapped, punched, pushed kicked or bit (N=322)	70.7%	39.6%	$X^2=30.1$ (df=1)	.000
% Respondent fought back (N=321)	76.6%	45.5%	$X^2=31.7$ (df=1)	.000
% Respondent was carrying something to keep herself safe (N=321)	3.6%	10.4%	$X^2=4.8$ (df=1)	.029

¹ Cells have expected count less than 5. Fisher's Exact Test statistic reported

It is noteworthy that characteristics of violent acts by male and female antagonists are proportionately similar for having punched, slapped, punched, pushed, kicked or bitten, having threatened with a weapon and having hit the respondent. Likewise, there were no significant group differences for violent acts by respondents that involve threats or physical acts with weapons or objects.

A greater proportion of females injured by females, however, were stabbed or cut ($X^2=8.5$, df=1, p=.004). Females injured by males were more likely than females injured by females to be shot at with a gun ($X^2=4.6$, df=1, p=.016)

In addition, female respondents were significantly more likely to fight back against female antagonists than against male antagonists ($X^2=31.7$, df=1, p=.000).

Notwithstanding this difference, 45.5 percent of females injured by males fought back.

Moreover, females injured by males were more likely than females injured by females to report carrying something to keep themselves safe at the time the violence occurred ($\chi^2=4.8$, $df=1$, $p=.029$).

The finding that females were significantly more likely to fight back against female antagonists than male antagonists is not surprising given the size and strength differential between most men and women. The results suggest that male-on-female violence is potentially more dangerous than female-on-female violence; male antagonists are more likely to shoot a gun and respondents injured by male antagonists were more likely to be carrying a weapon at the time of the violence.

5. Injury Information

Injury data is presented in Table 7-18.

Table 7-18: Location of Injury and Fatalities

	<i>Intragender Cross-gender Test</i>		<i>Statistic</i>	<i>P-Value</i>
	<i>Assault</i>	<i>Assault</i>		
% Face/Head (N=322)	65.3%	69.0%	$X^2=0.4$ (df=1)	.549
% Face (N=322)	54.5%	50.3%	$X^2=0.4$ (df=1)	.524
% Head (not face) (N=322)	32.9%	38.1%	$X^2=0.7$ (df=1)	.398
% Arm/Shoulder (N=322)	28.1%	32.9%	$X^2=0.7$ (df=1)	.420
% Neck (N=322)	18.7%	13.8%	$X^2=1.1$ (df=1)	.293
% Back/Buttocks (N=322)	26.5%	26.3%	$X^2=.00$ (df=1)	1.00
% Hand/Wrist (N=322)	25.8%	25.1%	$X^2=.00$ (df=1)	.994
% Breast (N=322)	4.2%	7.1%	$X^2=.79$ (df=1)	.373
% Chest (not Breast)(N=322)	11.4%	14.8%	$X^2=.57$ (df=1)	.450.
% Stomach/Groin (N=322)	12.6%	14.8%	$X^2=.56$ (df=1)	.349
% Leg (N=322)	21.6 %	27.1%	$X^2=1.1$ (df=1)	.303
% Someone was killed (N=318)	--	1.0%	--	.225 ²

¹ More than injury location can be coded per incident.

² Cells have expected count less than 5. Fisher's Exact Test computed.

The most frequently cited areas of injury for females injured by female and by male antagonists are proportionately similar. The most common locations include the face, head, arm/shoulder and back/buttocks. In the two incidents where someone was killed, the antagonist was a male, which provides further support for the seriousness associated with cross-gender assault.

B. Data Obtained from the Open-Ended Questions

1. Reasons for the Violence

Reasons for the violence were post-coded from the open-ended questions and are presented in Table 7-19 by the gender of the antagonist.

Table 7-19: Reasons for the Violence by Gender of the Antagonist

	<i>Intragender Assault</i>	<i>Cross-gender Assault</i>	<i>Test Statistic</i>	<i>P-Value</i>
% Money/resources (N=319)	15.0%	21.1%	$X^2=1.6$ (df=1)	.204
% Mental problems (N=319)	4.8%	6.6%	$X^2=0.2$ (df=1)	.654
% Player behavior (N=319)	4.8%	1.3%	$X^2=2.1$ (df=1)	.108 ²
% Physical Attractiveness (N=319)	3.6%	0.0	$X^2=3.8$ (df=1)	.052 ²
% Personal respect (N=319)	32.9%	16.4%	$X^2=10.7$ (df=1)	.001
% Gender-centric concerns (N=319)	22.2%	9.9%	$X^2=7.9$ (df=1)	.005
% Interpersonal concerns (N=319)	22.8%	4.6%	$X^2=20.2$ (df=1)	.000
% Predatory violence (N=319)	4.8%	23.0%	$X^2=21.2$ (df=1)	.000
% Related to children or parenting (N=319)	14.4%	3.3%	$X^2=10.5$ (df=1)	.001
% For a thrill/that's the type of person he/she is (N=319)	6.0%	0.7%	$X^2=5.3$ (df=1)	.022

¹ More than one reason can be coded per incident.

² Cells have expected count less than 5. Fisher's Exact Test reported.

There are no group differences for violence involving money/resources, mental problems, player behavior and physical attractiveness. However, with regards to the remainder of the reasons, there are marked differences by gender of the antagonist.

Females injured by females are significantly more likely than females injured by males to engage in violence for reasons related to personal respect ($X^2=10.6$, df=1, $p=.001$), gender-centric concerns (e.g. over boyfriends, rejection) ($X^2=7.9$, df=1, $p=.005$), interpersonal-concerns (e.g. he say/she say, issues of being disliked) ($X^2=20.1$, df=1,

p=.000), issues of children and parenting ($X^2=10.5$, $df=1$, $p=.001$) and for a thrill ($X^2=5.3$, $df=1$, $p=.022$). In contrast, females injured by females are less likely than females injured by males to experience violence within the context of predatory attacks ($X^2=21.1$, $df=1$, $p=.000$).

These results are consistent with *Gendered Social Structural Strain Theory* in several ways. First, it was expected that intragender violence compared to cross-gender violence would be associated with relationship issues including gender-centric concerns, and interpersonal concerns. Second, it was expected that intragender violence compared to cross-gender violence would involve issues of personal respect because intragender violence is characterized by a more equal playing field.

2. The Role of the Respondent

Table 7-20 summarizes factors that describe how the respondent became involved in the violent event.

Table 7-20: The Role of the Respondent

	<i>Intragender Assault</i>	<i>Cross-gender Assault</i>	<i>Test Statistic</i>	<i>P-Value</i>
% Mutual (N=319)	27.5%	21.1%	$X^2=1.1$ (df=1)	.224
% Respondent initiates physical violence (N=319)	9.6%	5.3%	$X^2=1.6$ (df=1)	.212
% Drawn into violence (N=319)	6.0%	4.6%	$X^2=0.1$ (df=1)	.764
% Tries to break up Fight (N=319)	4.2%	3.3%	$X^2=0.0$ (df=1)	.898
% Respondent or Antagonist fight to protect third party (N=319)	19%	15%	$X^2=0.7$ (df=1)	.407
% Respondent fights to protect third party from antagonist (N=319)	10%	7%	$X^2=0.4$ (df=1)	.510
% Antagonist fights to protect third party from respondent (N=319)	13%	5%	$X^2=5.4$ (df=1)	.021
% Innocent Victim (N=319)	5.4%	24.3%	$X^2=21.7$ (df=1)	.000

The proportion of respondents who played a mutual role in the violent outcome is similar by gender of the antagonist. Twenty-eight percent of females involved in intragender assault and 21 percent of females involved in cross-gender assault reported that their own provocation contributed to the violent outcome and they fought back. Moreover, there were no group differences for additional roles assumed by the respondents, including fighting to protect a third party, initiating physical violence, getting drawn into the violence and trying to break up a fight.

Notwithstanding these similarities there are striking differences by gender of the antagonist. Females are significantly more likely to attribute reasons of protection to

female antagonists than male antagonists ($X^2=5.4$, $df=1$, $p=.021$). In contrast, females injured by females are significantly less likely to describe their position as an innocent victim ($X^2=21.7$, $df=1$, $p=.000$).

The group differences are consistent with *Gendered Social Structural Strain Theory*. It was expected that female antagonists would be more likely than male antagonists to engage in violence over protecting a third party given female socialization patterns that focus on care-taking responsibilities. Moreover, the difference regarding innocent victimization likely is attributable to violent injuries sustained during predatory attacks.

3. Respondents' and Antagonists' Emotions

Table 7-21 includes the most frequently cited emotions reportedly displayed or experienced by respondents and antagonists.

Table 7-21: Respondents' and Antagonists' Emotions¹

	<i>Intragender Assault</i>	<i>Cross-gender Assault</i>	<i>Test Statistic</i>	<i>P-Value</i>
% Anger/Has a problem/went off (N=319)	31.7%	27.6%	$X^2=.50$ ($df=1$)	.460
% Stressed (N=319)	2.6%	5.4%	$X^2=.92$ ($df=1$)	.337 ²
% Fear (N=319)	1.2%	3.3%	$X^2=.79$ ($df=1$)	.373
% Jealousy (N=319)	23.0%	7.0%	$X^2=15.0$ ($df=1$)	.000

¹ More than one emotion can be coded per incident.

² Cells have expected count less than 5. Fisher's Exact Test statistic reported

There were no significant differences by gender of the antagonist for emotions including anger, stress and fear.

The most notable group difference involves jealousy. Females injured by females were significantly more likely than females injured by males to mention jealousy

($X^2=15.0$, (df=1, p=.000). This finding corresponds with *Gendered Social Structural Strain Theory*. Given that jealousy frequently involves interpersonal issues, it is not surprising that jealousy is associated with female-on-female violence.

4. Background Characteristics of the Violent Event

Background characteristics by gender of the antagonist are presented in Table 7-22.

Table 7-22: Background Characteristics of the Violent Event

	<i>Intragender Assault</i>	<i>Cross-gender Assault</i>	<i>Test Statistic</i>	<i>P-Value</i>
% History of ongoing problems or retaliation for past argument/fight (N=319)	32.3%	17.1%	$X^2=9.0$ (df=1)	.003
% Current argument (N=319)	67.1%	44.1%	$X^2=16.2$ (df=1)	.000

¹ One incident can be coded in more than one category with the exception of no argument

There are important differences in background characteristics of the violent event. Females injured by females are more likely than females injured by males to report having a history of ongoing problems ($X^2=9.0$, df=318, p=.000) and to argue with the antagonist ($X^2=16.2$, df=318, p=.000).

These differences are consistent with *Gendered Social Structural Strain Theory*. It is likely that the presence of ongoing problems between females is related to interpersonal issues, and female gendered experiences of aggression characterized by withholding aggression for a period of time before releasing it. Moreover, engaging in violence as a form of retaliation is likely to reflect a need to reestablish one's sense of personal respect.

5. Characteristics of the Verbal Provocation

7-23: Characteristics of Verbal Provocation

	<i>Intragender Assault</i>	<i>Cross-gender Assault</i>	<i>Test Statistic</i>	<i>P-Value</i>
% Provocation by Antagonist (N=319)	70.7%	64.3%	$X^2=3.2$ (df=1)	.076
% Provocation by Respondent (N=319)	31.1%	38.8%	$X^2=1.7$ (df=1)	.187

Similar proportions of females injured by females and females injured by males reported acting verbally provocative and described verbal provocation by the antagonist.

6. Alcohol and Illicit Drug Involvement

Information on alcohol and illicit drug involvement captured with the open-ended questions is summarized in Table 7-24.

Table 7-24: Alcohol and Illicit Drug Involvement

	<i>Intragender Assault</i>	<i>Cross-gender Assault</i>	<i>Test Statistic</i>	<i>P-Value</i>
% Respondent's alcohol use/problem (N=319)	4.6%	3.6%	$X^2=0.0$ (df=1)	.862
% Respondent's drug use/problem (N=319)	3.9%	0.6%	$X^2=2.7$ (df=1)	.057 ²
% Respondent's drug or alcohol use/problem (N=319)	4.2%	7.8%	$X^2=1.3$ (df=1)	.246
% Antagonist alcohol use/problem (N=319)	9.0%	6.6%	$X^2=0.4$ (df=1)	.556
% Antagonist drug or alcohol use/ problem (N=319)	13.8 %	21.1%	$X^2=2.5$ (df=1)	.116
% Any alcohol/drug involvement (N=319)	19%	28%	$X^2=2.7$ (df=318)	.097
% Antagonist drug use/problem (N=319)	7.2%	15.8%	$X^2=5.1$ (df=318)	.025

¹ One incident can be coded in more than one category with the exception of no argument

² Cells have expected count less than 5. Fisher's Exact Test statistic reported

The proportion of incidents where respondents injured by females mentioned their own substance use as contributing to the violent outcome was not significantly different than the proportion reported by respondents injured by males.

Females injured by males, however, were more likely than females injured by females to report illicit drug use by the antagonist ($X^2=5.1$, $df=1$, $p=.025$).

7. Circumstances Surrounding Alcohol and Illicit Drug Involvement

Injuries that occurred as a consequence of drug-seeking behaviors, association with drug dealers or bar fights are recorded in Table 7-25.

Table 7-25: Circumstances Surrounding Alcohol and Illicit Drug Involvement

	<i>Intragender Assault</i>	<i>Cross-gender Assault</i>	<i>Test Statistic</i>	<i>P-Value</i>
Association with drug dealers (N=319)	2.4 %	1.3%	--	.687 ²
Bar fight (N=319)	2.4%	0.0	$X^2=2.0$ (df=1)	.157
Drug-seeking behavior (N=319)	2.4%	8.6%	$X^2=4.8$ (df=1)	.028

¹ One incident can be coded in more than one category with the exception of no argument.

² Cells have expected count less than 5. Fisher's Exact Test statistic reported

There were no group differences with regards to injuries sustained as a consequence of association with drug dealers or bar fights. Females injured by males, however were more likely than females injured by females to attribute the violence to drug-seeking behavior ($X^2=4.8$, $df=318$, $p=.028$). All but two women reported injuries that resulted from others' drug-seeking behaviors rather than their own. The group difference regarding drug-seeking behaviors is consistent with previously cited findings that point to substance use as a correlate of male-on-female violence.

8. Respondents' Experiences with Police

Although study respondents were not asked specifically to comment on their degree of satisfaction with police, several offered comments (see Table 7-26).

Table 7-26: Experiences with Police

	<i>Intragender Assault</i>	<i>Cross-gender Assault</i>	<i>Test Statistic</i>	<i>P-Value</i>
% Negative comments about/experiences with police (N=319)	1.8	7.9	$\chi^2=5.3$ (df=1)	.021

Negative comments or experiences about the police were associated with male-on-female violence compared to female-on-female violence ($\chi^2=5.3, df=1, p=.021$). This is likely attributable to the finding that numerous male police officers inflicted injuries to female respondents and thus are classified as antagonists.

Summary

This chapter has illustrated similarities and differences by gender of the antagonist regarding circumstances of the violent event. The bivariate results point to a set of interesting preliminary findings.

Females injured by females are at risk for interpersonal injuries by acquaintances and age-peers. Compared to females injured by males, they are more likely to experience a group attack and to fight back. In addition, the event is more likely to occur during the after-school hours. Bystanders are more likely to be present and to try to stop the violence. Females injured by females also are more likely to engage in violence over issues related to personal respect, gender-centric concerns, interpersonal concerns, issues

involving children/parenting and jealousy. Ongoing problems and arguments are more likely to characterize intragender than cross-gender violence.

In contrast, females injured by males are at risk for violence by strangers and by antagonists who are likely to act alone. Members of this group are more likely to be injured during the nighttime hours. Cross-gender incidents are more likely to be characterized by substance use by both the respondents and antagonists. Females injured by males also are more likely to sustain injuries as a result of drug-seeking behaviors. Respondents injured by males are more likely than respondents injured by females to be innocent victims, to report carrying something to keep them safe at the time of the violence and to express negative experiences with/comments about the police.

Females injured by females and females injured by males share similarities with respect to the setting of the violent event, whether the police arrived at the scene, and location of bodily injury. Similar proportions of both groups also report mutuality, getting drawn into the violence, or trying to break up a fight.

The question arises as to why these similarities and differences exist. This question will be the topic of the following chapter.

CHAPTER 8. A TEST OF GENDER SOCIAL STRUCTURAL STRAIN THEORY: BIVARIATE AND MULTIVARIATE ANALYSES

I. Introduction

The goal of this chapter is to compare females intentionally injured by females and females intentionally injured by males in order to test the merits of *Gendered Social Structural Strain Theory*. As discussed in Chapter 3, development of this theory was guided by findings that suggest that some inner-city women who have not achieved conventionally-defined goals resort to violence as a means to achieve culturally-defined goals. Theorists from the strain theory tradition reason that unconventional means to achieve culturally-defined goals are adapted in response to social structural strain resulting from a blocked opportunity structure.

According to *Gendered Social Structural Strain Theory*, intragender female assault requires an integration of both female gender-specific and gender-neutral constructs. Factors defined as female specific take into account gender differences and explain a female-unique phenomenon. In contrast, factors defined as gender-neutral are hypothesized to affect males and females similarly.

If the proposed *Theory of Gendered Social Structural Strain* explains intragender female assault, but not cross-gender assault, then the need for a separate theory will be demonstrated. It is expected that variables, which measure female-specific concepts will distinguish between violent injuries to females by female antagonists and by male antagonists, respectively. The assumption underlying this comparative analysis of cross-gender and intragender violence is that all concepts are gendered.

In Part I of this chapter, bivariate analyses are conducted for all theoretically relevant variables to determine if the independent variable is related significantly to the

predicted outcome (same-gender incident) without controlling for potentially confounding variables.

In Part II, multivariate logistic regression is used to assess correlates simultaneously. This statistical technique permits identification of variables that will be useful in predicting whether a woman presenting to the ED for a violent injury by a non-intimate will have been involved in a same-gender or cross-gender violent event.

II. Bivariate Analyses

A. Culturally-defined Female-Specific Adaptations to Blocked Goals

Table 8-1 summarizes hypotheses and results based on female-specific adaptations to blocked goals.

Table 8-1: Female-Specific Hypotheses

<i>Hypothesis</i>	<i>Measure</i>	<i>Intragender Assault</i>	<i>Cross-gender Assault</i>	<i>Test Statistic</i>	<i>P-Value</i>
Player Hypothesis (N=319)	% of males who cheat or flirt with rival females	4.8%	1.3%	$X^2=2.1$ (df=1)	.108 ²
Gender-Centric¹ Concerns Hypothesis (N=319)	% of incidents over intimates, reproductive success	22.2%	9.9%	$X^2=7.9$ (df=1)	.005
Interpersonal-Concerns Hypothesis (N=319)	% of incidents over he say/she say or issues of being disliked	22.8%	4.6%	$X^2=20.2$ (df=1)	.000
Relational-Protection Hypothesis (N=319)	% of antagonist violent to protect third party	13.0%	5.0%	$X^2=5.4$ (df=1)	.021
Deference-Aggression Hypothesis (N=317)	% of short-term, uncommitted relationship	15.6%	11.8%	$X^2=1.0$ (df=1)	.324
Female-Valued Resources Hypothesis (N=322)	% of injuries to the face	54.5%	50.3%	$X^2=0.4$ (df=1)	.524

¹ Gender-centric concerns variable includes player behavior.

Player Hypothesis

The Player Hypothesis is not supported. Females presenting for emergency department (ED) care for violent injuries by females are not more likely to engage in violence for reasons related to male player behavior than are females presenting for ED care for violent injuries by males ($X^2 = 2.1$, $df=1$, $p=.108$).

Gender-Centric Concerns Hypothesis

The Gender-Centric Concerns Hypothesis is supported. Females presenting for ED care for violent injuries by females are more likely to be injured because of conflicts involving intimates or potential intimates than are females presenting to ED care for violent injuries by males ($X^2 = 7.9$, $df=1$, $p=.005$).

Interpersonal-Concerns Hypothesis

The Interpersonal-Concerns Hypothesis is supported. Females presenting for ED care for violent injuries by females are more likely to be injured because of conflict related to "he say/she say" and issues of being disliked than are females presenting for ED care for violent injuries by males ($X^2 = 20.2$, $df=1$, $p=.000$).

Relational-Protection Hypothesis

The Relational-Protection hypothesis is supported. Females presenting for ED care for violent injuries by females are more likely to be injured because of conflict related to protecting/defending friends or family than are women presenting for ED care for violent injuries by males ($X^2 = 5.4$, $df=1$, $p=.021$).

Deference-Aggression Hypothesis

The Deference-Aggression hypothesis, which is based on short-term uncommitted intimate-partner relationships, is not supported by the data. Women presenting for ED care for violent injuries by females are not more likely to be involved in short-term, uncommitted male intimate partner relationships than are women presenting for ED care for violent injuries by males ($X^2=1.0$, $df=1$, $p=.324$).

Female-Valued Resource Hypothesis

The Female-Valued Resource hypothesis is not supported by the data. Women presenting for ED care for violent injuries by other women are not more likely to sustain an injury to the face than are women presenting for ED care for violent injuries by males ($X^2=0.4$, $df=1$, $p=.524$).

B. Culturally-defined Gender-Neutral Adaptations to Blocked Goals

Table 8-2 summarizes hypotheses and results based on gender-neutral adaptations to blocked goals.

Table 8-2: Gender-Neutral Hypotheses

<i>Hypothesis</i>	<i>Measure</i>	<i>Intragender Assault</i>	<i>Cross-gender Assault</i>	<i>Test Statistic</i>	<i>P-Value</i>
Personal Respect Hypothesis (N=319)	% of fights that involve insults or slights	38.3%	16.4%	$X^2 = 18.9$ ($df=1$)	.000
Mutual contribution Hypothesis (N=319)	% of respondents contribute to violent outcome and fight back	27.5%	21.1%	$X^2 = 1.1$ ($df=1$)	.224
Public View Hypothesis (N=320)	% of bystanders present	88.0%	74.5%	$X^2 = 8.8$ ($df=1$)	.003
Life-Cycle Hypothesis (N=322)	% of respondents < 24 years old	51.5%	29.7%	$X^2 = 14.9$ ($df=1$)	.000
Life-Cycle Hypothesis (N=320)	% of antagonists who are age-peers	55.7%	41.2%	$X^2 = 10.3$ ($df=1$)	.006

Personal Respect Hypothesis

The Personal Respect Hypothesis is supported by the data. Females presenting for ED care for violent injuries are more likely to be injured because of issues over personal respect (fighting in response to a verbal insult, threat or slight, or to prove one's ability to stand up for oneself) than are females presenting for ED care for violent injuries by males ($X^2=18.9$, $df=1$, $p=.000$).

Mutual-Contribution Hypothesis

The Mutual-Contribution Hypothesis is not supported. Females presenting for ED care for violent injuries by females are not more likely to actively contribute to the violent outcome by using physical or verbal provocation and by fighting back than are females presenting for ED care for injuries by males ($X^2=1.1$, $df=1$, $p=.224$).

Public-View Hypothesis

The Public-View Hypothesis is supported. Females presenting for ED care for violent injuries by females are more likely be injured in conflicts characterized by the presence of bystanders than are females presenting for ED care for violent injuries by males ($X^2=8.8$, $df=1$, $p=.003$).

Life Cycle Hypotheses

Both Life Cycle Hypotheses are supported. Females presenting for ED care for violent injuries by females are more likely to be under the age of 24 than are females presenting for ED care for violent injuries by males ($X^2=14.9$, $df=318$, $p=.000$).

In addition, females presenting for violent injuries by females are more likely to be injured by at least one antagonist who is within 5 years of the respondents' age than

are females presenting for ED care for violent injuries by males ($X^2=10.3$, $df=1$, $p=.006$).

C. Summary of Bivariate Results

The bivariate analyses demonstrate that characteristics of the 167 injured females by females and 155 injured by males with whom they were compared differed markedly. This conclusion is based on the results of the hypothesis tests reported in this chapter.

Female specific characteristics associated with increased risk of assault by another woman include engaging in violence for reasons related to gender-centric concerns, relational-protection and interpersonal-concerns.

Gender-neutral factors associated with an increased risk of assault by another woman include respondents 24 years old and younger, injuries by an age peer, engaging in violent for reasons related to personal respect and presence of bystanders.

In sum the results indicate that without controlling for the effects of potentially confounding variables, female-on-female violence compared to male-on-female violence is explained by both female-specific and gender-neutral factors.

III. Multivariate Analyses

In this section *Gendered Social Structural Strain Theory* is explored further by examining results of a multivariate logistic regression. Multivariate analysis allows assessment of the independent effects of individual variables in the model. In other words, the effect of each independent variable can be examined net of the effects of the other variables in the model.

Logistic regression is an appropriate procedure for this study because the dependent variable is dichotomous and representative of women classified as members of two distinct populations differentiated by the sex of the antagonist (Afifi et al., 1996): intragender assault and cross-gender assault.

The statistical measure computed with logistic regression is the odds ratio, which is defined as the ratio of the odds of the exposure in the first group to the odds of exposure in the second group. When a dichotomous independent variable is used, the odds ratio is interpreted as the odds that group one exhibits the risk factor relative to the odds that group two exhibits it. In this analysis the Pearson Chi-Square statistic is reported as a summary measure of goodness of fit for the regression model, as well as odds ratios. P-values, and the magnitude and direction of each coefficient also are reported.

In the sections that follow the process of variable elimination by which the final model is specified is reviewed. In addition, the model's goodness of fit is assessed. Finally, statistically significant associations with female-on-female violence and male-on-female violence are highlighted.

A. Process of Variable Elimination: Candidate Control Variables

The candidate control variables that were considered for inclusion in the final multivariate model and their bivariate results are summarized in Table 8-3.

Table 8-3: Bivariate Results for Control Variable Candidates

	<i>Intragender Assault</i>	<i>Cross-gender Assault</i>	<i>Test Statistic</i>	<i>P-Value</i>
Respondent's Education Level (N=322)				
% Less than high school	53.3%	37.4%	$X^2=9.9$ (df=2)	.007
% High School	34.7%	40.6%		
% More that high school	12.0%	21.9%		
% Receipt of government assistance (N=321)	58.7%	61.3%	$X^2=0.1$ (df=1)	.716
% Violence by male partner exclusive of respondent (N=316)	27.9%	12.6%	$X^2=10.4$ (df=1)	.001
% Beaten by mother-figure during childhood ² (N=313)	16.4%	8.1%	$X^2=4.1$ (df=1)	.042
Victim-Offender Relationship (N=322)				
% Family member	19.2%	22.6%	$X^2=30.8$ (df=3)	.000
% Friend	13.2%	14.8%		
% Acquaintance	56.3%	29.7%		
% Stranger	11.4%	32.9%		
Past abusive partner (N=314)				
% none	50.6%	36.0%	$X^2=7.3$ (df=2)	.026
% one	32.9%	39.3%		
% more than one	16.5%	24.7%		
% Predatory violence (N=319)	4.8%	23.0%	$X^2=21.2$ (df=1)	.000
% Low self-esteem (N=318)	7.2%	14.6%	$X^2=3.8$ (df=1)	.052
% Depression (N=321)	58.7%	69.5%	$X^2=3.6$ (df=1)	.058
% Childhood sexual abuse (N=314)	16.3%	20.3%	$X^2=0.6$ (df=1)	.440
Respondent substance use within 4 hrs. of violent event ² (N=321)				
% Either alcohol or drugs	20.0%	33.0%	$X^2=6.1$ (df=1)	.014
% Respondent lives with the antagonist (N=320)	10.8%	8.5%	$X^2=0.3$ (df=1)	.617
Antagonist drug use within 4 hrs. of violent event (N=321)				
% Yes	43.7%	46.8%	$X^2=6.9$ (df=2)	.032
% No	44.3%	32.5%		
% Don't Know	12.0%	20.8%		

According to the bivariate results, low levels of education ($X^2 = 9.9$, $df=2$, $p=.007$), violence by a male partner toward someone other than the respondent ($X^2 = 10.4$, $df=1$, $p=.001$), and childhood physical abuse by the mother ($X^2 = 4.1$, $df=1$, $p=.042$) are each significantly associated with female-on-female violence. The victim-offender relationship also is associated with the gender of the antagonist ($X^2 = 30.8$, $df=3$, $p=.000$). The proportion of females injured by female acquaintances was greater than the proportion of male acquaintances (56.3% versus 29.7%). However, the proportion of females injured by female strangers was smaller than the proportion of females injured by male strangers (11.4% versus 32.9%).

In addition, having an abusive partner in the past ($X^2 = 7.3$, $df=1$, $p=.026$), injury as a consequence of predatory violence ($X^2 = 21.2$, $df=1$, $p=.000$), respondent substance use ($X^2 = 6.1$, $df=1$, $p=.014$) and antagonist drug use ($X^2 = 6.9$, $df=2$, $p=.032$) each are significantly associated with male-on-female violence.

With the goal of deriving a parsimonious final model several steps were carried out. First, multicollinearity diagnostics were assessed and revealed it unnecessary to remove any variables. None of the variance inflation factors (VIF) exceeded 1.5.

Next, a full model was tested including all candidate control variables (see Table 8-4).

**Table 8-4. Multivariable Logistic Regression Analysis Of Factors
Associated with Risk of Violent Injury by Females vs. Males: Full Model
with all Candidate Control and Theoretical Variables**

<i>Variable</i>	<i>Logit</i>	<i>Wald</i>	<i>P-Value</i>	<i>Adjusted Odds-Ratio</i>	<i>Confidence Interval (95%)</i>
FEMALE-SPECIFIC FACTORS					
Relational-Protection Hypothesis	1.2	3.9	.049	3.3	(1.0-10.9)
Interpersonal-Concerns Hypothesis	1.3	6.8	.009	3.5	(1.4-9.0)
Gender-centric Concerns Hypothesis	0.7	3.0	.086	2.1	(0.9-4.9)
Deference-Aggression Hypothesis (short-term uncommitted relationship)	0.3	0.6	.458	1.4	(0.6-3.1)
Female-Valued Resources Hypothesis (Injury to the face)	0.2	0.5	.460	1.2	(0.7-2.2)
GENDER-NEUTRAL FACTORS					
Life-Cycle Hypotheses:					
Respondent < 24 yrs. old	0.1	0.1	.729	1.1	(0.6-2.1)
Age-peer	-0.0	0.1	.778	1.0	(0.7-1.2)
Mutual Contribution Hypothesis	-0.1	0.1	.788	0.9	(0.5-1.8)
Personal Respect Hypothesis	0.9	6.5	.011	2.4	(1.2-4.8)
Public View Hypothesis (bystanders present)	0.3	0.4	.542	1.3	(0.6-2.9)

Table 8-4. (continued) Multivariable Logistic Regression Analysis Of Factors Associated with Risk of Violent Injury by Females vs. Males: Full Model with all Candidate Control and Theoretical Variables

<i>Variable</i>	<i>Logit</i>	<i>Wald</i>	<i>P-Value</i>	<i>Adjusted Odds-Ratio</i>	<i>Confidence Interval (95%)</i>
CONTROL VARIABLES					
Victim-Offender Relation: ¹	--	8.2	.017	--	--
Family member	-0.1	0.1	.777	0.9	(0.3-2.3)
Acquaintance/Friend	0.8	4.3	.039	2.3	(1.0-5.0)
Stranger	ref	ref	ref	ref	ref
Subject's Education Level	--	5.2	.073	--	--
Less than high school	1.0	5.1	.025	2.7	(1.1-6.5)
High School	0.6	1.7	.188	1.8	(0.8-4.1)
More that high school	ref	ref	ref	ref	ref
Violence by partner exclusive of respondent	0.9	5.4	.020	2.5	(1.2-5.4)
One or more abusive male partners ²	-0.7	4.0	.045	0.5	(0.3-1.0)
Beaten by mother-figure during childhood	1.5	9.2	.002	4.3	(1.7-11.0)
Predatory violence	-1.2	5.3	.021	0.3	(0.1-0.8)
Low self-esteem	0.0	0.0	.934	1.0	(0.4-2.9)
Depression	-0.5	2.2	.137	0.6	(0.3-1.2)
Respondent lives with antagonist	0.0	0.0	.994	1.0	(0.3-2.9)
Childhood Sexual abuse	-0.2	0.3	.572	0.8	(0.4-1.7)
Receipt of government assistance	-0.0	0.0	.908	1.0	(0.5-1.8)
Respondent used drugs or alcohol prior to the event	-0.4	1.4	.234	0.7	(0.3-1.3)
Antagonist used drugs prior to the event	-0.0	0.0	.914	1.0	(0.9-1.1)

¹ Categories "Friend" and "Acquaintance" are combined to preserve degrees of freedom.

² Categories "One abusive male partner" and "More than one abusive male partner" are combined to preserve degrees of freedom.

According to Table 8-4, eight candidate control variables were not significant.

Consequently, with the exception of education, they were excluded from the model

because they were not were not correlated significantly with the dependent variable and

their exclusion did not change the results of the model. These variables include low self-esteem, depression, respondent lives with the antagonist, childhood sexual abuse, receipt of government assistance, respondent used drugs or alcohol prior to the violent event and antagonist used drugs prior to the violent event. The results of the final multivariable analyses of factors associated with the risk of violent injury by females compared to violent injury by males are shown in Table 8-5.

**Table 8-5. Multivariable Logistic Regression Analysis Of Factors
Associated with Risk of Violent Injury by Females vs. Males: Final Model**

<i>Variable</i>	<i>Logit</i>	<i>Wald</i>	<i>P-Value</i>	<i>Adjusted Odds-Ratio</i>	<i>Confidence Interval (95%)</i>
FEMALE-SPECIFIC FACTORS					
Relational-Protection Hypothesis	1.3	4.7	.031	3.6	(1.1-11.7)
Interpersonal-Concerns Hypothesis	1.2	6.5	.011	3.4	(1.3-8.6)
Gender-centric Concerns Hypothesis	0.8	3.7	.055	2.3	(1.0-5.2)
Deference-Aggression Hypothesis (short-term uncommitted relationship)	0.3	0.7	.418	1.4	(0.6-3.1)
Female-Valued Resources Hypothesis (injury to the face)	0.2	0.6	.441	1.3	(0.7-2.2)
GENDER-NEUTRAL FACTORS					
Life-Cycle Hypotheses:					
Respondent < 24 yrs. old	0.2	0.4	.550	1.2	(0.7-2.2)
Age-peer	-0.1	0.3	.584	0.9	(0.7-1.2)
Mutual Contribution Hypothesis	-0.1	0.1	.758	0.9	(0.5-1.8)
Personal Respect Hypothesis	0.9	7.2	.007	2.5	(1.3-4.9)
Public View Hypothesis (witnesses present)	0.2	0.3	.615	1.2	(0.6-2.7)

Table 8-5: (continued) Multivariable Analysis Of Factors Associated with Risk of Violent Injury by Females vs. Males: Final Model

CONTROL VARIABLES					
Victim-Offender Relation: ¹	--	8.6	.014	--	--
Family member	-0.1	0.1	.797	0.9	(0.4-2.2)
Acquaintance/Friend	0.8	4.2	.040	2.2	(1.0-4.8)
Stranger	ref	ref	ref	ref	ref
Respondent's Education Level	--	3.6	.168	--	--
Less than high school	0.8	3.4	.064	2.1	(1.0-3.4)
High School	0.4	1.1	.305	1.5	(1.0-4.8)
More that high school	ref	ref	ref	ref	ref
Violence by partner exclusive of respondent	0.9	5.5	.019	2.5	(1.2-5.3)
One or more abusive male partners ²	-0.9	8.5	.003	0.4	(0.2-0.7)
Beaten by mother-figure during childhood	1.34	8.8	.003	3.8	(1.6-9.2)
Predatory violence	-1.3	6.3	.012	0.3	(0.1-0.8)

¹ Categories "Friend" and "Acquaintance" are combined to preserve degrees of freedom.

² Categories "One abusive male partner" and "More than one abusive male partner" are combined to preserve degrees of freedom.

B. Model's Goodness of Fit

According to the model Chi-Square statistic ($X^2 = 102.0$, $df=18$, $p=.000$), the null hypothesis that improvement in prediction is due to sampling error is rejected. The final model's goodness of fit was compared to the goodness of fit of a trimmed model that included only those variables that were statistically significant ($p < .05$) in the final model while adjusting for age and education. A description of the trimmed model is provided in Table 8-6. The trimmed model was examined to confirm that the results from the final model (including 16 variables versus 8 variables in the trimmed model) were not affected by over-saturation (too few degrees of freedom). The model improvement based on the

trimmed model Chi-Square statistic was not statistically significant ($X^2=3.95$ $df=7$, $p=.758$) indicating that over-saturation was not a problem.

Table 8-6. Logistic Regression Analysis Of Factors Associated with Risk of Violent Injury by Females vs. Males: Trimmed Model

<i>Variable</i>	<i>Logit</i>	<i>Wald</i>	<i>P-Value</i>	<i>Adjusted Odds-Ratio</i>	<i>Confidence Interval (95%)</i>
FEMALE-SPECIFIC FACTORS					
Relational-Protection Hypothesis	1.3	4.9	.026	3.6	(1.1-11.3)
Interpersonal-Concerns Hypothesis	1.3	8.1	.004	3.8	(1.5-9.4)
GENDER-NEUTRAL FACTORS					
Life-Cycle Hypotheses: Respondent < 24 yrs. old	0.2	0.5	.470	1.2	(0.7-2.2)
Personal Respect Hypothesis	0.8	6.2	.012	2.2	(1.2-4.1)
CONTROL VARIABLES					
Victim-Offender Relation: ¹	--	11.4	.003	--	--
Family member	-0.1	0.0	.873	0.9	(0.4-2.2)
Acquaintance/Friend	0.9	6.3	.012	2.6	(1.2-5.3)
Stranger	ref	ref	ref	ref	ref
Subjects Education Level	--	4.0	.135	--	--
Less than high school	1.0	5.1	.056	2.7	(1.1-6.5)
High School	0.6	1.7	.353	1.8	(0.8-4.1)
More that high school	ref	ref	ref	ref	ref
Violence by partner exclusive of respondent	0.9	6.4	.012	2.5	(1.2-5.2)
One or more abusive male partners ²	-0.9	8.9	.003	0.4	(0.2-0.7)
Beaten by mother-figure during childhood	1.3	8.1	.004	3.6	(1.5-8.8)

¹ Categories "Friend" and "Acquaintance" are combined to preserve degrees of freedom.

² Categories "One abusive male partner" and "More than one abusive male partner" are combined to preserve degrees of freedom.

C. Identification of Significant Associations with the Dependent Variable

The hypotheses drawn from *Gendered Social Structural Strain Theory* include both female-specific and gender-neutral factors. Of the nine hypotheses tested, three are supported; of these, two are female-specific and one is gender-neutral with a female-specific corollary.

Controlling for other theoretical and control variables, involvement in violence over issues related to protecting a third party (relational-protection) increases the odds of beings injured by a female than by a male by a factor of 3.6. Moreover, involvement in violence over interpersonal concerns ($df=1$, $p=.031$) increases the odds of being injured by a female compared to a male by a factor of 3.4 ($df= 1$, $p=.011$).

With respect to gender-neutral factors, controlling for other theoretical and control variables, involvement in violence over issues related to personal respect increases the odds of being injured by a female than by a male by 2.5 times. The control variables that distinguish between intragender and cross-gender assault are noteworthy. When controlling for theoretical and other control variables, violence by an acquaintance increases the odds of being injured by a female by 2.2 times ($df=1$, $p=.040$). Having a partner who has been violent toward another male or female recently increases the odds of being injured by a female by 2.5 times ($df=1$, $p=.019$). In addition, having a history of childhood physical abuse by a mother-figure increases the odds of being injured by a female by 3.8 times ($df=1$, $p=.003$).

In contrast, when controlling for theoretical and other control variables, having a history of partner abuse increases the odds of being injured by a male compared to a female by 0.4 times ($df=1, p=.003$). Experiencing predatory violence increases the odds of being injured by a male by 0.3 times ($df=1, p=.012$). There were no differences between females injured by females and females injured by males for several variables in both the female-specific and gender-neutral domains. In the female-specific domain, there were no differences with respect to whether the respondent's partner relationship was characterized as short-term and uncommitted, or whether she sustained an injury to the face. In the gender-neutral category there were no associations for age of the respondent, injury by an age-peer, mutual involvement in the violent event or for the presence of bystanders.

The results presented in this chapter are consistent with the expectations derived from *Gendered Social Structural Strain Theory*. Female-specific concepts distinguished between violent injuries to females by female antagonists and by male antagonists, respectively. It is noteworthy, however, that when adjusting for theoretically relevant variables, several bivariate relationships lost significance. These variables include gender-centric concerns, respondent's age, antagonist is an age-peer, and the presence of bystanders. In the following chapter, a discussion of the study findings within the context of *Gendered Social Structural Strain Theory* and implications regarding gendered theory is presented.

CHAPTER 9. REVISITING THE EMPIRICAL FINDINGS WITHIN THE CONTEXT OF "GENDERED SOCIAL STRUCTURAL STRAIN THEORY" AND BEYOND

I. Introduction

This dissertation represents one of the first studies to examine violent injuries to women across a broad range of non-partner male and female relationships including violence by family members, acquaintances, friends and strangers. This research provides a comparative analysis of female-on-female and male-on-female intentional violence.

The research design applied in this dissertation provides a unique opportunity to test hypotheses derived from *Gendered Social Structural Strain Theory* by comparing females intentionally injured by non-partner females with females intentionally injured by non-partner males. This theory includes a blend of female-specific and gender-neutral theoretical concepts and therefore is considered a gendered theory. Central to *Gendered Social Structural Strain Theory*, is the prediction that risk factors for violence to females will vary by gender of the antagonist. If a gender-neutral construct does not differentiate between female-on-female and male-on-female violence then additional support is provided for the generalizability of the gender-neutral theory. However, if a gender-neutral construct differentiates between intragender and cross-gender assault then additional support is points to the need for a female-specific corollary. Likewise, if a female-specific theory differentiates between intragender and cross-gender assault, then further evidence is provided for a gendered theory.

In Part II that follows empirical results based on a test of *Gendered Social Structural Strain Theory* uncovered in this dissertation are discussed with respect to

female-specific and gender-neutral adaptations that are likely to increase the risk of intragender violence compared to cross-gender violence. Part III includes a discussion of findings pertaining to the control variables. Part IV includes a discussion of the empirical findings within the context of gender, class and race. Part V includes implications for further research.

II. A Test of *Gendered Social Structural Strain Theory*: Empirical Results

A. Female- Specific Adaptations

Finding #1: Relational-Protection

As predicted by *Gendered Social Structural Strain Theory*, female antagonists reportedly are more likely than male antagonists to become involved in violence for the purpose of defending or protecting friends or family members (see Table 8-5). This includes defending the reputation of family members or friends or protecting the loved ones from physical harm.

Female-on-Female Violence: Relational-Protection

According to *Gendered Social Structural Strain Theory*, relational-protection is based on gender-neutral (Anderson, 1994, 1999) and gendered (Adams, 1999) dimensions of the Code of the Street Approach as well as dimensions of feminist theory. These dimensions are discussed below within the context of the empirical findings.

One of the basic tenets of *Gendered Social Structural Strain Theory* is that historical discrimination and the failure of public institutions to respond to the needs of disadvantaged Black residents (male and female) have contributed to the emergence of self-help strategies. According to Anderson (1999), the Code of the Street emerged among urban males and females in part because of the need for self-help strategies. These

strategies are used as a method of grievance resolution, and include the use of violence (Anderson, 1999, Black, 1983). Past studies have shown that intragender male violence occurs as a consequence of self-help strategies (Anderson, 1999; Canada, 1995). The results of this dissertation demonstrate similar processes for intragender female assault (see Figure 9-1 below). The following account (#3966) illustrates the use of violence as a self-help strategy in lieu of seeking help from a care-giving institution.

I was fighting a 30 year-old women. Her daughter (who is 11 or 12 years old)... said I tried to fight her, I was coming home from the water ice stand, she jumped off the steps and threw a punch and so we started fighting.

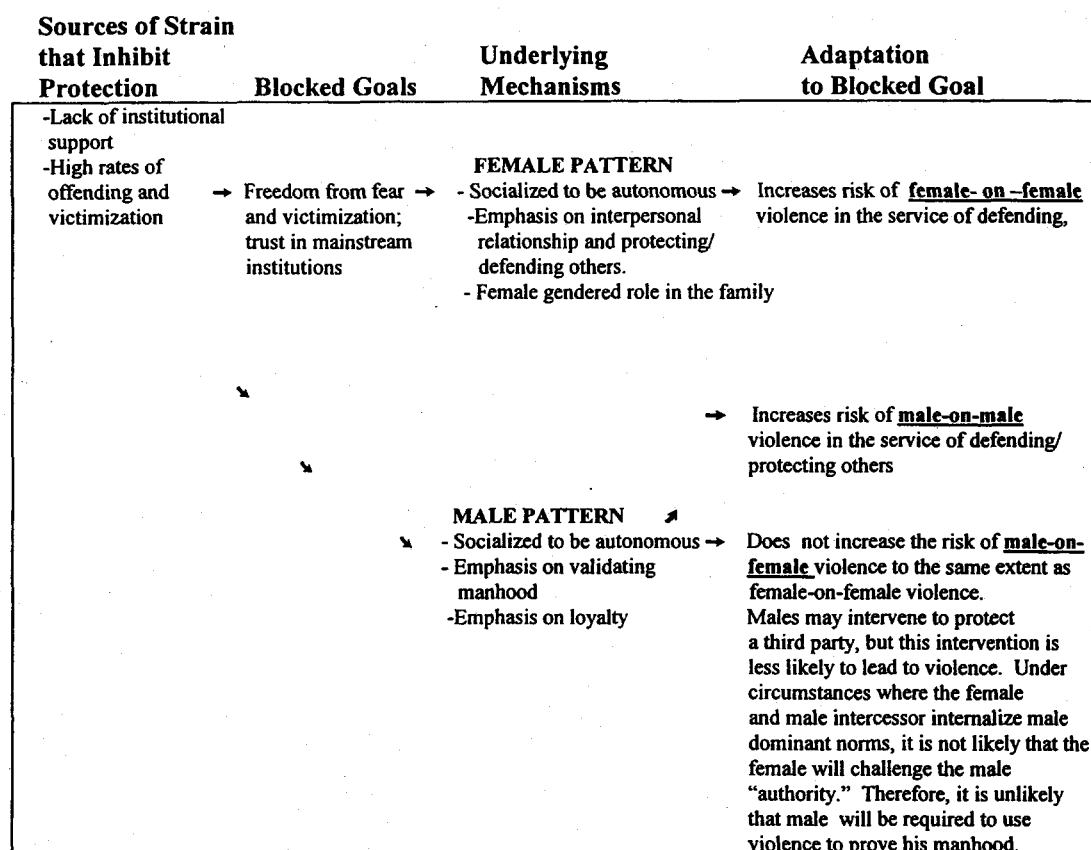
The empirical results highlighted in this dissertation suggest that self-help strategies also have a female-specific component. Adams' (1999) describes a gendered version of the code. She contrasts Anderson's (1994, 1999) masculine view of self respect, which focuses on protecting oneself, with a woman's tendency to fight to preserve the respect that is awarded to others. She attributes this behavior to female socialization patterns that center on maintaining interpersonal relationships (Gilligan, 1993).

Becoming involved in violence over relational-protection also might be explained by feminist theory and research on socialization patterns in disadvantaged Black families. Daughters more so than sons, for example, have been socialized to take responsibility for themselves and their families (Browning et al., 1999; Dodson, 1998). The sense of autonomy and responsibility that Black females have developed as a consequence of their family responsibilities may extend to the use of violence for the purposes of defending or protecting family and/or peer-group members.

Female-on-Female Violence versus Male-on-Female Violence: Relational-Protection

The results demonstrate that male antagonists who injure females reportedly are less likely to become involved in violence over issues pertaining to relational-protection. According to *Gendered Social Structural Theory*, males are expected to engage in self-help strategies as a consequence of socialization patterns that center on validating their manhood. Thus, socialization patterns serve as intervening mechanisms that shape the nature of gendered self-help strategies. The mechanisms underlying violence used as a self-help strategy were outlined in Chapter 3 and are reviewed below within the context of *Gendered Social Structural Strain Theory*.

Figure 9-1: Gender-Specific and Gender-Neutral Dimensions of Self-Help Strategies: Different Pathways to Intragender and Cross- Gender Assault



The empirical finding reflects gendered mechanisms that underlie female violence and male violence. In the respondents' accounts there was no mention of males fighting to protect a third party. According to *Gendered Social Structural Strain Theory*, female-on-female violence is more likely to occur than male-on-female violence over relational-protection because females adhere to patriarchal norms. It is likely that women who internalize male-dominant norms do not respond to disrespectful comments by male intercessors with provocations; women may resist alienating males if they perceive the males as highly valued resources. Therefore, it is unlikely that the male considered in this setting will be required to use violence in order to validate his manhood. Given the

perceived position of power awarded to males by society at large and by the women themselves, it would be expected that a greater degree of provocation by the female would be required for the male antagonist to resort to violence compared to the female antagonist. Threats by the male antagonist are likely sufficient measures that allow him to validate his manhood. In contrast, it is likely that women are more likely to respond to insults by females with provocations that, in turn, intensify the risk of intragender violence. Thus, within the context of a patriarchal society, women likely perceive their female rivals as competitors. On the contrary, women likely perceive male intercessors as status superior.

It also is possible that in contrast to situations of intragender male violence (Oliver, 1994), incidents of cross-gender violence attributed to relational-protection by male antagonists do not occur. Alternatively, males may engage in violence against females for reasons related to relational-protection, but such acts may not lead to violence or violent injuries.

Finding #2: Interpersonal-Concerns

The empirical results reveal that females injured by females are more likely than females injured by males to become involved in violence over interpersonal concerns including issues related to rumors, gossip, "he say/she say" and "not being liked" (see Table 8-5). Twenty-three percent of female-on-female incidents reportedly were characterized by issues related to interpersonal concerns compared to five percent of male-on-female incidents.

Female-on-Female Violence: Interpersonal-Concerns

According to Figure 9-2 (see below), the feminist component of *Gendered Social Structural Strain Theory* is based on research demonstrating that for females, the importance of creating and maintaining interpersonal relationships is central to their identity (Chodorow, 1978; Gilligan, 1993; Miller, 1986). That is, females seek status and a sense of self-worth by developing interpersonal relationships. According to *Gendered Social Structural Strain Theory*, when few means are available for achieving socially-defined success, the importance of maintaining relational connections becomes intensified. Disadvantaged women who have had limited means to achieve conventionally-defined success (i.e. academic and occupational) and who have experienced blocked opportunity to self-enhancing interpersonal relationships with parents, teachers and other adults, place increased emphasis on gaining the approval of peers and others.

Research has shown that some females seek friendships by damaging another female's reputation (Owens et al., 2000). By revealing the faults (actual or fictitious) of another person the gossip likely creates temporary group intimacy and simultaneously boosts her own status within the group. Through the use of indirect aggression defined by gossip or rumors a female builds herself up by tearing down another.

In past studies and in this dissertation, females reportedly engaged in indirect aggression through gossip and rumors. Past research on samples of girls has shown that targets of indirect aggression suffer painful consequences (Crick, 1995; Crick and Grotpeter, 1996; Crick et al., 1996; Galen and Underwood, 1997) including a loss of self esteem and anxiety. Similar to past research (Owens et al., 2000), the respondents

interviewed in this dissertation reported that they (or more often the antagonists) reacted to victimization by rumors with violence against the perpetrator of the gossip. One respondent (#3686) explained:

I was fighting two girls, grabbed ones hair, wrapped it around my fingers and was pulling on it. [It was about] he say, she say. She said something that I didn't say...

Thus, the use of indirect aggression is considered a female-specific pattern. Researchers have observed that intragender male is not characterized by gossip or rumors. Instead, males use alternative means to develop group cohesion and tend to express aggression using direct physical means (Owens, 2000) (see Figure 9-2)

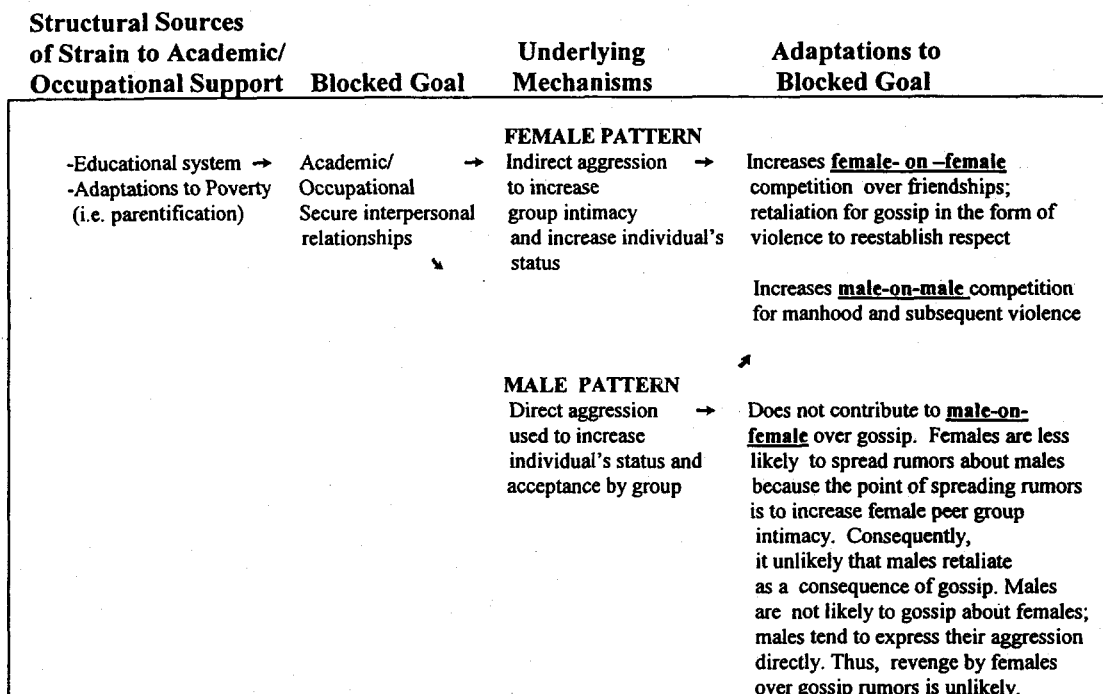
Female-on-Female Violence versus Male-on-Female Violence: Interpersonal Concerns

Gendered Social Structural Strain Theory largely focuses on female rivalry over male partners. The respondents' accounts, however, demonstrate the prevalence of violence over interpersonal relationships aside from issues concerning male partners. Issues of "not being liked" for example typically describe a conflict between a female respondent and female antagonist. Rumors also include issues unrelated to males. One respondent (#3508) explained:

My block is full of young people...gossipers. Something about my kids told her nephew that I was going to beat her up. She called...I asked my kids if they said it...they said no. I told her that if she wanted to say something to me she should come around to my house. She and her sister came over. We had words and started fighting

The mechanisms underlying violence as a consequence of interpersonal concerns are outlined below for female-on-female, male-on-male and male-on-female violence.

Figure 9-2: Gender-Specific and Gender-Neutral Dimensions of Becoming Involved in Violence over Interpersonal Concerns: Different Pathways to Intragender and Cross-Gender Assault



The empirical findings are consistent with past research on gender differences in mechanisms that contribute to violence. Males, for example, are more likely than females to display aggression outwardly and directly as a show of dominance and control. Research has shown that direct aggression is valued by the male peer group and often is considered a measure of status (Campbell, 1993). In contrast, research suggests that females engage in indirect aggression as a means to secure friendships and to establish group cohesion (Owens et al., 2000). This dissertation research suggests that in contrast to the male peer group, the female peer group values the intimacy brought about by the process of group gossip. One byproduct of gossip, however, is the use of violence as a form of retaliation. Thus, within the context of comparing female-on-female violence

with male-on-female violence, fighting over issues related to interpersonal concerns is considered female-specific.

Finding #3: Gender-Centric Concerns

The empirical results demonstrate that females injured by females are not more likely than females injured by males to become involved in violence over gender-centric concerns including issues over intimate partners (past, current and potential), pregnancy, or player behavior (see Table 8-5). It is likely that this hypothesis was unsupported not because females don't become involved in violence over gender-centric concerns, but instead because more males than expected acted violent toward females over gender-centric concerns.

Female-on-Female Violence: Gender-Centric Concerns

In spite of the absence of group differences, the respondents' accounts point to gendered mechanisms that underlie intragender versus cross-gender assault. Based on *Gendered Social Structural Strain Theory*, it was expected that the demographic scarcity of eligible male intimate partners combined with blocked opportunities to academic and occupational achievement would increase the risk of female-on-female assault. It also was expected that player behavior by males would increase the risk of intragender violence among females who adhere to traditional patriarchal norms. Women who adhere to these beliefs have internalized norms established by the dominant male group including male superiority and the double standard according to which it is acceptable (even expected) for males to engage in player behavior but unacceptable for females to behave the same way. Thus, in response to player behavior the female engages in "horizontal group oppression" against the rival female.

According to *Gendered Social Structural Strain Theory* and past research (Artz, 1998; Nurge, 2000) horizontal violence accomplishes two goals. These include: (1) punishing the rival female for behavior that is perceived as unacceptable (e.g., flirting with another female's boyfriend) (2) and enhancing her position within the dominant male group by avoiding conflict with the male who instigated or at the least contributed to the conflict. Themes of horizontal oppression emerged from the respondents' accounts.

A typical account (#3576) follows:

I was at my girlfriend's. I saw another girl that I had an argument with over there. She said, 'Where your guns at?' I said, 'I don't need no gun for you.' She picked up a broomstick to swing at me. Before she could hit me I punched her in her face and kept punching and punching her. I only stopped cause she was biting me...Nobody should hit me with a broomstick over no boy. [She got violent because] her boyfriend was trying to talk to me.

The data suggest that females involved in intragender violence over gender-centric concerns internalize patriarchal norms of male superiority in ways that are manifested beyond player behavior. For example, respondents who describe arguments over gender-centric concerns attribute such importance to having a boyfriend that such issues become worth fighting over. One respondent (#3539) explained:

This happened in school. I was jumped by three girls. I fell on the floor and they started kicking me in the head. They ran when an teacher's assistant came along. It's a real skinny hallway. We bumped shoulders and she hit me. We were fighting this summer too over a boy. She stole him from me. He was still liking me and she didn't like that.

Another respondent (#3123) explained:

I was making dinner. Thee doorbell rang... I opened the door and there was a girl standing at door. As I was about to close the door, she pushed her way in. She grabbed me and I grabbed her back and she started saying she was going to kill me. In return she started to hit me with rock... She told me I was going to let her lose her baby. She was around 6 months pregnant. I told her I'm not the one losing your

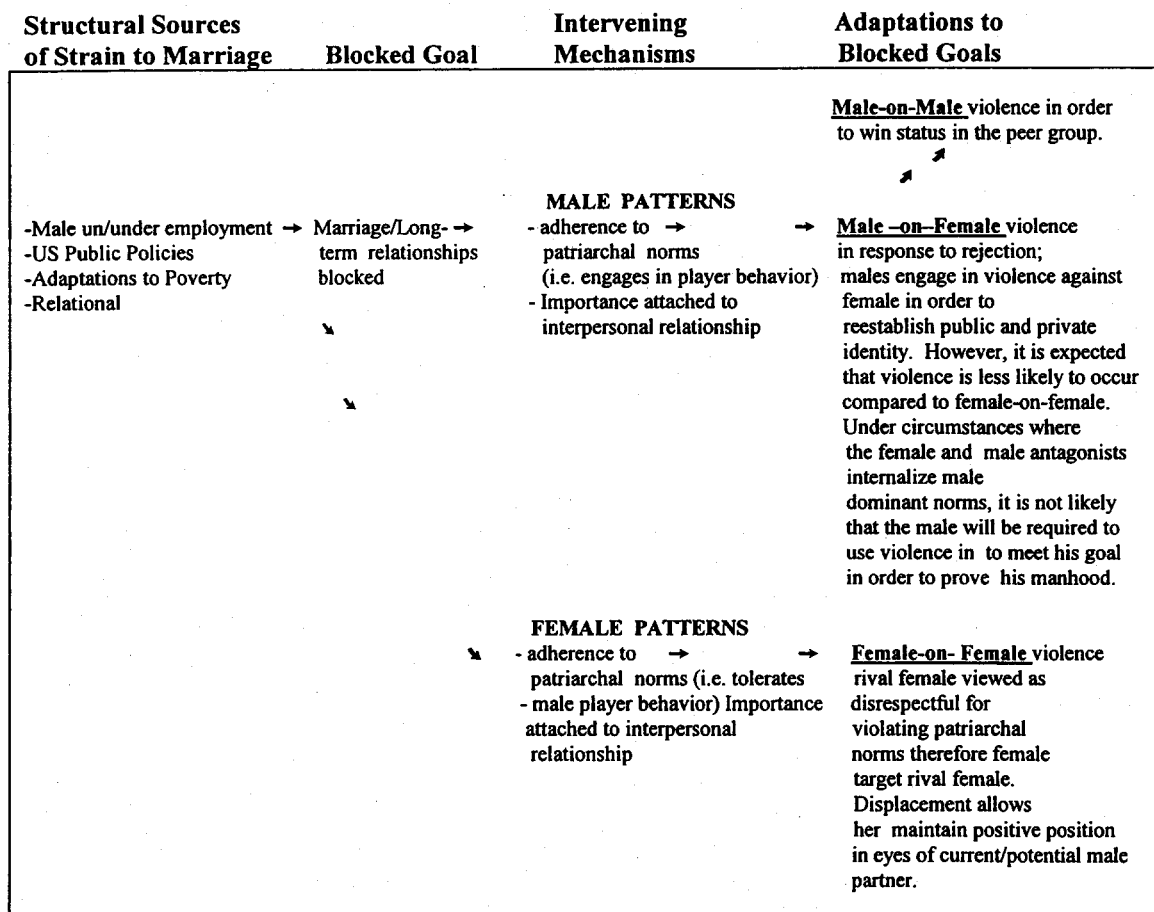
baby you are... She seemed to think that I came into their [her and her boyfriend] relationship...she wanted him back.

According to the feminization of poverty component of *Gendered Social Structural Strain Theory*, female-on-female violence also is associated with fighting over males for the purpose of obtaining material resources necessary for survival. The respondents' accounts provided no information suggesting a link between intragender violence and seeking to secure a male in order to obtain material resources. This omission points to the previously cited finding that Black females have disconnected males with the role of resource provider (Ladner, 1971). Instead, gender-centric concerns that increase the risk of female-on-female violence revolve around securing a male as an ultimate goal. Thus, it is likely that a woman wants to secure a male, not for the purposes of acquiring material resources, but for the purposes of meeting intimacy needs and establishing or maintaining self worth.

Female-on-Female Violence versus Male-on- Female Violence: Gender-Centric Concerns

Notwithstanding the absence of empirical support for a difference in magnitude between intragender and cross-gender assault over gender-centric concerns, the vignettes point to gendered mechanisms that shape the violent outcome. According to Figure 9-3, female-on-female, male-on-male and male-on-female violence are influenced by adherence to patriarchal norms; these norms, however, have different effects for intragender and cross-gender assault.

Figure 9-3: Gender-Specific and Gender-Neutral Dimensions of Adaptations to Marriage: Different Pathways to Intragender and Cross-Gender Assault



The accounts suggest that males adhere to patriarchal norms. Such norms include a sense of entitlement regarding their right to have sexual relations with females and is a likely underpinning of the player image. According to *Gendered Social Structural Strain Theory*, within context of male player behavior and adherence to patriarchal norms by males and females, it is likely that intragender female violence emerges from female rivalry over male partners. In contrast, according to *Gendered Social Structural Strain*

Theory, it is likely that intragender male violence occurs in an effort to validate one's sense of manhood (see Figure 9-3).

The vignettes suggest that some males assault females because the potential loss of or rejection by a female is experienced by the males as threats to their private and/or public identities (Anderson, 1990) (see Figure 9-3). There is likely a lower threshold of tolerance for rejection among males who have limited access to socially-defined success because of blocked opportunity. One study respondent (#3080) who was injured by a male neighbor explained:

I was coming from church tonight as I reached my door a friend of mine approached me...and started to feel on me and grab me. I bit his finger...he went in my kitchen, got a knife and stabbed me in the back and cut my neck. He was trying to get me to have sex with him. [He did this] because I wouldn't have sex with him.

Another respondent (#3519) who sustained an injury by a male friend explained:

Last night I got a phone call from a girlfriend of his. I told her we was just friends. I wasn't messing with him. I paged him that morning and asked him to bring my keys over. So he came over. I didn't open the door. I wanted him to hand them [to me] through the window. So he took off the screen and crawled through the window. He wanted to fight. I went out and hit him with a stick...He came back with his hammer, which is a gun. I threw a cup of bleach...in his face. He reached down for his gun...He shot the front window out... [He did this because] he thinks he can have all women. He can't accept rejection.

This account is consistent with the "tough guy" image described by Oliver (1989b).

Males with limited conventional means to validate their manhood redefine manhood in terms of fearlessness and domination over women. Adherence to patriarchal norms is a frequent explanation for violence by males against female partners. The vignettes uncovered in this dissertation suggest that violence against women by males who

experience rejection extends beyond the realm of intimate partner violence to include males in the community more generally.

Finding #4: Short-Term Uncommitted Relationship

The results indicate that involvement in a short-term uncommitted relationship does not distinguish between intragender and cross-gender assault. It was expected that females who are involved in short-term, uncommitted intimate relationships would target their jealousy toward the female rival instead of the male intimate for fear of driving him away (Campbell, 1995, 1998).

The proportion of females injured by females (15.7%) and the proportion of females injured by males (11.8%) who meet the criteria for a short-term, uncommitted relationship was smaller than anticipated. It is possible that the hypothesis is wrong or that the measure chosen to operationalize the concept is misspecified. A more accurate measure of short-term uncommitted relationship would be obtained by asking members of the community how they define this type of relationship.

Finding #5: Female-Valued Resources Hypothesis (Injury to the face)

The results indicate that injury to the face does not distinguish between intragender and cross-gender assault. It was expected that a female antagonist compared to a male antagonist would be more likely to cause injury to a female's face. Campbell (1995) suggests that females most value those attributes that males consider important (i.e., physical attractiveness). It was hypothesized that female antagonists would cause injury to the respondent's face as a strategy to "de-beautify" the rival female. Notwithstanding the finding that injury to the face does not distinguish between intragender and cross-gender assault, female antagonists may have used this strategy.

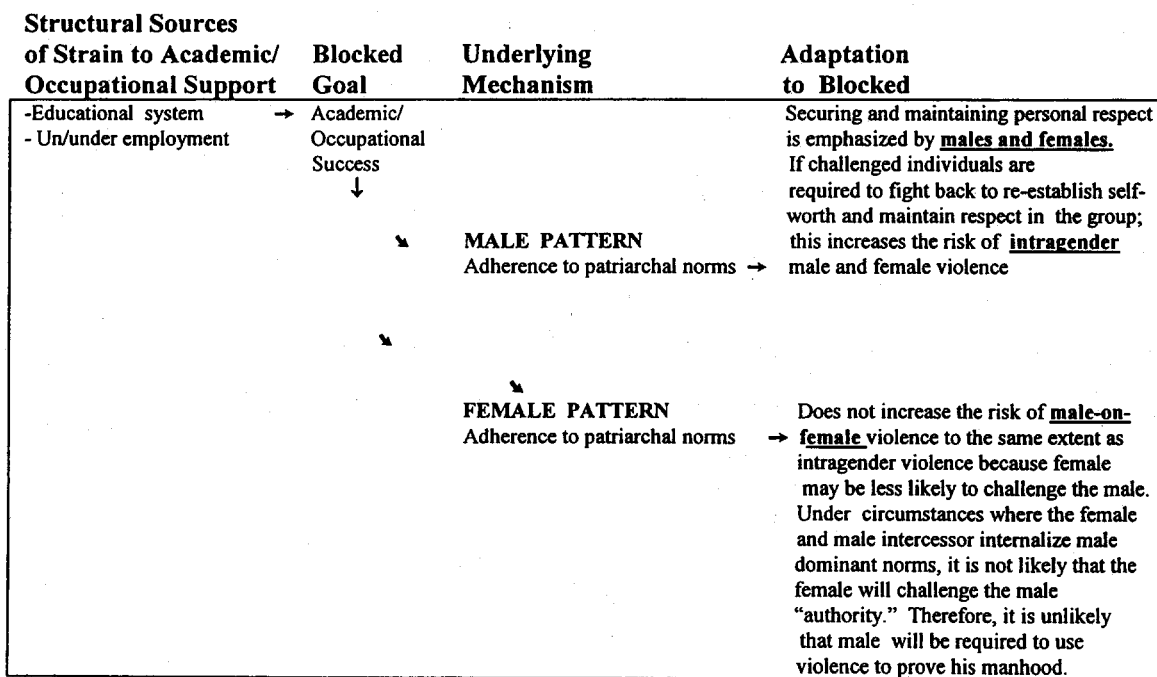
The large proportion (50%) of male antagonists who inflicted injuries to the face points to the physical seriousness of the violence. Given that males probably are aware that females tend to attribute great importance to their physical attractiveness, the finding that one half of the males targeted the face suggests that males not only seek physical harm but emotional harm as well.

B. Gender-Neutral Adaptations

Finding #1: Personal Respect

According to *Gendered Social Structural Strain Theory*, personal respect is drawn from the gender-neutral version of the Code of the Street approach (Anderson, 1994, 1999). Central to the Code is the issue of respect. Past research has demonstrated that females and males characterized by disadvantage and blocked opportunity, resort to violence for reasons pertaining to personal respect. Figure 9-4 summarizes gender-neutral and female-specific dimensions that give rise to adaptations involving respect.

Figure 9-4: Gender-Specific and Gender-Neutral Dimensions of Becoming Involved in Violence over Personal Respect: Different Pathways to Intragender and Cross-Gender Assault



In this dissertation violence over personal respect includes fighting in response to a verbal assault, slight or provocation (e.g., name calling, looks of disrespect such as stares, a bump). Based on past research it was hypothesized that intragender female assault

would parallel past studies of intragender male assault. That is, female-on-female assault would occur over issues related to securing and maintaining personal respect.

The hypothesis comparing female-on-female and male-on-female assault set forth according to *Gendered Social Structural Strain Theory* was supported. Females injured by females are more likely than females injured by males to become involved in violence over issues related to personal respect (see Table 8-5). Although this hypothesis is categorized as gender-neutral, a female-specific corollary was developed for the current analysis. Violence over personal respect was expected to be more prevalent among female-on-female incidents compared to male-on-female because intragender violence is more likely to be characterized by a more equal playing field and the imperative to fight back to save face.

Female-on-Female Violence: Personal Respect

It is notable that of all the reasons assessed for violent injuries, the study respondents' injured by females cited issues pertaining to personal respect most frequently. According to the women's accounts, many responded to a verbal insult with violence or verbal aggression that led to an escalation of the argument and eventual violence. One respondent (#3388) explained:

Me and Aisha got into a fight and I didn't see her cousin had a knife... she stabbed me. I also had my extensions pulled out and had an injured back. I may have said something. They called me crazy and I called them junkies... 'She's not going to fight you Alisha. She's crazy. She won't fight you.' They were saying things to provoke me.

In addition, it also is noteworthy that the majority of all incidents of female-on-female violence resulted from incidents, which occurred in public with witnesses present.

These findings are consistent with a central tenet of the Code that it is particularly

operative for conflicts that occur in public with witnesses present (Anderson, 1994,1999). In these cases, acting tough is considered a source of esteem in the eyes of the larger community. One respondent (#3561) provided the following account:

My boyfriend was arrested...His family and friends thought I got him arrested. I was riding past my boyfriend's aunt and she pointed her finger at me as if she wanted to talk about what happened. But the whole time he was talking to me she was leading me to [the corner]... Her niece and she wanted to fight. Tanya [the niece]...stabbed me in the back. [She got violent] because everyone was out there. She wanted to show off.

Consistent with past research, *Gendered Social Structural Strain Theory* also includes gendered respect as a key adaptation to blocked opportunity. Nurge (2000) found that a show of disrespect resulting from an accusation of promiscuity by one female toward another female is a point of conflict that, under some circumstances, may result in violence. It is interesting that none of the respondents in this dissertation described this form of disrespect. It is possible that some of the incidents over "he-say/she-say" involve rumors about sexual promiscuity that went undisclosed by the respondents.

Female-on-Female Violence versus Male-on-Female Violence: Personal Respect

According to *Gendered Social Structural Strain Theory*, female-on-female violence is more likely to occur over issues related to personal respect than male-on-female violence because of the female's adherence to patriarchal norms. As discussed earlier in this section with respect to relational-protection, it is likely that women who internalize male-dominant norms do not respond to disrespectful comments by males with insults/slights. According to *Gendered Social Structural Strain Theory*, women may resist alienating males if they perceive the males as highly valued resources. Therefore, it is unlikely that in an economically disadvantage community the male will feel compelled

to use violence in order to validate his manhood. Given the perceived position of power awarded to males by society at large and by the women themselves, it would be expected that a greater degree of provocation by the female would be required for the male antagonist to resort to violence compared to the female antagonist. In this setting, threats by the male antagonist are likely sufficient measures that allow him to validate his manhood. In contrast, it is likely that women are more likely to respond to such comments by females with provocations that intensify the risk of violence. Thus, within the context of a patriarchal society, women likely perceive their female rivals as competitors. On the contrary, women are likely to perceive their male antagonists as status (and physically) superior.

Despite the statistically significant association between violence involving personal respect and female-on-female violence, it is notable that 16 percent of the study respondents reported violence by males over issues related to personal respect. One respondent (#3339) who sustained an injury by a male acquaintance provided the following account:

This guy we've known, [I] never had any relations [with him]. He came to my mom's house looking for me. My mom got angry that he was there so I went to the place we hang out and asked him why did he come to my house. He got angry and picked up a milk crate and I think it had some glass in it and hit me over the head with it...He said I was a snitch and that I had told on his drug operations...He said that I disrespected him in his immediate mind.

Another respondent (#1151) explained:

My brother, you know, he has a history of hitting on his girlfriend...He tried to take her purse and she knocked his CD's over. He started hitting her. So I came in and told him to stop. [He got violent with me]...when I told him he was less than a man.

These vignettes suggest that some males respond to insults by females with violence. Consistent with the "tough guy" image described by Oliver (1989b), males with limited means to achieve socially-defined success resort to domination and violence to validate their manhood. The data suggest that in spite of the unbalanced playing field typically in favor of males (due to size and strength), some males engage in violence against females over insults.

Findings #2: Mutual-Contribution

It was expected that female-on-female violence compared to male-on-female violence would be more likely to be characterized by mutual involvement on the part of both the antagonist and respondent. However, the Mutual Contribution Hypothesis was not supported. This hypothesis is based on the Code of the Street and the central issue of respect. To maintain respect, once one's self worth is challenged it is necessary meet the challenge with physical aggression or aggressive words which likely increases the risk of violence.

It is likely that this hypothesis was not supported because the concepts mutual contribution and personal respect both have their origins in issues central to the Code of the Street. A further analysis revealed that mutual contribution is significantly related to personal respect ($X^2=20.16$, $p=.000$, $df=1$).

Findings #3: Public View

It also was expected that intragender violence compared to cross-gender violence would be characterized by the presence of bystanders. Consistent with the Code the Street, the presence of bystanders was expected to intensify the need to retaliate with violence in order to save face. The Public View Hypothesis was supported at the

bivariate level, which suggests that other variables in the model account for the variation originally attributed to the presence of bystanders.

Findings #4: Age of the Study Respondent

It was expected that females injured by females would be younger (under the age of 24 years old) than females injured by males. This association was statistically significant at the bivariate level, but once other variables are included in the model the net contribution of age is not significant. This suggests that other factors explain the effect originally attributed to age.

It is possible that reasons for the violence are age-related. Risk factors for intragender violence previously identified are personal respect and interpersonal concerns. Members of this group may represent a younger cohort of women who become involved in dispute-related violence over competition for status. In contrast, risk factors for cross-gender assault include predatory violence and a history of partner abuse. Members of this group may represent an older cohort whose risky lifestyle or financial desperation contributes to their violent victimization. The extent to which females injured by females and females injured by males represent two different cohorts is a topic worthy of further study. It is possible that participation in violence among younger females is a predictor of the life course characteristic of older females.

Findings #5: Injury by an Age-Peer

It was expected that a female injured by a female would be more likely than a female injured by a male to sustain an injury by an age-peer. However, in the final model age-peer did not distinguish between intragender and cross-gender violence.

III. Empirical Findings Pertaining to Control Variables

The results pertaining to the control variables point to additional factors that distinguish between intragender and cross-gender assault. Female-on-female violence is associated with several factors including the victim-offender relationship, violence by a male partner against someone exclusive of respondent, and childhood physical abuse by a mother-figure. Male-on-female violence is associated with predatory violence and a history of partner abuse.

In Sections A and B that follow additional interpretations are described for intragender and cross-gender violence within the context of *Gendered Social Structural Strain Theory* and the Victimization Approach. Interpretations of control variables are provided in order to illuminate areas for further theory development of *Gendered Social Structural Strain Theory* and to illustrate additional gendered differences.

A. Female-Female Violence

Finding #1: Victim-Offender Relationship

The results indicate that the victim-offender relationship is significantly related to the gender of the antagonist. In this sample 88.6 percent of females involved in intragender assault compared to 67.1 percent of females involved in cross-gender assault were injured by antagonists known to the respondents (see Table 8-5). This is consistent with *Gendered Social Structural Strain Theory* which is based on the notion that females become involved in dispute-related violence frequently to protect family and friends and over issues relate to personal respect. These sources of conflict are expected to occur among people known to each other rather than strangers.

Finding #2: Recent Violence by a Male Partner Against Someone, Exclusive of the Study Participant

The study results reveal that females injured by females are more likely than females injured by males to have male partners who engage in violence with others during the six months prior to the violent event (see Table 8-5). This finding suggests that male partners of females injured by females display "tough guy" behaviors, including overt dominance and a willingness to use violence to demonstrate one's masculinity (Oliver, 1989b).

It also is possible that the tough guy image is one component of a set of behaviors of masculinity that also includes the "player image." Commitment to promiscuity by males can intensify female-on-female jealousy, competition for suitable male partners and the risk of female intragender assault.

Finding #3: Childhood Physical Violence by Mother-Figure

The third control variable that is associated with female-on-female injury is physical violence by a mother-figure during childhood. An integration of *Gendered Social Structural Strain Theory* and the Victimization Approach provides a likely explanation for this finding. Past studies drawn from the Victimization Approach suggest an association between childhood physical abuse by the mother and subsequent violence by the daughter (Artz, 1998). Even though the study respondents are victims of intentional injuries, a significant proportion of the respondents involved in intragender violence contributed to

the violent outcome. One third (33%) of the respondents reported making aggressive comments prior to the violence and most (77%) reported having fought back with violence.

The Victimization Approach is based on research documenting that women are pushed into crime or violence as a result of past victimization including child abuse (Carlen, 1988; Chesney-Lind, 1997; Gilfus, 1992). Several studies have illustrated the relevance of child abuse by the mother in particular. According to Artz (1998), a rupture in the mother-daughter bond characterized by physical abuse is associated with the adolescent daughter's use of physical aggression, rage, and lack of concern for harm caused to victims. Campbell (1993) argues that because of psychological processes characteristic of gender identity formation (Chodorow, 1978), the relational bond between mother and daughter contributes to the daughter's strong basis for empathy during adulthood. Campbell (1993) observed that women are more likely to suppress aggression than to express it when they have learned to associate aggressive behavior with the fear of losing an interpersonal relationship. It is possible that females with a history of physical violence by a mother-figure learn not to value interpersonal bonds (because they were broken during childhood) and subsequently do not associate violence with the loss of a relationship. Consequently, they may be more likely to act out physically rather than to withhold the aggression.

Insights drawn from *Gendered Social Structural Strain Theory* provide a further explanation for the association between physical abuse by a mother-figure and female-on-female violence. Past research (Baskin and Sommers, 1998; Nurge, 2000) as well as findings from this dissertation suggest that some disadvantaged women residing in urban

communities abide by the Code of the Street (Anderson, 1994, 1999). That is, once a woman's self worth is challenged by a threat or insult, she is required by the larger community to meet this challenge with verbal or physical aggression. It is likely that for a respondent with a history of childhood physical violence by a mother-figure, living in neighborhoods characterized by the Code of the Street further intensifies her risk of participating in violence.

B. Male-on-Female Violence

Male-on-female violence is associated with a history of partner abuse and an injury that occurred as a consequence of predatory violence. Explanations for these associations fall outside the scope of *Gendered Social Structural Strain Theory*. History of partner abuse was included in the model as a measure of the Victimization Approach and predatory violence was included as a measure of Routine Activities/Risky Lifestyle.

It is notable that the perspectives chosen to explain cross-gender violence including the Victimization Approach and Routine Activities/Risky Lifestyle are both victimization theories. The results of this dissertation point to the relevance of the Victimization Approach and Routine Activities/Lifestyle Theory for understanding male-on-female violence between non-intimate partners. The Victimization Approach focuses on oppression in the lives of females and *sequelae* that include substance use, psychosocial problems and violent victimization. Consistent with this approach, preliminary empirical results reviewed in Chapters 6 and 7 reveal that females injured by males are characterized by severe financial strain (i.e. having to borrow money to make ends meet) recent cocaine use, problem drinking, and a history of domestic violence by a

male partner. The portrayal of females injured by males is one of having limited resources and substantial chaos in their lives.

Proponents of the routine activities/lifestyle approach argue that the convergence in time and space of a likely offender, suitable target and absence of a capable guardian provide opportunities for victimization to occur. Lifestyle theorists center on the "suitable target" component focusing on factors that affect an individual's vulnerability to victimization. Preliminary findings summarized in Chapter 7 demonstrate that females involved in cross-gender violence are more likely than females involved in intragender violence to engage in risky behaviors. Females injured by males were more likely to sustain an injury while engaged in drug-seeking behaviors and to use drugs or alcohol within four hours of the violent event. Participation in these activities is likely to increase a woman's risk of contact with others who also are involved in risky activities. The empirical results also demonstrate that females injured by males are more likely to be involved in violent events where both the respondent and male antagonist reportedly had used alcohol or illicit drugs. This finding supports previous findings which point to routine activities and lifestyle characteristics of drug-involved females as these factors contribute to their risk of violent victimization (Baskin and Sommers, 1998; Goldstein et al., 1991). Furthermore, females injured by males, in contrast to females injured by females, were significantly more likely to be characterized as innocent victims who have sustained an attack for no apparent reason. Almost five times as many women injured by men than women injured by women described themselves as innocent victims (24% versus 5%).

IV. Contributions that Emerged from a Test of *Gendered Social Structural Strain Theory*: The Relevance of Gender-Neutral and Female-Specific Theory

The discussion presented in this Chapter illuminates the need for a gendered theory of violence to women by female non-intimates that integrates female-specific and gender neutral constructs. Consistent with *Gendered Social Structural Strain Theory*, risk factors for violence to women vary by gender of the antagonist. These risk factors are both gender-neutral and female-specific.

A. Gender-Neutral Theory: The Code of the Street

In this dissertation, Personal Respect, a gender-neutral construct drawn from the nongendered Code of the Street Perspective, emerged as a risk factor for intragender female assault. As described in Chapter 2, a theory is categorized as gender-neutral if it was developed based on male-gendered or non-gendered assumptions. The finding that emerged in this dissertation is consistent with past research; both males and females become involved in violence for reasons pertaining to the Code of the Street (Anderson, 1999; Baskin and Sommers, 1998; Nurge, 2000).

Findings regarding Personal Respect uncovered in this dissertation contribute to our knowledge of female participation in violence. Past studies do not detail information on the gender of the antagonist or provide a comparative analysis by gender of the antagonist. The analysis carried out in this research also demonstrates the need to extend the gender-neutral dimension of the Code of the Street to include a female-specific corollary when gender of the antagonist is taken into account. Women involved in intragender violence compared to cross-gender violence may be more likely to become involved in violence over issues pertaining to Personal Respect because of dynamics

involving adherence to patriarchal norms. Female-on-female violence likely involves a more balanced playing field characterized by an imperative to fight back to save face. In contrast, within the context of a patriarchal culture, male-on-female violence is less likely to result in a violent injury. Given the male's position of status superiority, he may feel less compelled than a female antagonist does to use violence against a female in response to slights or insults.

B. Female-Specific Theory: Feminist Theory and Gender Studies Research

The findings revealed in this dissertation are consistent with a gendered perspective. As described in Chapter 2, a theory is categorized as female specific if it was developed based on female gendered assumptions and research has uncovered characteristics or motivations unique to female violence that in some way distinguishes female violence from male violence. In this dissertation, female-specific constructs that focus on relational issues distinguish between female-on-female assault and male-on-female assault. They include Interpersonal-Concerns and Relational-Protection and are drawn from feminist theory (including the Gendered version of the Code of the Street) and gender studies research.

Studies on gender differences drawn from the field of psychology have demonstrated that interpersonal relationships are more central to the identities of females than males (Gilligan, 1982; Miller, 1986). Results uncovered in this dissertation extend the well-established findings pertaining to the interpersonal relationships for women to the arena of non-partner violence. That is, female-on-female violence is more likely than male-on-female violence to involve conflict over relational issues such as Relational-Protection and Interpersonal-Concerns.

In sum, the results of this study provide further evidence for the relevance of a gender-specific theory that addresses gender differences in psychological needs and patterns of socialization within the context of blocked opportunity. The descriptive analysis of intragender female violence demonstrated that reasons for violence involving issues related to respect and gender-centric concerns are similar to reasons for intragender male violence. The results of the multivariate model demonstrate, however, that when female-on-female violence is compared to male-on-female violence, gender-specific corollaries are necessary for understanding differences by gender of the antagonist. Further research is required in order to identify and test for the presence of underlying mechanisms (i.e. adherence to patriarchy, player behavior) that shape intragender versus cross-gender assault to women.

V. Interpreting the Empirical Results within the Context of Gender, Class and Race and Topics for Further Research

Gendered Social Structural Strain Theory was developed to explain participation in violence by disadvantaged Black females. A basic principle of this theory is that gender, class, and race/ethnicity shape adaptations to blocked opportunity (see Chapter 3, Table 3-4); although, the dimensions of class, race/ethnicity and gender are not assessed empirically in this dissertation. In this section risk factors for female-on-female violence uncovered in Chapter 8 and topics that merit further attention are discussed within the context of gender, class and race. Vignettes are provided to illustrate themes that merit further exploration.

A. Gender

Studies have identified four factors that contribute to female-on-female violence among females of diverse ethnic and economic backgrounds (Adams, 1999; Artz, 1998; Nurge, 2000). These factors include: 1) horizontal group oppression, 2) gendered respect (fighting to preserve an untainted sexual reputation), 3) female gendered relationship-centric patterns (fighting to secure and maintain interpersonal connections) and 4) resistance to objectification (fighting against those who adhere to sexist norms).

Artz (1998) applied explanations of horizontal group oppression and gendered respect to the violent behavior of white working class adolescent females in Canada. Nurge (2000) applied these explanations to Black and Hispanic female adolescents living in inner-city neighborhoods of Boston. Adams (1999) applied both relationship-centric patterns including relational-protection (although she labeled this phenomenon relational respect) and resistance to objectification to explain female violence based on a case study of working class females of diverse ethnic backgrounds in a Midwestern community.

It is noteworthy that risk factors for intragender violence by Black female residents of a low-income urban community uncovered in this dissertation, including relational-protection and interpersonal concerns, confirm relationship-centric patterns reported by other researchers.

In this dissertation horizontal group oppression, a key component of *Gendered Social Structural Strain Theory*, was not measured directly. However, as illustrated earlier in this chapter the respondents' accounts highlight this process. In contrast, none of the respondents provided examples of disrespect in the form of accusations of

promiscuity. This is a topic worthy of further study particularly if gendered respect is considered so taboo that it goes undisclosed by study participants.

The next factor identified by past research that contributes to intragender violence involves resistance to acts of sexual harassment or “objectification” (Artz, 1998). No such incidents were uncovered in this dissertation. This finding is not surprising given that *Gendered Social Structural Strain Theory* is based on the assumption that inner-city disadvantaged women involved in female-on-female assault are likely to adhere to patriarchal norms rather than to oppose them. To the extent that females internalize patriarchal norms, it would not be expected that the study respondents would fight against objectification. Instead they would be expected to fight against females who fail to adhere to patriarchal norms.

B. Gender and Class

Past research suggests that economically disadvantaged females (irrespective of ethnicity) compared to middle class females face additional sources of blocked opportunity compared to middle class females (Anderson, 1999; Nurge, 2000).

According to *Gendered Social Structural Strain Theory*, these additional sources of strain lead to adaptations that subsequently increase the risk of female-on-female violence.

These adaptations are discussed below within the context of the lives of disadvantaged females (gender and class) and the risk of intragender female violence.

Adaptation #1: Serial Monogamy and Player Behavior

Past research suggests that increases in the rates of male unemployment combined with declines in rates of long-term monogamous relationships (i.e., marriage) have contributed to patterns of serial monogamy and player behavior (Freudenberg et al., 1998;

Oliver, 1989b, Wilson, 1996). *Gendered Social Structural Strain Theory* hypothesizes that these adaptations contribute to female-on-female violence. The available data do not permit conclusions to be drawn regarding these adaptations. However, the respondents' accounts suggest that disruptions in romantic relationships are common occurrences and player behavior perpetuates intragender conflict. The accounts provide further evidence for the "cycle of disrespect" (Nurge, 2000) which emerges in response to male player behavior. This cycle begins when a male disrespects his girlfriend by flirting with another female and subsequently the male's girlfriend disrespects the female rival by blaming her for actions reportedly carried out by the male. The following account (#3327) illustrates the "cycle of disrespect:"

I was in a club and it was crowded and when men approaches, you don't know that they have a girlfriend... I was telling him that I was married. [His girlfriend came in and] saw us and said we'll see you when you get When I was coming out the door...she started cussing at me. I told her I didn't need her man... she broke the window of my car with the 'club' from the car, and I got the bat out from the back seat and I started swinging it.

The impact of player behavior on intragender violence is a topic that merits further study.

Adaptation #2: Personal Respect

The second adaptation involves personal respect. Consistent with past findings (Anderson, 1999; Nurge, 2000), the respondents' accounts presented in this dissertation suggest, that with few means to achieve academic or occupational success, disadvantaged females (and males) compete over available resources including personal respect.

One of the key principles of the Code of the Street is that a show of nerve demonstrated by fighting back not only is a face saving device, but also reduces the risk

of future victimization (Anderson, 1999; Nurge, 2000). Many of the respondents' accounts suggested the importance of saving face. For example, one respondent (#1288) explained:

I got in fight with girl. I was getting the best of her...She said something. I said something. She said something again. Then she said, 'she'd slap me.' I said 'go ahead.' She put her hands up so I hit her.

Far fewer accounts uncovered themes related fighting in order to prevent future victimization. It is likely that the respondents have learned to associate fear with being a "punk;" that is, someone who lacks the nerve to fight back. Within this context it is not surprising that so few women voiced feelings of fear or intimidation.

Adaptation #3: Instrumental Aggression

The fifth adaptation characteristic of impoverished urban females involves the use of instrumental aggression (Campbell, 1999). According to a Campbell's research, disadvantaged males and females both use violence to dominate and control others. However, Campbell (1999) distinguishes male "normative" instrumental aggression from female "oppositional" instrumental aggression. In contrast to males whose use of instrumental aggression is considered "normative," Campbell (1999) asserts that female instrumental aggression develops as a consequence of past victimization and a fear of current victimization. In this dissertation research, markedly high rates of victimization reported by study respondents provide support for Campbell's observation that victimization is linked to female's use of instrumental aggression. Of female respondents injured by females, 50 percent reported a history of partner violence, 24 percent reported a history of childhood physical abuse, 16 percent reported a history of childhood sexual abuse and 44 percent reported witnessing violence by a father-figure toward a mother-

figure during childhood. Moreover, the empirical results showed that violence by a mother-figure is associated with female-on-female violence.

Many of the accounts presented in this dissertation reflect instrumental aggression use by females. The respondents' accounts provide support for Campbell's (1993, 1999) "crazy bitch." According to Campbell (1999, p. 253):

Once a girl has proved that she is capable of handling herself in a fight, she is licensed to proclaim herself to be a crazy bitch...When [girls] have persuaded themselves of their own fearlessness, they begin to use aggression as a response to any potential threat. Aggression becomes preemptive rather than reactive.

One respondent (#2018) explained:

I was assaulted by two girls. She had hit me with two chains and two crowbars... She gets like that sometimes. She wants people to think she's crazy. She wants people to be scared of her.

It also is notable that none of the respondents' accounts include descriptors of expressive aggression characteristic of middle class white females including guilt and embarrassment (Campbell, 1993). In contrast to middle class females who are "painfully aware that aggression expressed in public is viewed by many as bitchy, hysterical or just plain crazy" (Campbell, 1993, p. 50), the verbatim accounts indicate that some disadvantaged females find value in developing a "crazy reputation."

In contrast to middle class females, disadvantaged females reside in high-crime rate neighborhoods where exposure to violence is the rule rather than the exception and opportunities for conventional success are limited. The respondents' accounts reveal that the safety of everyday living is disrupted by violence, which occurs as a mere a consequence of carrying out day-to-day activities. The data suggest that within this

context some women have learned to associate their aggression with instrumental control, self-protection and as a means (perhaps the only means) to win valued sources of esteem.

Further research is necessary to establish the link between the use of instrumental aggression as a means to prevent victimization. If in fact a female uses instrumental aggression in the service of warding away danger, but her actions contribute to the violent outcome then she is likely embarking on a path to danger rather than safety.

Adaptation #4: Self-Help Strategies

According to Gendered Social Structural *Strain Theory*, the third adaptation involves self-help strategies that emerge in part because disadvantaged urban residents of diverse ethnic/racial characteristics have lost faith in mainstream institutions (Anderson, 1999; Black, 1983; Dodson, 1998). Consequently, some females (and males) respond by taking matters into their own hands, including the use of violence when deemed necessary, and socializing their children to do the same.

A notable theme voiced by the respondents involves self-help strategies that extend to the use of violence by mothers. One respondent (#3902) explained:

I was sending my daughter to the store and this boy tried to take her money, I went to his mother and I told her...we had words. Next thing I know we started fighting and two other females came out of her house and they jumped me. [What triggered the violence was that] I said something about her son trying to steal my daughter's money and she said that her son was not a thief. And I said well why would my daughter come in and say he was trying to take her money.

The data suggest that the notion of respect runs so deep that an assault on a child by another child is experienced by the child's mother as an assault on her own self-respect. So long as disadvantaged females face blockages to conventional means of success and to institutional protection, meeting basic needs for survival including securing and maintain

self-respect and the respect of their loved ones will take precedence over relying on care-giving agencies or conflict resolution strategies.

In addition, it is notable that according to respondents' accounts over 11 percent of female-on-female incidents involve a mother whose actions supported the use of violence. This is significant given that past studies (i.e. Ladner, 1971) have demonstrated that adults socialize their children to adopt self-help strategies including the use of violence. One respondent (#2241) explained:

My cousin said a lady down there was starting trouble... Some little 14 year- old hit me in my face. So we went to get the rest of my cousins. Then we were fighting. She bit me. I bit her back... [What triggered the violence was that] her mother and them...she wasn't gonna fight me at first but they told her to.

The accounts substantiate a key component of *Gendered Social Structural Strain Theory*; violence has become a legitimized method of social interaction among some females including mothers in this low-income urban community. To reduce violence by mothers who use it, as a strategy to protect loved ones, it is necessary to reduce violence in the larger community.

Adaptation #5: Relational-Protection

The fourth adaptation central to *Gendered Social Structural Strain Theory* that intensifies the risk of female-on-female violence involves relational-protection. In this dissertation relational-protection, defined by fighting to protect/defend friends or family, was identified as a risk factor for female-on-female violence.

The available data do not permit exploration of the extent to which patterns of relational-protection reflect female socialization patterns that center on interpersonal relationships, self-help strategies or socialization patterns in lower-class families that

focus on rewarding daughters for taking care of the family. The vignettes presented earlier, however, demonstrate that, at the least, females who become involved in violence to protect third parties are taking matters into their own hands.

C. The Intersection of Gender, Class and Race

According to *Gendered Social Structural Strain Theory*, Black women experience the cumulative (or multiplicative) effects of being female, disadvantaged and Black. In addition to the sources of strain and subsequent adaptations described above, Black disadvantaged females are faced with four additional barriers and subsequent adaptations that are hypothesized to increase the risk of intragender violence. The four barriers include: 1) reduced rates of marriage; 2) historical discrimination and social alienation from mainstream institutions; 3) victimization of Black males by mainstream society; and 4) socialization processes shaped by historical discrimination. In the current study data were not available to test the relevance of these four barriers. However, themes drawn from the respondents' accounts provide insights into these barriers and their adaptations.

Adaptation #1: Competition Between Mothers and Their Son's Girlfriends

The first adaptation that may contribute to intragender female violence involves competition between mothers and their sons' girlfriends for the sons' attention and/or resources. According to *Gendered Social Structural Strain Theory*, this adaptation emerges as a consequence of reduced rates of marriage in disadvantaged Black communities and subsequent competition over males. The rationale for this point is the contention that mothers come to rely on their sons as companions because mothers lack intimate partner relationships (Anderson, 1993). The presence of this adaptation was not

formally tested; however the respondents' accounts point to this as a topic worthy of further investigation. One respondent (#3420) explained:

[My boyfriend's] mother doesn't like me and don't want me around... Well his mom came and told me to get out of the house. She had a knife and my boyfriend took it away...Then she came upstairs had me pinned up against the dresser. That's when she cut me. [She got violent because] ...she is very protective of him.

Another respondent (#1423) provided the following account:

Me and my husband went to his grandmother's house to visit his daughter. His aunts and grandmother don't like me and we had words. His grandmother started calling me a bitch, I said I gotta go. His cousin told me to stop calling. [The violence happened because of] them just being bitter about us being married...they don't like me, but I think they are jealous too...that I'm with him.

This adaptation is topic worthy of further study. If in fact mothers become involved in violence with their sons' girlfriends because they lack their own partners, programs could be set in place that offer women the opportunity to increase their networks of social support. Another question for further study is the extent to violence occurs between mothers and their sons over issues related to resource sharing of finances.

Adaptation #2: Self-Help Strategies in Response to Discrimination and Alienation from Mainstream Institutions

The second adaptation involves the use of self-help strategies. According to *Gendered Social Structural Strain Theory* and past research (Anderson, 1999; Black, 1983; Wilson, 1996), historical discrimination combined with social isolation from mainstream institutions has contributed to the use of self-help strategies including the use of violence. The respondents' accounts reflect that they take matters into their own hands rather than relying on helping-giving agencies or agencies of conflict resolution.

It is notable that numerous respondents described the police and members of the community as neglectful and even harmful (see Chapter 7). One respondent (#2256) who went to the police station after having survived a brutal rape described her experience with the police:

I went to the police and told them what had happened. When they saw my track marks [I was] immediate[ly] disrespected. I left...I was furious. I thought I didn't need to be victimized all over again.

Another respondent (#2063) explained:

I was going to the doughnut shop...I dropped a \$20 bill. This girl picked it up. I asked her three times, 'Miss, please give me my \$20 back.' ...I went in the doughnut shop and asked them, 'Please call the police for me.' He said, 'Ma'am, I don't want to get involved.' She went to the trashcan and picked up a bottle and broke it because I asked again for the \$20.

Further research is necessary for identifying factors that contribute to self-help strategies in lieu of calling upon agencies of conflict resolution. Additional questions that merit attention focus on the availability (or lack) of agencies of conflict resolution (i.e. religious organizations) and the perceived feasibility of such programs given the context of the Code of the Street.

Adaptation #3: Socialization Processes that have Emerged from Discrimination

The third adaptation specific to Black females involves the ability to express anger within the context of a community where violence is considered normative. According to Taylor and colleagues (1995), the abilities to access and verbalize anger have emerged as a consequence of socialization processes that have resulted from historical discrimination. These processes emphasize autonomy, independence and taking care of oneself. For Black females residing in disadvantaged communities where the use of violence among some residents is considered normative and at times required

economically disadvantaged and Black simultaneously. Additional research is required to obtain a more comprehensive understanding of intragender assault within the context of gender, class and race. The topics for research suggested below should be investigated with standardized questions as well as field research. The themes presented in this dissertation emerged from responses to open-ended questions. Thus, the phenomena under investigation possibly are underestimated.

Based on the empirical findings uncovered in this dissertation, future studies of intragender violence should include examine in more detail gendered adaptations to blocked goals including interpersonal concerns and relational protection as well as the gender-neutral adaptation of personal respect. Central to these patterns is the notion of what may be termed "interpersonal relational capital." That is, females earn self-esteem by accumulating interpersonal wealth. By engaging in group gossip, a female attempts to enhance group connection. By becoming involved in violence over a boyfriend, a female attempts to secure her partner relationship. By becoming involved in violence to protect a third party, a female attempts to strengthen her bonds to loved a one.

The respondents' accounts point to the importance of gendered mechanisms on female-on-female violence. These include, for example, the influence of adherence to patriarchal norms as well as the role of gossip and group solidarity on the risk of intragender violence.

Future research on Black disadvantaged females living in urban should not be limited to gendered factors, but also should incorporate the gendered effects of economic disadvantage including relational protection and instrumental aggression. Gendered mechanisms that underlie relational protection (i.e. socialization processes to care for

others and "parentification") and instrumental aggression (i.e. the links to victimization) are worthy of further study.

To obtain a more encompassing understanding of female-on-female violence, factors specific to the Black experience should be studied further. These issues include issues of discrimination, the small pool of available marriageable males and social alienation from mainstream institutions (i.e. the police).

In the field of criminology there have been few empirical studies or theories that have considered the relevance of gender, class and race/ethnicity. Past research on female delinquency has pointed to the relevance of all three constructs (Chesney-Lind, et al., 1999). The empirical results and verbatim accounts highlighted in this dissertation point to the importance of conducting further research on female involvement in violence that takes into account the cumulative or multiplicative effects of gender, class and race/ethnicity.

B. Moving Beyond the Study of Violence among Economically Disadvantaged Urban Women

1. Theoretical Issues

Further research is required to ascertain whether *Gendered Social Structural Strain Theory* is generalizable to women of diverse ethnicities. This theory is based on the strain and the structural-cultural perspectives as well as gender studies research, and thus seeks to explain violence among disadvantaged women who experience blocked opportunity (see Chapter 2). Although *Gendered Social Structural Strain Theory* includes components that address the cultural and social experiences unique to Black women that likely increase their risk of violence (i.e. historical discrimination), the theory

is based on a broader conceptual framework that can be applied to understanding violence among women of different ethnicities. Generalizability of the results of this dissertation are limited to Black female residents of a low-income urban community who seek emergency department care for a violent injury. A brief review of the literature suggests that disadvantaged women of diverse ethnicities who face blocked opportunity adhere to cultural norms that intensify the risk of intragender violence indicating that such norms are not specific to Black women living in West Philadelphia. These norms include adherence to the code of the street, fighting in response to gossip, fighting in the service of protecting a third party and participating in horizontal group oppression.

First, selected samples of women from different cities reportedly adhere to the code of the street and consequently become involved in intragender violence to secure and maintain respect. These samples include women arrested for non-domestic violent crime in New York City (Baskin and Sommers, 1998), adolescent clique members living in Boston (Nurge, 2000), and women residing in urban Philadelphia (Anderson, 1999).

Second, working-class girls of diverse ethnic backgrounds from a Mid-western community reportedly engage in violence to protect family or friends (Adams, 1999). Third, low-income and working class Black females reportedly become involved in violence to regain respect lost as a consequence of rumors or gossip (Simmons, 2002). Finally, Hispanic and Black adolescents surveyed in a low-income Boston community (Nurge, 2000) reportedly participate in violence as a consequence of horizontal group oppression.

The respondents' accounts illustrated in this dissertation support the presence of mechanisms that underlie relational-protection, interpersonal concerns and personal

respect and provide a launching point for further study of *Gendered Social Structural Strain Theory*. Future studies should include operationalizing intervening mechanisms and testing them directly, rather than relying on themes that emerge from open-ended questions. To broaden the generalizability of *Gendered Social Structural Strain Theory* empirical tests should be carried out with women from diverse ethnic backgrounds. Further research that operationalizes these underlying mechanisms and examines such mechanisms among women of various ethnicities will further our understanding of *Gendered Social Structural Strain Theory* and increase the theory's generalizability.

The results of this dissertation reveal that female-specific factors, including relational protection and interpersonal concerns (i.e. gossip/issues of not being liked) are correlates of female-on-female violence. Chapter 2 proposed underlying female-specific mechanisms that shape relational protection and interpersonal concerns and, in turn are likely to contribute to female intragender violence. Women, for example, may be more likely than men to engage in violence to protect a third party because of female gendered socialization patterns that focus on taking care of others (Miller, 1978). Moreover, Black females in particular are hypothesized to engage in violence over relational-protection as a consequence of parentification and historical/current discrimination. Thus, future research should focus on operationalizing mechanisms such as socialization patterns focused on care-taking, parentification and discrimination, and the impact of these mechanisms on intragender violence among women of different ethnicities.

Similarly, mechanisms underlying interpersonal concerns including gossip/rumors and issues of not being liked merit further exploration. Studies have shown that females are more likely than males to engage in gossip in order to create group intimacy (Owens,

2000). Some women resort to violence as a means to restore their self-respect tarnished by gossip (Simmons, 2002). Identification of intervening mechanisms that focus on reasons for gossip among women of diverse ethnicities will deepen our understanding of *Gendered Social Structural Strain Theory* and further the theory's generalizability.

In addition to focusing on adaptations to structural strain, further tests of *Gendered Social Structural Strain Theory* should operationalize characteristics of the social structure for inclusion in statistical models in concert with individual-level variables. In accordance with past studies (i.e. Campbell et al., 1998; Grisso et al., 1999) relevant theoretical concepts include the availability of marriageable males (i.e. the population sex ratio of females to males in the community, the male unemployment rate) and poverty (i.e. median income and level of education). Inclusion of such measures would provide the opportunity to examine the impact of cultural norms that emerge as a consequence of structural strain.

2. Research Design Issues

Several research design issues are reviewed in the following section in order to provide a starting point for further study of *Gendered Social Structural Strain Theory*. A major goal of further research includes identification of predictors of female-on-female violence and their underlying mechanisms.

First, it is worth repeating that to enhance the generalizability of *Gendered Social Structural Strain Theory*, future studies should focus on economically disadvantaged young women (under 25 years old) from diverse ethnic communities including young Black, Hispanic and white women. This dissertation focused on women from Philadelphia and Nurge's (2000) study focused on adolescent (15 and 16 year olds)

females from Boston. Thus, the next study of intragender female violence should be conducted in a non-Northeastern City such as Cleveland, Minneapolis or Los Angeles. Moreover, to maximize generalizability, the ideal sample design should consist of a probability sample.

In order to identify and operationalize mechanisms that contribute to female-on-female assault among women of diverse ethnicities, a first step would be to conduct focus groups with women from the representative communities. For the purpose of identifying and operationalizing concepts, a convenience sample would be a cost effective method of sampling. Women could be recruited from community centers, high schools, laundromats, and housing projects. Once concepts are identified and operationalized, they could be incorporated into a standardized interview instrument. Subsequently, the instrument should be tested for acceptability, appropriate wording and comprehension with focus groups recruited from the same sites. Finally interviewers would administer the questionnaire to a randomly selected group representative of white, Black and Hispanic women.

3. Utilizing Existing Data Bases

Future research of intragender female assault should include analyses of pre-existing data including both *NIBRS* and the *NCVS*. Studies that utilize *NIBRS* and *NCVS* data will expand the scope of the study of intragender female violence beyond the restrictions imposed by the data available in this dissertation. Moreover, a multi-method approach offers the desirable feature of providing for triangulation, which ultimately can enhance the generalizability and validity of research results. The rationale for using

NIBRS and the *NCVS* for further research largely is to test hypotheses derived from *Gendered Social Structural Strain Theory*.

A major advantage of *NIBRS*, in contrast to the *UCR*, is that detailed information is collected about the offender and victim for incidents that come to the attention of the police. Examination of data is possible by incident, victim or offender. Thus, similar to this dissertation, *NIBRS* could be used to collect victimization data. In addition, a study of intragender female assault using *NIBRS* permits assessment of situational factors characteristics of the incident. For example, *NIBRS* data could be used to increase knowledge regarding rates and patterns of female intragender assault by victim-offender relationship. Moreover, rates of violence to women can be examined disaggregated by victim-offender relationship, gender, and ethnicity of participants simultaneously. The *NIBRS* database includes numerous situational factors. A study of this type [assessing situational factors by incident] has policy and theoretical implications. According to Maxfield (1999, p. 126): "understanding very specific types of crimes defined by their situational context is essential in getting the most out of problem solving, community policing and other evolving directions of crime control." Analysis of numerous situational factors available in *NIBRS* will increase our understanding of intragender female assault. These factors include the following: incident date/time, description of where the offense occurred, the types of criminal activity involved in the offense, type of weapon/force involved, drug involvement, suspected drug type, age of victim, race of victim, ethnicity of victim, circumstance of assault (i.e. argument, drug dealing), type of injury, relationship of victim to offender, age of offender, and race of the offender (Inter-university Consortium for Political and Social Research, 2001).

An example of a future analysis of intragender female assault using *NIBRS* data follows. According to an observation stated in the previous section, focusing future research on a non-northeastern setting would likely enhance the generalizability of results. For example, *NIBRS* data on incidents (or victimizations) of female-on-female assault (simple combined with aggravated) could be selected for a Midwestern State. In order to describe the circumstances of the event, frequency distributions for situational variables could be calculated. It would be instructive to compare situational factors characteristic of female-on-female assault uncovered in this dissertation with similar situational factors characteristic of incidents that come to the attention of the police. This study would use the victimization segment of the *NIBRS* database in order to ensure comparability with the individual level of analysis considered in the dissertation. High rates of agreement based on different case finding methods would enhance the generalizability of the results.

Using *NIBRS* also permits analyses that were not possible to conduct in this dissertation. For example, among intragender assault incidents that come to the attention of the police, rates by race/ethnicity (Black, white, Hispanic) could be compared. To date, one study of female-female assault using *NIBRS* was carried out. (Campbell et al, 1998). The researchers relied on group-level data for districts in Massachusetts. Thus, a study of intragender assault in a mid-western state would permit a comparative analysis of several situational factors and rates of female-on-female assault for different regions of the county.

NIBRS data also could be used to test components of *Gendered Social Structural Strain Theory*. Similar to Campbell and colleagues (1998), *NIBRS* data could be merged

with census data. This would create a database that allows components of *Gendered Social Structural Strain Theory* to be tested. *NIBRS* data, for example, contains information on ethnicity while Census data include information on socio-economic status. Consequently, hypotheses derived from *Gendered Social Structural Strain Theory* could be examined on various populations. This approach could potentially lead to an inclusive theory otherwise not possible with a sample restricted to Black urban women.

Studies of female intragender assault drawn from the *NCVS* will provide further insights about female-female violence nationwide. In contrast to *NIBRS*, the *NCVS* relies on victims' reports, includes incidents that do not come to the attention of the police and only provides estimates at the national level. Similar to *NIBRS*, situational data are available for women assaulted by women. However, the *NCVS* is based on victims' reports. *NIBRS* and the *NCVS* provide information about the victim and offender. Thus, it is possible to examine some aspects of female intragender assault using *NIBRS* and the *NCVS*, two very different case finding strategies. If similar results regarding situational characteristics of intragender female assault and tests derived from *Gendered Social Structural Strain* are uncovered, then the theory's validity and generalizability will be enhanced.

Situational factors contained in the *NCVS* that could be used for further study include characteristics of the victim, offender and event. Attributes of the victim include: marital status, level of education completed, race, age, frequency of time spent in the evening away from home, household income, living in urban areas, and home ownership. Attributes of the violent offender include: race, approximate age and the victim-offender relationship. Attributes of the event include: location, time, weapon used

by the offender, nature of the injury, economic consequences (average loss to victim) and receipt of treatment by the victim. Consistent with *Gendered Social Structural Strain Theory*, the impact of the victim's socioeconomic status (i.e. victim's household income, victim's education level) on rates of assault could be assessed for women of diverse ethnicities.

CHAPTER 10. TOWARD FURTHER THEORY DEVELOPMENT AND EMERGING POLICY IMPLICATIONS: A SITUATIONAL ANALYSIS OF ACQUAINTANCE-RELATED VIOLENCE AS AN EXAMPLE

I. Introduction

The final goal of this dissertation is to quantify the responses to open-ended questions into a typology in order to characterize situational factors of non-partner violence to women. The vignettes accounts point to themes beyond the empirical tests carried out in previous chapters that further illuminate gendered patterns of conflict and emerging policy implications.

Up to this point the analyses carried out in this dissertation have not considered the victim-offender relationship. Females in this sample sustained injuries by friends, acquaintances, family members and strangers. Given that the victim-offender relationship undoubtedly shapes the violent interaction, the following discussion is limited to one subgroup of respondents, including females injured by friends or acquaintance. This victim relationship was chosen because the data indicate that the majority (70%) of females injured by females and almost half (45%) of the females injured by males sustained injury by acquaintances or friends. Future research of situational factors is equally important for women injured by family members and strangers.

II. A Proposed Typology of Situational Factors

The results presented in this dissertation serve as a launching point for further research of situational factors within the context of *Gendered Social Structural Strain Theory*. According to this theory, when individuals face blocked opportunities to conventional means of success they respond by adapting alternative gendered and non-

gendered measures of success. Chapter 7 included summaries of the reasons for the violent event (i.e. personal respect, interpersonal concerns, and gender-centric concerns) and the various roles assumed by the respondents (i.e. victim or mutual participant). This chapter focuses more closely on reasons for the violent event, triggers, and the nature of the violent interactions for each of the roles assumed by the respondents. This chapter focuses more closely on reasons for the violent event, triggers, and the nature of the violent interactions for each of the roles assumed by the respondents. Within these larger categories, the constant comparative method was used to draw generalizations from the respondents' accounts (Glaser and Strauss, 1967). Topics were categorized according to common themes, and new categories were created for negative cases.

Having information regarding reasons for the violent event for each of the roles assumed by the respondents will help to shape intervention strategies. Take, for example, the following two scenarios. One respondent sustains an injury while attempting to break up a domestic altercation between a husband and wife. Another respondent sustains an injury after an exchange of slurs with a female rival over issues related to jealousy. Approaches to intervention and prevention will vary for the two scenarios. The first would likely focus on effective mediation strategies while the second might focus on anger management and/or developing conflict resolution skills.

The first component of the typology focuses on the roles assumed by the study respondents. According to the respondents' accounts three different roles emerged from the data. They are labeled *dispute-related participant*, *non-provocative victim*, and *third-party intercessor*. A respondent is considered a *dispute-related participant* if she engages in an argument and reports the use of verbal and/or physical provocation prior to the

violent injury. She is categorized as a *non-provocative victim* if there was no argument and according to her description she does not contribute to the violent outcome. She is defined as a *third-party intercessor* if she interceded in an interaction between two or more other antagonists. Two types of *third-party intercessor* emerged from the data. The respondent is considered a *third-party intensifier* if she intercedes in an interaction and contributes to the escalation of the conflict. She is categorized as a *third-party neutralizer* if she intercedes, but attempts to prevent or break up the violence.

The goal of the following typology is to provide an explanatory framework for explaining the reasons for the violence, triggers for the violence, and the nature of the interaction that led up to the violence, for each of the different roles. These factors are described in the sections that follow with an eye toward identifying gendered patterns that intensify the risk of intragender and cross-gender violence.

Tables 10.1 summarizes the different roles assumed by study respondents. The most frequently cited role irrespective of gender of the antagonist is *dispute-related participant*, followed by *non-provocative victim* and then *third-party intercessor*. For all the roles described the antagonist is classified as a *provocative antagonist*.

Table 10-1: Roles Assumed by Study Respondents

Respondent's Role	Intragender ¹ (n=101)	Crossgender ² (n=54)
% Dispute-Related Participant	74.3	57.4
% Non-Provocative Victim	17.8	27.8
Third Party Intercessor		
% Third-Party Neutralizer	4.0	11.1
% Third-Party Intensifier	4.0	7.4

¹ The total number of intragender events excludes 16 incidents due to insufficient data to determine the roles assumed by the respondents.

² The total number of cross-gender events excludes 16 incidents due to insufficient data to determine the roles of the respondents.

In the sections that follow situational factors drawn from the respondents' accounts including reasons for the violence, triggers and the nature of the violent interactions will be described for each of the roles outlined in Table 10-1. Gendered patterns that emerge from the data are identified as well as emerging implications for policy and program development.

A. Dispute Related Participants: Provocative Respondent and Provocative Antagonist

1. Motivations for Dispute-Related Violence

In accordance with *Gendered Social Structural Strain Theory* the motivations for dispute-related violence vary by the gender of the antagonist (see Table 10-2).

Table 10-2: Motivations for Dispute-Related Violence ¹

Motivation	Intragender (n=75)	Crossgender (n=31)
% Antagonist has an Interpersonal-Relationship Concern ²	49.3	12.9
% Antagonist displays non-rational behavior ³	13.7	35.5
% Antagonist insults respondent	32.9	25.8
% Respondent insults antagonist	32.9	9.7
% Antagonist shows off	12.3	6.5
% Argument over money/resources	11.0	22.6
% Antagonist seeks revenge	9.6	3.2
% Antagonist attempts a sexual assault or respondent refuses to have sex with antagonist	--	19.4
% Antagonist steals	2.7	9.7
% Respondent has an interpersonal relationship concern ¹	6.8	0
% Respondent is intoxicated or high on drugs	2.7	6.5

¹ Percents do not add up to 100%. Multiple reasons were coded per incident.

² Interpersonal relationship concerns include issues over romantic relationships, relational-protection, he say-she say, issues of not being liked, jealousy and arguments between children of dispute-related participants.

³ Non-rational behaviors include incidents where the antagonist reportedly is high or intoxicated, has a problem, or is mentally ill.

A Female-Specific Relational Focus

Consistent with *Gendered Social Structural Strain Theory*, the most frequently (49.3%) cited reason for violence by a female antagonist involves an interpersonal relationship issue. These include arguments over romantic relationships, he say/she say, issues of not being liked, jealousy, protecting friends or family and arguments between children. These issues reflect female-specific adaptations to blockages to male intimate partner relationships, to academic and occupational success, and to a sense of one's own safety and the safety of family and friends. In contrast, interpersonal issues characterize only 12.9 percent of male-on-female incidents. Consistent with *Gendered Social Structural Strain Theory*, in the absence of conventional means of successes including material wealth and academic/occupational success, relationships becomes one of the few available sources of success and takes on such importance that they become worth fighting for.

Male-Specific Non-Rational Behavior

The most frequently cited reason (35.5%) for male-on-female violence involves behaviors described by study respondents as non-rational. These behaviors include intoxication, acting crazy/having a problem, or mental illness. The respondents' reports indicate that non-rational behavior by males usually occurs within the context of goal-oriented activities including stealing, arguments over money and attempted sexual assaults. For example, one respondent (#3011) explained:

I was putting my Christmas lights out and this street acquaintance who works at a local barbershop said, 'suck my dick.' I told him to get from in front of the damn door... He sucker punched me and knocked me down...He tried to force me to suck his dick...[He got violent] because he is a psycho.

In contrast to cross-gender violence, non-rational behaviors characterized only 13.7 percent of intragender incidents. While non-rational behavior by males reportedly occurs within the context of arguments over money, stealing or attempted sexual assaults, non-rational behavior by females usually occurs over interpersonal relationship issues or insults. One respondent (#2059) explained:

It's some girl across the street who don't like me for some reason. Today she ran right up across the street and started trying to fight me. She just don't like me... It's about jealousy...[What triggered the violence was] her drinking.

A Gender-Specific Approach to Dispute-Related Violence

Consistent with *Gendered Social Structural Strain Theory*, arguments between females that escalate to violence emphasize the centrality of interpersonal relationships. In contrast, cross-gender arguments that lead to male violence against females revolve around issues of money, theft and attempted sex. This finding provides support for Campbell's (1999) observation that while some economically disadvantaged males and females have adopted the use of instrumental aggression, males were more likely than their female counterparts to use this type of aggression as a means to economic or sexual gain.

2. Factors that Triggered the Antagonists' Violence

All study respondents were asked the following question: "*What in particular*

triggered him/her/them in getting physical with you?" It is noteworthy that the top two triggers cited for both cross-gender and intragender violence included a comment made by the respondent and a violent act by the respondent. The nature of the responses, however, reveal gendered differences as described below.

Trigger #1: Something the Respondent Said

Thirty-eight percent of female-on-female incidents and 33 percent of male-on-female incidents reportedly were triggered by something the respondent said. In almost all cases the comments were aggressive.

Respondents' comments directed toward female antagonists involved a challenge and provocation. For example, one respondent (#1288) said, "*Come on, slap me.*" Another (#1030) said, "*I told her to get out of my face.*" Another (#3249) explained, "*I said I would punch her in her face...I called her sorry ass.*" These responses may reflect the use of female gendered oppositional instrumental aggression (Campbell, 1999). This type of aggression develops as a consequence of past victimization and a fear of current victimization. According to Campbell (1999), threats such as "*come on slap me*" are used in an effort to prevent the violence. However, the vignettes demonstrate that these threats ultimately contribute to the escalation of violence and eventual physical injury.

In contrast to intragender violence, comments directed toward male antagonists were less likely to include direct challenges. Instead, the respondents' comments made in the presence of others seemed to humiliate male antagonists. For example, one respondent said, "*[What triggered the violence was] my calling him a kid and the others laughing*" (#3109). Another respondent said, "*Cause I embarrassed the man*" (#3113).

One question for further study is whether the respondents had been aware that such comments directed toward male antagonists would contribute to the escalation of the violence. Violence prevention programs should include educating women on the potential impact of their behaviors on the risk of violence. If women are aware of factors that such behaviors increase their risk of injury by male acquaintances then they may choose alternative behaviors.

Consistent with *Gendered Social Structural Strain Theory* and Oliver's (1989b) "tough guy image," the vignettes suggest that some males adhere to a set of norms that define manhood in terms of fearlessness, emotional control, and willingness to resolve conflicts through violence. Several researchers have observed that a male who adheres to the "tough guy image" may assault his girlfriend in public if she humiliates him (Anderson, 1999; Oliver, 1989b). The respondents' accounts in this dissertation suggest that the "tough guy" image extends to disputes between acquaintance-related participants.

The finding that provocative comments are the most frequently cited trigger substantiates the importance of respect. The examples suggest, however, that female respondents disrespect female and male antagonists differently. Disrespecting a female antagonist takes the form of provocation and bravado. In contrast, disrespecting a male antagonist takes the form of humiliation. In either case, the antagonist responds to the insult with violence probably in an effort to reclaim respect.

Trigger #2: A Violent Act by the Respondent

The second most common trigger for intragender and cross-gender violence involves a violent act by the respondent (13% versus 16%). The circumstances of the respondent's use of violence, however, seem to vary by the gender of the antagonist.

According to the accounts a female respondent typically used violence against another female in response to a challenge or threat. One respondent (#3432) explained: “*I assaulted her first because she was in my face.*” Another respondent (#1605) explained:

She didn't get physical with me. She didn't know that I knew what she told other people that my boyfriend took \$200 from her old man...but it didn't happen like that so when she came over my girlfriend's house, I came at her.

By contrast, female respondents used violence against male antagonists in response to attempted sexual assaults. One respondent (#1252) said:

The parent of friend grabbed my butt. [What triggered the violence] was that I put my nails in his penis.

Another respondent (#3155) explained:

I was coming from store and the guy touched me on the butt. I told him not to do that...He did it again... I wasn't interested. I guess he got mad and started trying to feel on me. [What triggered the violence was that] I hit him.

Another respondent (#3080) described the following scenario:

I was coming from church tonight as I reached my door a friend of mine approached me. He was drunk and started to feel on me and grab me. [What triggered the violence was that] I wouldn't have sex with him and I bit him.

The respondents' accounts reveal that their presumed size and strength disadvantage does not prevent them from acting aggressive prior to the violence. It is possible that for some females the importance of maintaining self-respect and dignity overrides their fear of injuries by stronger males. Some women may take an aggressive stance as a form of self-protection learned as a consequence of past victimization. Further exploration of factors that contribute to aggressive responses by females in situations that pose danger including sexual assault attempts will likely help to identify factors that contribute to the violent

outcome. The identification of strategies that reduce the risk of violent injuries resulting from attempted sexual assault is critical and should be included in violence prevention and reduction programs.

3. The Nature of the Violent Interaction

According to the respondents' accounts, in dispute-related violence the trigger typically is part of a sequence of events that follow Luckenbill's (1977) three-stage process of escalation developed with samples of males: 1) verbal conflict in which identities are challenged; 2) threats; and 3) physical attack in which retaliation appears to play a key role. One respondent (#3576) who was injured by a female explained:

I was at my girlfriend's. I saw another girl that I had an argument with over there. She said 'Where your guns at?' I said 'I don't need no gun for you.' She picked up a broomstick to swing at me. Before she could hit me I punched her in her face and kept punching and punching her.

This process of escalation characterized by an exchange of insults substantiates the finding that for female-on-female violence and male-on-female violence respect has become a commodity worth fighting over. Furthermore, the data suggest that for female-on-female and male-on-female violence the tipping point at which time a threat erupts into violence involve the issues of respect. However, the pathways toward violence appear gendered. As mentioned above, female-on-female disrespect takes the form of provocation and bravado. In contrast, female-on-male disrespect takes the form of form of humiliation.

4. Summary

It is noteworthy that as many as 30 percent of *dispute-related* participants became involved in violence with male antagonists. One might hypothesize that because of the

inherent strength and size differential, females would respond to male provocation with passive or apprehensive responses. The data suggest, however, that for a subgroup of respondents, the importance of respect takes precedence over the fear of injuries by female counterparts or stronger males.

The respondents' use of verbal and physical provocation cannot be understood apart from the structural strain and subsequent cultural adaptations characteristic of disadvantaged inner-city communities. When there are limited means to accumulate material wealth and nonmaterial success, individual place emphasize the importance of securing commodities that are available such as respect and relationships. This dissertation includes many accounts of violence used in the service of reclaiming respect and maintaining and securing relationships.

B. Female Victim: Non-Provocative Respondent and Provocative Antagonist

1. Motivations for Violence Between Non-Provocative Respondents and Provocative Antagonists

Table 10-4 summarizes motivations by gender of the antagonist for females classified as *victims*. In these scenarios the respondent describes herself as non-provocative and the antagonist as provocative.

Table 10-3: Non-Provocative Respondent and Provocative Antagonist¹

Motivation	Intragender (n=18)	Crossgender (n=15)
% Antagonist has an Interpersonal-Relationship Concern ²	66.7	20.0
% Antagonist displays non-rational behavior ³	26.0	60.0
% Argument over money	11.0	33.3
% Antagonist steals	5.6	0
% Antagonist displaces anger onto respondent	0	13.3
% Antagonist shows off	0	6.7
% Antagonist plays a prank	0	6.7

¹ Percents do not add up to 100%. Multiple reasons were coded per incident.

² Interpersonal relationship concerns include issues over romantic relationships, relational-protection, he say/ she say, issues of not being liked, jealousy and disputes between children of dispute-related participants.

³ Non-rational behaviors include incidents where the antagonist reportedly is high or intoxicated, has a problem, or is mentally ill.

Similarities and differences regarding underlying reasons for dispute-related violence and *victim-related* violence are noteworthy. For both types, females cite interpersonal issues as the predominant motivation for female violence. Moreover, *victim* and *dispute-related* participants attributed male violence to non-rational behaviors. It is notable, however, that 60 percent of *victim* participants attributed male violence to non-rational behaviors compared to only 35 percent of the *dispute-related* participants.

There are several reasons why a higher proportion of females in the *victim* role compared to females in the *dispute-related* role may have sustained injuries by males characterized by non-rational behaviors. It is possible, for example, that some *dispute-related* participants had become aware of the antagonists' non-rational behaviors during the argument and subsequently responded in ways that deterred the violence. In contrast,

the respondents' accounts suggest that the *victims* were unprepared for the violent response and therefore had little opportunity to take steps to prevent the violence. For example, one respondent (#1351) explained:

He [a friend] came downstairs. He was giving me the figures for the mortgage...payment and all of a sudden as I was sitting down...he came behind me...and [he] put his arm around my chest like he was hugging me and I felt something sharp... He did not say anything because my sister was in the other room and he tried to cut my neck with a hook knife...I don't know why he attacked me. I was sitting at the table filling out the bills and he went as though he was trying to hug me and he cut me... He just made a 360 degree about face.

It also may be that males described as non-rational who injure *victim-participants* compared to males who injure *dispute-related* participants are characterized by more serious problems because they reportedly become involved in violence without provocation. These are questions that merit further attention and have implications for intervention and prevention strategies. For example, if a woman understands the signs and symptoms of problem behaviors and the associated risks associated with non-rational behaviors they may be more able to protect themselves from violent injuries.

Another observation worthy of mention involves the findings that 19 percent of *dispute-related* participants, but no *victims*, sustained violent injuries within the context of attempted sexual assaults. It is possible that a non-provocative response by a female could deter violence that results from an attempted sexual assault by a male acquaintance or friend. It is equally possible that a non-provocative response paves the way for a completed sexual assault absent a violent injury or even death. It is worth repeating that further research is required to identify responses to attempted sexual assaults that will minimize risk of physical and (emotional injuries) to females.

2. Factors that Triggered the Antagonists' Violence

In response to the question "*What in particular triggered him/her/them in getting physical with you?*" the two most frequently cited responses for intragender violence include no trigger or "don't know" followed by revenge. In contrast, the top two triggers for cross-gender violence included non-rational behavior (antagonist was high or mentally ill) followed by no trigger or "don't know." These triggers are discussed in more detail in the section that follows within the context of the nature of the violent interaction.

3. Nature of the Violent Interaction

According to the respondents' accounts differences and similarities characterize the nature of intragender and cross-gender violent interactions. Numerous female-on-female incidents involved a surprise attack for reasons related to revenge; but no male-on-female violent incidents involved this method of attack. In addition, some females were injured in the process of trying to help male antagonists; but no female-on-female incidents were characterized by such circumstances. Aside from these differences, the data suggest that some female *victims* sustained injuries by female or male antagonists because the *victims* were in the wrong place at the wrong time or because they were *victims* of attacks that were directly toward them personally. These differences and similarities are discussed in the sections that follow.

Differences in the Nature of the Interaction by Gender of the Antagonist

"Getting Snuck"

Numerous *victims* injured by female antagonists described sustaining injuries by surprise attacks (i.e. "getting snuck"). According to the respondents' accounts these

incidents were triggered by the antagonists' need for revenge. It is noteworthy that no females injured by males described this strategy of attack.

The accounts suggest that the mechanism used to carry out the violent injury is related to the reasons and triggers for the violence. The most frequently cited trigger involved revenge against the respondent for allegedly insulting or tarnishing another's reputation. The use of a surprise attack was used to accomplish the goal of revenge. One respondent (#3927) explained:

I was accused of saying something to this girl and then when I'm walking on the block, she snuck up on me, jumped me and then we starting fighting. Everybody was holding me and she kicked me in the eye.

In several incidents the respondent reportedly was set up for the attack. One respondent (#1462) explained:

A rumor went around the neighborhood...it was not true. The rumor was that I was suppose to have talked about this girl's baby... So the girl that started the rumor...it was me, her and the little girl's mother and little girl's aunt. We were suppose to meet on the corner to talk about it. They arrived and the two girls jumped out of the car and jumped me.

Another respondent (#3203) provided the following account:

I had got a phone call about 7:30 p.m. A girl asked me if I could come around the corner for a minute. I said 'sure.' I didn't think nothing...when I turned around there was another girl, and they jumped me and when I got up there was a whole bunch of people on top of me. [It was because] a female had told another female that I had said something about her, which wasn't true but she didn't want to listen to my side of the story.

The data reveal that some incidents involve an element of planning prior to the violent event and suggest that some female antagonists use aggression to achieve a predetermined goal. These incidents illuminate the role of agency for female involvement in violence. Women with agency are goal-oriented and become involved in

assault as a consequence choice (Maher, 1997) rather than because of failed self-control (Campbell, 1993). Consistent with *Gendered Social Structural Strain Theory*, female antagonists likely engage in planned assaults as a means to regain respect and accumulate relational capital. It is critical that violence prevention programs and other strategies be set in place that provide a means for females to address issues related to past insults prior to the escalation of violence.

The accounts suggest that males are less likely to seek revenge by resorting to surprise attacks. This finding is likely attributed to the underlying motivations for violence. According to *Gendered Social Structural Strain Theory* and the respondents' accounts, male antagonists are less likely than female antagonists to define their self worth in terms of interpersonal relational capital. Males probably don't need to engage in surprise attacks carried out for purposes of revenge because cross-gender incidents are less likely to be characterized by interpersonal concerns (i.e. rumors, he say/ she say) or history of ongoing problems.

The Helping Role

Some *victims* injured by male antagonists reported sustaining injuries in the process of offering to help male antagonists. It is notable that no females injured by females described this type of interaction. In these cross-gender incidents, the respondents reported not knowing what triggered the violence. For example one respondent (#1486) explained:

I overheard a friend and his uncle having a disagreement in the hallway of my building. I went out into the hallway, and they was really going at it. Then his uncle left. I started talking to my friend, you know, giving him some advice and then he just comes with his fist across my face. He kept hitting me. I don't know why.

In situations of this sort, it is possible that male antagonists displace their emotional distress onto the females. It also is possible that, by assuming a helping role, the female contributes to the male's sense of vulnerability. In response, he may resort to violence in order to regain control and validate his sense of manhood. This is a topic that merits further research and has important policy implications. It is important to determine if there is something about the way in which a female attempts to help a male that intensifies his emotional distress. It is equally important to understand the male's experiences of emotional distress and of receiving help. Further exploration of these questions is important for developing strategies that reduce the risk of violent injuries to females.

Similarities by Gender of the Antagonist

Personal Attacks

Female *victims* of unexpected attacks that were directed toward them personally by other females typically occurred within the context of interpersonal concerns (e.g. jealousy) and substance use. One respondent (#1579) explained:

My fiancée has children...and the mother of these children is extremely obsessive. Today I picked up the child instead of my fiancée and she didn't like that. Twenty minutes later she was at the door. I opened it and she attacked me and accused me of stealing her child. She pulled my hair...dragged me outside and pushed me and kicked me in the abdomen. I really didn't want to fight back. I usually don't pick up the child in the afternoon. Her mother usually does. My fiancée called her to tell her not to pick her up because I was and she didn't like that. She thinks I'm coming in between her and her child. She's very jealous.

Another respondent highlighted the antagonist's drug use. She explained (#3168):

I sat down on the couch and a good friend of mine who rents a room from my uncle said, 'Get off my couch' the next thing I know she picked the bat

up and just started swinging it. Hitting me all over so hard until the bat split. Then she started crying like she was losing it...I have no idea [what led up to the violence]... She came down stairs and told me to get off her sofa. I didn't pay her no mind. [She got violent] because she is on drugs and she doesn't have any money to get any...I didn't say anything to her to cause her to go off. She just went there she's messed up.

These examples illustrate the importance of identifying tactics that minimize the risk of injury by antagonists who become involved in unexpected violence.

Victims of male violence also experienced unexpected attacks. In most cross-gender events, however the male antagonist's violence reportedly was triggered by drug-seeking or drug-induced behaviors, rather than interpersonal concerns characteristic of female-on-female incidents. For example, one respondent (#3362) explained:

I was walking in my front door. As I closed my door, the door opened back up behind me. My landlord rushed me to the chair and started punching me. Then he broke off my broomstick and started beating me with that. His wife rushed in and pulled him off of me. He said I owe him money, which I don't. [He got violent] because he has a bad cocaine habit. [What triggered the violence was that] he thinks someone owes him something. I paid him the rent I owed him, but his addiction makes him forget.

Another respondent (#1125) explained:

My fiancée and I are about to move to California. His brother was drunk. I fell asleep. When I woke up his brother was running toward the car with a 2 x 4. He broke at the window behind the driver's side. He thinks I'm taking his brother from him. I was in the car. The girls (his nieces) were telling me to drive away... I was trying to drive away when he hit the window. I don't know if he was trying to kill me. I think he was...His brother [got violent because] he is worried and jealous that I'm taking the money source from him. [What triggered the violence was that] it's all mental. We didn't get in any argument... I was asleep at the time this started. He was drinking.

The accounts by *victims'* of personal attacks suggest that violent acts perpetrated by male antagonists involved a greater degree of potential harm than acts by female antagonists. It is likely that substance use combined with stress and male anger

intensified the violent response. Intervention strategies are necessary for teaching females how to keep safe when volatile situations break out.

Being at The Wrong Place at the Wrong Time

Victims also described sustaining injuries by female and male antagonists as a result of being at the wrong place at the wrong time. These incidents frequently occurred within the context of substance use by the antagonist. One respondent (#4006) explained:

Somebody got drunk at a barbecue and pushed me and my slipper had come off and I stepped straight into glass on the porch. She was just drinking too much...She was picking with everybody about money. She wanted money to buy drugs. She was bothering everybody and I didn't think she was going to bother me. She even tried to stab her boyfriend. [What triggered the violence was that] she wanted money.

Another respondent (#2516) provided the following account:

I go to this lady's house...she's paralyzed and I do all I can for her. Her older boy...he takes drugs...it's the first time he ever laid his hands on me. He took my shirt and held me and he slapped me against the banister...[What led up to the violence was that] his mom was back in the hospital and he was upset about it and took it out on me. I just come by to clean the potty and stuff...I don't know right now [what triggered the violence]...He probably got a bad phone call and I happened to be there to show that I care.

These scenarios further highlight the importance of developing violence prevention strategies that educate women to recognize potentially dangerous situations.

4. Summary

In this section the respondents' accounts point to gendered differences and emerging policy and programmatic implications required for reducing and preventing violence to female *victims* by male and female antagonists.

Similar to *dispute-related* incidents, the data suggest that female antagonists injured female *victims* over relational issues. In contrast, male antagonists reportedly

injured female *victims* in part because of non-rational behaviors. Gendered differences also characterize the nature of the violent interactions. Intragender incidents involved surprise attacks, but cross-gender incidents did not. Cross-gender incidents involved attacks in response to efforts by respondents to help the antagonists, but intragender incidents were not characterized by this dynamic.

This section also points to instructional components that merit further consideration for inclusion in violence reduction programs. Women would benefit by learning to recognize the signs and symptoms of non-rational behaviors; to respond to non-rational behaviors in ways that minimize the risk of injuries; to respond to attempted sexual assaults in ways that minimize the risk of injury; to confront and resolve ongoing conflicts prior to the outbreak of violence; to provide help to males in ways that will de-escalate emotional distress and reduce the risk of violence; to identify high risk situations that could lead to violence; and to develop strategies for self-protection.

C. Third-Party Intercessor

Table 10-5 summarizes motivations for violence by *third-party intercessors*. Only a minority (12%) of women who sustained injuries by acquaintance-related antagonists described their role as *third-party intercessor*. Notwithstanding, the role of *third-party intercessor* is important for understanding the potential risks of injury.

Table 10-4: Third-Party Intercessor

Motivation	Intragender (n=8)	Cross-gender (n=10)
Third-Party Neutralizer		
Respondent breaks up a domestic partner violent incident	0	3
Respondent tries to prevent violence from occurring or breaks up fight in progress (not related to domestic violence).	4	3
Third-Party Intensifier		
Protect or help third party	4	4

1. Motivations and Triggers for Violence between Third-Party Neutralizers and Provocative Antagonists

Females who assumed the role of third-party neutralizer and sustained injuries by males described conflicts between the antagonists as volatile. In three of the six incidents, the respondent described the antagonist as high or intoxicated. Triggers included issues related to trying to break up the fight (i.e., should have stayed out of it), intoxication/high on drugs and jealousy. The accounts reveal that third-party intervention is a risky endeavor. In three incidents respondents attempted to break up a domestic argument between a female and male and subsequently sustained an injury by the male.

One respondent (#3220) explained:

My sister and her old man were fighting. When he picked up a board to hit her with I tried to stop him and he got mad and started hitting at me with it...He was attacking my sister and I tried to stop him. [What triggered the violence was] because he thought I should have stayed out of it.

Three additional respondents sustained injuries when trying to break up fights (not related to domestic violence) involving males. One respondent (#1325) said:

That night I had a surprise party, my sister gave it to me. And she invited [her boyfriend's cousin]. Everything was fine until he started trouble. He smacked my girlfriend in her face. After that he tried to smash the cake in my brother's face. Then my sister and Dave got into an argument...my sister walked up to him and hit him in the face. He got mad and started fightin. He picked up a bottle and hit me in the head. I got involved by trying to make him stop fighting and hitting my sister.

In these situations, the respondents undoubtedly are in a bind. They risk their own safety in the service of protecting loved ones. These incidents demonstrate the importance of educating women on the risks of third-party intervention and alternatives to violence (i.e., mediation if feasible). One strategy that merits further exploration involves training women in self-defense tactics. This would provide women the skills necessary for using violence effectively in the face of imminent danger.

Women who assumed the role of *third-party neutralizer* and sustained injuries by females intervened in conflicts over interpersonal concerns or respect. Triggers for the violence included issues related to respect, and "antagonist is high or intoxicated." One respondent (#2010) said:

We was walkin' me and my girlfriend and her two children... to catch the bus... My girlfriend is sorta heavy and wearing tight clothes. So this one girl says to my friend take that fucking stuff off. So we go and talk to the grandmother and straighten it out and her grandmother agrees she shouldn't be saying stuff like that...we didn't want to start nothing with this group. So then this girl comes and maced my girlfriend and I jumped in and I told her we straightened it out. But she kept F this and F you and my friend said "fuck your mom" and that's how the mace came. [What triggered the violence was] my girlfriend saying, 'fuck her mom' and her mom had passed (had died).

Another respondent (2018#) explained:

I was assaulted by 2 girls...she's a bully. She was arguing with my other girlfriend...She wanted to fight her but I wouldn't let her fight and she got mad. [What triggered the violence is that]...She wants people to be scared of her.

These incidents further suggest the importance of educating women on the risks of third-party intervention and alternatives to violence. Again the use of self-defense tactics, although only a short-term measure, would likely reduce the risk of violent injury.

2. The Nature of the Interaction involving Third-Party Neutralizers

The respondents' accounts suggest that the nature of the interaction for respondents who intervened in cross-gender versus respondents who intervened in intragender incidents differed. According to the vignettes, women who intervened in intragender events tried to prevent the violence from breaking out in the first place. In contrast, cross-gender events involved physical violence that already was in progress at the time of third-party intervention.

Emerging policy implications involve identifying ways for women to intervene effectively, if at all, in violent incidents already in progress as well as identifying strategies that help women carry out their goal of violence prevention.

3. Motivations and Triggers for Violence between Third-Party Intensifiers and Provocative Antagonists

Women who assumed the role of *third-party intensifier* contributed to the escalation of the violence. In all cases, of intragender and cross-gender violence the antagonists had been arguing over a variety of reasons including jealousy, respect and money. In all cases, the respondent became involved in the event to protect a third party from physical harm or from disrespect. The cited triggers also involved relational-protection as well as respect. One respondent (#3729) explained:

My sister was having a conversation with somebody and I said something. I kept saying something and I got punched in the ribs...He was having an argument with my sister...[He got violent] because I was trying to help my sister. [What triggered the violence was that] I spoke up in defense of my sister

Another respondent (#1547) described the following scenario:

My niece was arguing with some guy [a local drug dealer]. He was threatening to hurt her. I told him that he wasn't going to do nothin and I told him to get out of my face because he don't know me like that and then he kicked me in the face with his feet several times but I blanked out and he ran. [The violence was about] an argument between my niece and this man. [[What triggered the violence was] 'cause I told him to get out of my face.

The circumstances around women injured by women are strikingly similar. For example, one respondent (#3402) explained:

My sister had a 'misfall' fight with more than one person and I got in it helping my sister...Two girls jumped her and my next to youngest sister was fighting and one of the girls tried to sneak up on her when she wasn't watching so I hit her. [Its over] jealousy...because one day my sister had money and they said you didn't tell us and I said we don't have to tell you when we have money.

4. The Nature of the Interaction involving Third-Party Intensifiers

Intragender and cross-gender events both are characterized by arguments or physical violence between two antagonists other than the respondents. In an attempt to protect or defend a third party from physical harm or disrespect the respondent contributes to the initial outbreak of violence through the use of verbal insults or perpetuates the physical violence by joining the fight on the side of her loved one. It is noteworthy that in this subgroup of acquaintance-related antagonists, female respondents become involved in verbal and/or physical aggression to protect females from females and females from males.

The policy implications noted above also apply to *third-party intensifiers*. It is necessary for violence prevention and reduction programs to include components that enable women to defend their loved ones in ways that reduce the risk of violence.

III. Chapter Summary: Toward Further Theory Development and Emerging Policy Implications for Acquaintance-Related Violence

The preliminary results presented in this chapter suggest that gendered patterns underlie the processes of interactions that lead to violence. Gendered patterns, for example, characterized the roles assumed by the respondents. A higher proportion of *dispute-related* participants sustained injuries by female antagonists versus male antagonists. A greater proportion of *victim* participants sustained injuries by male antagonists versus female antagonists.

Gendered patterns also emerged with respect to motivations for the violence. *Dispute-related* and *victim* participants injured by females tended to fight over interpersonal-relationship concerns. In contrast, *dispute-related* and *victim* participants sustained injuries by males as a consequence of non-rational behaviors.

The escalation process also involved gendered differences. Although respect seemed to play a key role in the escalation process irrespective of the gender of the antagonist, respondents tended to disrespect male antagonists with words or acts of humiliation. In contrast, respondents tended to disrespect female antagonists using direct threats or challenges. In addition, the escalation process characteristic of cross-gender conflicts in which the respondents intervened was described as more volatile and potentially dangerous than intragender conflicts.

These data suggest the violence prevention and intervention programs should address characteristics of intragender and cross-gender assault taking into consideration the gendered nature and patterns of interactions that lead to violence.

CHAPTER 11. CONCLUSION

I. Introduction

The empirical results presented in this dissertation have numerous policy and programmatic implications. The most obvious finding is that violence prevention and intervention efforts should include topics that address intragender and cross-gender assault among non-intimate partners. Of the all women who presented to the emergency department for an intentional injury during the study period, more than half (52%) sustained by an injury by a non-partner male or female. The goal of the following discussion is to raise issues that should be considered in the development of future policies and programs to reduce intragender female violence.

II. Policy and Programmatic Implications

Implication #1: Recognize the Adaptational Function of Violence in the Lives of Urban Females

The empirical results demonstrate the adaptational function of violence in the lives of the study participants. Females become involved in violence as a means to earn and maintain personal respect, as a means to defend family and friends, as a means to maintain possession over boyfriends, peers and family relationships. The vignettes also support these results in addition to suggesting that females use violence as a means to secure financial resources and as a means to deter physical injuries. It is critical that policies and programs be based on the realities of the lives of the females as understood by females themselves.

Implication #2: Provide Females with Opportunities that Nurture Success and Empowerment

The study respondents live in communities characterized by high rates of violence and structural strain. The West Philadelphia community is characterized by markedly high rates of poverty, disease, and crime. Within this context, women face hardships and tensions brought about by poverty, violence, and social isolation from mainstream institutions.

Addressing the larger economic and social structural issues would go a long way toward changing community norms and increasing opportunities for females (and males). Given that this is not likely to happen any time soon, it is imperative that in the short term services and programs be developed to help women achieve self-enhancing success. By providing women with the means to identify and build on their own interests and strengths, they will have the opportunity to establish a sense of self-worth based on their own talents and accomplishments. Such a strategy will enable women to develop a more permanent sense of self-esteem rather than short-lasting victories rooted in competition and violence over relationships and respect.

In addition, it is critical that programs focus on building trust between women. Of the women interviewed in this study, many reported becoming involved in violence over boyfriends. This finding, coupled with respondents' accounts of male player behavior and subsequent displacement of anger targeted toward female rivals, suggests that women internalize patriarchal norms whereby they place a higher value on their relationships with males than females. While it is important to work toward eliminating sexist norms, offering programs that build trust between women will have a more

immediate impact on reducing intragender violence. If women trust each other, they will be less likely to resort to acts of disrespect (i.e. through verbal insults/slights, and he say/she say). Consequently, rates of intragender violence are likely to decrease.¹

Implication #3: Recognize the Central Role of Relationships in the Lives of Women

Consistent with past studies (Gilligan, 1982; Miller, 1978), this dissertation substantiates the central role of relationships in the lives of women. The study respondents and female antagonists use violence as a means to accumulate “interpersonal relational capital” including boyfriends, female peers and family members. Thus, violence prevention and intervention programs designed for women should have as a core element the importance of building mutually respectful interpersonal relationships. This focus takes on increased significance when the markedly high rates of past victimization are considered. Irrespective of gender of the antagonist, more than half of the respondents reported past histories of victimization by an intimate partner, almost a quarter reported physical or sexual abuse during childhood, and almost half reported witnessing violence between parental figures during childhood. These early experiences hinder a person’s capacity to build trusting relationships and within the context of structural strain likely intensify competition and eventual involvement in violence.

¹ This recommendation was proposed by Nurge (2000) to reduce female gang involvement and fights.

Implication #4: Develop Conflict Prevention/Intervention Programs and Policies Based on a Gendered Approach.

The empirical results demonstrate that correlates for intragender violence differ from those for cross-gender violence. Females injured by female antagonists are more likely than females injured by male antagonists to become involved in violence over relationship issues, protecting friends and family, and personal respect. In contrast, females injured by males are more likely to have a history of victimization by a partner and to sustain an injury as a consequence of predatory violence.

Some disadvantaged males with limited resources to validate their manhood through conventional means redefine success in terms of fearlessness and domination over women, which for some men extends to the use of predatory violence. In contrast, disadvantaged females who face blocked opportunities redefine success through the accumulation of "interpersonal relational capital" including boyfriends, female peers and family members. In communities characterized by economic disadvantage and limited means of conventional sources of success (i.e. academic and occupational), competition over available resources emerges. The gender differences uncovered in this dissertation suggest that violence reduction programs should include instructional components that educate females (and males) on how these differences motivate and shape cross-sex and intragender assault.

Implication #5: The Drug/Alcohol and Violence Nexus and Weapon Availability

The empirical results reveal markedly high rates of substance use by study respondents and antagonists prior to the violent event. More than one quarter of the respondents and more than one half of the antagonists reportedly had used illicit drugs or

alcohol within four hours of the violent event. The vignettes support the quantitative findings and also reveal that drug-seeking behaviors motivated violence by some male and female antagonists.

Descriptions of homicide events and the assault events described in this study share some similarities. Female homicide events have been described as follows: an argument escalates, no one backs down, one or both parties were using drugs or alcohol and a weapon usually a knife or cutting instrument was available (Hall, 1996). This process leading up to homicide is strikingly similar to the circumstances of some of the assault incidents uncovered in this dissertation. For example, there was an argument, no one backed down, and one or both of the participants had used alcohol or illicit drugs prior to the violent event. In contrast to the homicide events reviewed by Hall and associates (1996) that usually involved the presence of weapons, only a minority of assault incidents described in this dissertation included weapon use.

The factors that can turn an assault into a homicide should be at the center of violence reduction and prevention programs. The findings reported in this dissertation substantiate the need to develop programs that aim to reduce substance use, a behavior that is likely to intensify the severity of injury and contribute to the risk of homicide.

Implication #6: Recognize the Diverse Roles Assumed by Females involved in Violence

The empirical results demonstrate that females who become involved in violence take on diverse roles. Some women contribute to the violent event by using verbal or physical provocation prior to the violent injury. Others use violence to protecting loved

ones from injury. Others are innocent victims. Still others sustain injuries while trying to break up a fight or prevent the violence.

The diverse ways in which females become involved in violent events has programmatic implications. Violence prevention and intervention programs should not be limited to helping women develop skills to handle their own conflict. Programs should be extended to include instructional components that teach women negotiation and mediation skills as well as the capacity for self-protection.

Implication #7: Increasing Public Safety within Communities

Until women live in freedom of fear of victimization they will continue to use violence as a self-help strategy to protect themselves and their loved ones. The study respondents have experienced violence within multiple contexts of their lives. The majority reported a history of violent victimization. Almost one in five reported recent partner abuse and one quarter described their most recent partner as physically violent toward someone other than herself. These experiences coupled with the physical fights that disrupt day-to-day living contribute to the respondents' use of violence employed in the service of self-protection.

Over the long-term we need to work toward reducing discrimination and increasing trust between residents of disadvantaged Black communities and mainstream institutions including the schools, criminal justice system and service organizations. One step in this direction that would aim to reduce violence involves expanding the traditional role of police officers. Two-thirds of the study respondents' reported that the police arrived at the violent event. Thus, in this community the police are afforded the opportunity to participate in violence reduction interventions as well as the reducing

alienation that exists between Black residents and the Philadelphia police (Anderson, 1999). Model programs that offer police officers training in clinical services and apply clinical concepts to police strategy (i.e. Gibson, 1995), should be assessed as possible intervention strategies. In some cities police officers receive special training specific to domestic violence incidents including mediation and resource/referral counseling. The results of this dissertation substantiate the need to examine the applicability and feasibility of similar programs targeted to intragender and cross-gender violence among non-partners.

In addition, emergency department health care providers have the opportunity to build alliances with women who sustain violent injuries and seek care. Many emergency departments offer their staff members training on intervention strategies and resource counseling related to domestic violence. The results of this study point to the need to expand training to include victimization of women perpetrated by non-intimate partners.

Implication #8: Recognize the Need to Minimize Cultural Stereotypes Against Black Females and the Risk of Victim Blaming

It is critical that the results of this dissertation not be used to further demonize Black disenfranchised females for their use of violence. This is particularly important given the media's most recent fascination with the new violent female offender: the young woman of color (Chesney-Lind, 1997). Stereotypes and false images shape the general public's understanding of social issues and the formulation (or absence) of social policy. With this in mind, it is important to reevaluate false images within the context of an objective understanding of the topic of female violence.

Several false images of the Black female include the Amazon, the sinister Sapphire, and seductress. Research has refuted each of these stereotypes (see for example, Ladner, 1971; Young, 1986). Young offers examples of public policy implications that emerge for each stereotype (p. 323, 1086):

If the Black woman is depicted as an Amazon, then she is domineering, assertive and masculine. In the case of the Black female offender, there is no reason for the criminal justice system to protect her...because she can take care of herself. She will not be harmed by...harsh dispositions. On the other hand if she is a female victim of wife-battering [or non-partner violence], there is no need to intervene, because she is inherently violent and again capable of protecting herself.

If the Black woman is depicted as a 'sinister Sapphire,' then she is treacherous toward and contemptuous of black men, dangerous and castrating. As a Black female offender, she is deserving of harsher dispositions. On the other hand, if she is a Black female rape victim, she is being vindictive and is not a believable complainant. If she is a black female battering victim [or victim of non-partner violence], she deserves the violence perpetrated upon her because she precipitated it.

If the Black woman is depicted as a seductress, then she is loose, immoral and sexually depraved. As a Black female rape victim, she can not be a legitimate victim. She precipitated her victimization and deserves the violence perpetrated against her.

Victim blaming will not contribute to violence reduction or prevention. The results of this dissertation and subsequent policies should be interpreted within the context of gendered social structural strain. This includes historical discrimination, economic disadvantage, gender inequality and the subsequent use of violence as a cultural adaptation to blocked opportunity. According to Chesney-Lind (1999, p. 299):

The most recent female crime wave appears to be an attempt to reframe the problems of racism and sexism in society. As women are demonized by the media, their genuine problems can be marginalized and then ignored. Indeed they have become the problem.

Female and male perpetrators of violence must be held culpable and accountable for the harm caused to others and to society. Nevertheless, we must not lose sight of the central tenant of *Gendered Social Structural Strain Theory* that norm violating behavior is a product of the social structure notably blocked opportunities for the achievement of conventional success, rather than a product of individual-level psychological characteristics. An expanded analysis of the topic of female violence of necessity will include a multidisciplinary approach that integrates social and psychological factors. Ultimately, meaningful policies developed to prevent and reduce violence in urban communities must address issues of socio-economic disadvantage, and gender and race differences in the opportunity structure.

APPENDIX A: INTERVIEW PROTOCOL**WOMEN'S HEALTH AND EMERGENCY CARE STUDY
(WHE CARE)**

UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA SCHOOL OF MEDICINE

INTERVIEWER: _____**DATE OF INTERVIEW:** _____**RECEIVED:** _____**CHECKING COMPLETE:** _____**DATA ENTERED:** _____**CONTINUATION BOOK USED: No = 0; Yes = 1****SELECTED FOR VALIDATION: No = 0; Yes = 1**

INITIAL EVALUATION

ID Number: [_____]

Interviewer ID Number: [____]

Hospital : [_]

1= HUP 2= Presbyterian 3= Misericordia

Place of Interview: [_]

1= Hospital Room 2= Emergency Dept. 3= Clinic

9= Other (*Specify*) _____Date of Interview: [____ / ____ / ____]
mm dd yyTime Interview Began: [____ : ____]
{ AM= 1 PM= 2 }Time Interview Ended: [____ : ____]
{ AM= 1 PM= 2 }Approximate Duration of Interview: [____ / ____]
hr min

Thank you for agreeing to talk with me about women's health. The questions will focus on reproductive history, STDs, social and family history. There will also be a number of questions about violence in women's lives. All of your answers will be completely confidential -- that means we don't share the information with anyone -- not even the nurses or doctors who are taking care of you today. Please feel free to interrupt and ask anything that is not clear.

**SECTION A
DEMOGRAPHICS**

A1. What is your date of birth? [___ / ___ / ___]
mm dd yy

A2. What race do you consider yourself to be? (CIRCLE ONE, READ RESPONSES ALOUD)

- Hispanic 1
- Asian 2
- Black or African American 3
- White 4
- Other (*Specify*) _____ 8
- Don't Know 9

A3. What is the highest grade or year of school that you completed? (CIRCLE ONE)

- None 0
- Some grade school (1-6 years) 1
- Some junior high school (7-9 years) 2
- Some high school (10-11 years) 3
- High school graduate (12 years) or GED 4
- Some post high school training other than college (vocational, technical, etc.) 5
- Some college 6
- College graduate 7
- Postgraduate work 8
- Don't Know 9

A4. Are you currently (READ RESPONSES ALOUD)

- single 1
- married (including common law) 2
- in a relationship 3
- Don't Know 9

A5. In the last year, did you become separated or divorced?

- No 0
- Yes 1
- Don't Know 9

A6. **ONLY ASK FOR CONTROLS** Why did you come to the emergency room/clinic today? (NOTE REASON IN PATIENT'S WORDS) _____

_____ [_____]

SECTION B
CIRCUMSTANCES OF EMERGENCY DEPARTMENT VISITS

FOR CASES

B1. What happened to you is very important, so can you tell me what happened, and speak slowly so I can get it all? (RECORD EXACTLY IN PATIENT'S OWN WORDS)

[____]
code

B2. Could you tell me the date this happened?

[____ / ____ / ____]
mm dd yy

B3. About what time of day was it?

[____ : ____]
[AM= 1 PM= 2]

B4. a. What was the address of where this happened? _____

[____]
code

b. Were you working at the time?

No..... 0

Yes 1

Don't Know 9

IF "YES", Where? _____ [____]
code

B5. Was it in the place where you live?

No 0

Yes (SKIP TO B7)..... 1

- B6. Was it on the street where you live?
- No 0
- Yes 1
- B7. Was it inside or outside? (CIRCLE ALL THAT APPLY)
- Inside (SKIP TO B8) 0
- Outside (SKIP TO B9)..... 1
- B8. (IF INSIDE), What room or area was it in? (CIRCLE ALL THAT APPLY)
- Bedroom 01
- Bathroom 02
- Living Room 03
- Kitchen/ Dining Room 04
- Hallway inside Home or Apartment 05
- Hallway outside Home or Apartment 06
- Basement 07
- Garage 08
- Attic/ Storage Area/ Closet 09
- Stairway inside 10
- Other Indoor Location (*Where*) 11
- Don't Know 99
- [____]
code
- B9. (IF OUTSIDE), Where outside? (CIRCLE ALL THAT APPLY)
- Stairway outside 1
- Garden/ Yard/ Courtyard 2
- Sidewalk/ Curb/ Street 3
- Porch 4
- Alleyway 5
- Public Transportation (*What kind of transportation*) 6[____]
- Playground/ Park (non-school) 7
- Other Outdoor Location (*Where*) 8[____]
- Don't Know 9

B10. You may have told me this but I need to ask you the following. (READ ALOUD)

	No	Yes
did you get slapped, punched, pushed, kicked, or bit	0	1
did you get threatened with something that could hurt you?	0	1
IF "YES", What was it?		[___]
did you get hit with something?	0	1
IF "YES", With what?		[___]
did you get stabbed or cut with something?	0	1
IF "YES", With what?		[___]
did you get shot at with a gun	0	1
IF "YES", Were you hit?		[___]
IF "YES", Did the gun belong to you?	0	1
Anything else? (Specify)	0	1
		[___]

B11. Were you made to have sex?

No	0
Yes	1
Don't Know	9
IF "NO" OR "DON'T KNOW", Was he/ she/ they trying to make you have sex?	
No	0
Yes	1
Don't Know	9

B12. What else happened? _____

[___]
code

B13. Can you circle the areas where you were hurt or hit? (SEE MAP)

face	01
head/ not face	02
neck	03
back/butt	04
arm/shoulder	05
hand/wrist	06
breast	07
chest/not breast	08
stomach/groin	09
leg	10
foot/ankle	11
other (Specify)	[___]
Don't know	99

B14. Who did this? (IF NECESSARY ASK WAS/ WERE THE _____ MALE OR FEMALE)

PROBE: What is his/ her/ their relationship to you?

		IF "YES", How many did this to you?	Was the person male or female? / How many were male?	
Baby's Father	1			
Boyfriend	2			
Ex-boyfriend	3			
Date	4			
Spouse	5			
Ex-spouse	6			
Father	7			
Stepfather	8			
Grandfather/ Step-grandfather	9			
Female Partner	10			
Mother	11			
Stepmother	12			
Grandmother/ Step-grandmother	13			
Brother	14			
Son	15			
Sister	16			
Daughter	17			
Fosterparent	18			
Foster grandparent	19			
Cousin	20			
Friend	21			
Acquaintance/ Neighbor	22			
Parent of friend	23			
Other relative (Specify)	24		[]	
Stranger	25			
Other (Specify)	26		[]	

B15. Were people other than _____ there when **he/she/they** started getting physical with you?

No (SKIP TO B18) 0

Yes 1

Don't Know 9

IF "YES", What is your relationship to him/ her/ them ? _____

[____]
code

B16. Did anyone say anything or do anything to try to stop it while it was happening?

No..... 0

Yes 1

Don't Know 9

IF "YES", What is your relationship to **him/ her/ them** ? _____

[____]
code

B17. Did anyone else other than _____ hurt you?

No 0

Yes 1

Don't Know 9

IF "YES", What is your relationship to **him/ her/ them** ? _____

(GO BACK TO B14 AND ADD) _____

[____]
code

Now I want to ask you some more specific questions about what happened. You may have already told me some of this but I just want to make sure I have everything.

B18. What led to this happening?
PROBE: What was it about?

[____]
code

B19. Why do you think **he/ she/ they** did this?

[____]

code

B20. What one thing in particular triggered him/ her/ them getting physical with you?

[____]
code

B21. Did you... ? (READ ALOUD) No Yes

punch, choke, push, kick, or bite <u>him/ her/ them</u>	0	1
threaten <u>him/ her/ them</u> with a weapon	0	1
IF "YES", What was it?		[____]
did you hit <u>him/ her/ them</u> with something other than your hands?	0	1
IF "YES", With what?		[____]
did you stab or cut <u>him/ her/ them</u> with something?	0	1
IF "YES", With what?		[____]
shoot <u>him/ her/ them</u> with a gun	0	1
IF "YES", Was/Were <u>he/she/they</u> hit ?		[____]
Anything else? (Specify)	0	1
		[____]

B22. Were you carrying something to keep yourself safe at the time you got hurt?

No (SKIP TO B24)	0
Yes	1
Don't Know	9

B23. What? (CIRCLE ALL THAT APPLY)

Gun	01
Knife	02
Razor	03
Other Sharp Object (Specify)	04 [____]
Club	05
Brass Knuckles	06
Mace	07
Other	08
Don't Know	99
Anything else (Specify)	10 [____]

B24. What happened to _____? (RECORD EXACTLY IN PATIENT'S OWN WORDS)

_____ [____]
code

B25. **ONLY ASK IF OTHERS WERE PRESENT AT THE INCIDENT** Did anyone else get hurt?

No 0

Yes 1

Don't Know 9

IF "YES", What is your relationship to **him/ her/ them**? _____ [____]
code

B26. Was anyone killed?

No 0

Yes 1

Don't Know 9

IF "YES", What is your relationship to **him/ her/ them**? _____ [____]
code

B27. Did anyone call the police?

No (SKIP TO B31) 0

Yes 1

Don't Know 9

IF "YES", What is your relationship to the person who called? _____ [____]
code

B28. About how long did it take for the police to come? [____ : ____]

hh mm

Police showed up, but don't know how long 88

Police did not show up (SKIP TO B31) 89

Don't Know 99

B29. Was anyone charged with anything?

No (SKIP TO B31) 0

Yes 1

IF "YES", What is your relationship to **him/ her/ them**? _____ [____]
code

- B30. What was the offense? (CIRCLE ALL THAT APPLY/TAKE NOTES)
- | | |
|-----------------------------------|---|
| Battery | 1 |
| Recklessness | 2 |
| Disorderly Conduct (DOC) | 3 |
| Public Intoxication (drunk) | 4 |
| Other Warrant Arrest | 5 |
| Other (Specify) _____ | 6 |
| Don't Know | 9 |
- [____]
code

- B31. Did you have a restraining order against him/her/them when this happened?
- | | |
|-----------|---|
| No | 0 |
| Yes | 1 |

Now I'd like to ask you some general questions about _____. Again, you may already have told me some of this.

- B32. What race do you consider him/ her/ each of them to be?
- | | |
|--|----------|
| Black or African American (Specify number) _____ | [____] |
| White (Specify number) _____ | [____] |
| Hispanic (Specify number) _____ | [____] |
| Asian (Specify number) _____ | [____] |
| Other (Specify number) _____ | [____] |
| Don't Know | [____] |

- B33. How old do you think he/ she is? / Thinking about _____, about how old are each of them?
- | | |
|--|----------|
| | [____] |
| | [____] |
| | [____] |
| | [____] |
- age

- B34. Do you think _____ was/ were drinking beer, wine or liquor within 4 hours before this happened?
- | | |
|------------------|---|
| No | 0 |
| Yes | 1 |
| Don't Know | 9 |

B35. Do you think _____ **was/ were** using marijuana or drugs within 4 hours before this happened?

No (SKIP TO B37)	0
Yes	1
Don't Know	9

B36. What do you think _____ **was/ were** using? (CIRCLE ALL THAT APPLY)

Weed/ Marijuana	1
Cocaine/ Crack	2
Uppers/ Bennies/ Speed/ Crank/ Amphetamines	3
Downers/ Barbs/ Barbiturates	4
Heroin (Horse)	5
Inhalants -- like whippets/ glue / NO	6
Anything else? (Specify) _____	7
Don't Know	9

[_____]

code

B37. Were you drinking beer, wine, or liquor within 4 hours before this happened?

No	0
Yes	1
Don't Know	9

B38. Were you using marijuana or drugs within 4 hours before this happened?

No (SKIP TO SECTION C)	0
Yes	1
Don't Know	9

B39. What were you using?(CIRCLE ALL THAT APPLY)

Weed/ Marijuana	1
Cocaine/ Crack	2
Uppers/ Bennies/ Speed/ Crank/ Amphetamines	3
Downers/ Barbs/ Barbiturates	4
Heroin (Horse)	5
Inhalants -- like whippets/ glue / NO	6
Anything else (Specify) _____	7
Don't Know	9

[_____]

code

SECTION C
MENSTRUATION AND CURRENT PREGNANCY HISTORY

Now I'm going to ask you about your pregnancy history including all the pregnancies in your whole life.

- C1. How many times in your whole life have you been pregnant? [___]
number
- C2. How many were live births? [___]
number
- C3. How many were miscarriages or stillbirths? [___]
number
- C4. Do you think you could be pregnant now?
 No (SKIP TO SECTION D)..... 0
 Yes - 1
 Maybe..... 2
 Don't Know 9
- C5. Have you had a positive pregnancy test?
 No..... 0
 Yes - 1

D5. Over the past 6 months have you had any emotional problems or problems with your nerves?
No..... 0
Yes 1
Don't Know 9
IF "YES", When was the last time? [___ / ___ / ___]
mm dd yy

D6. Over the past 6 months, have you talked with a case worker, counselor, or any healthcare provider about any emotional problems or problems with your nerves?
No..... 0
Yes 1
IF "YES", When was the last time? [___ / ___ / ___]
mm dd yy

SECTION E
HISTORY OF PID AND STD

Now I'd like to ask you about different infections.

E1. Has a doctor or nurse ever told you that you had...?
a. Pelvic inflammatory disease, PID, or a pelvic infection
No 0
Yes 1
Don't Know 9
IF "YES", When was the last time a doctor or nurse told you you had PID?
[___ / ___]
mm yy

b. Herpes
No..... 0
Yes 1
Don't Know..... 9
IF "YES", When was the last time a doctor or nurse told you you had herpes ?
[___ / ___]
mm yy

c. An STD like gonorrhea, syphilis, trich, or chlamydia
No..... 0
Yes 1
Don't Know 9
IF "YES", When was the last time a doctor or nurse told you you had _____ (that) [if STD is not volunteered]?
[___ / ___]
mm yy

E2. Have you ever had AIDS or a blood test that was positive for HIV? (CIRCLE ONE)

- No..... 0
 - Yes 1
 - Maybe (Specify) _____ 2
 - Don't Know 9
- [___]
code

SECTION F OCCUPATIONAL HISTORY

Now I would like to ask you about work and school outside the home.

F1. Do you do something you get paid for now?

- No 0
- Yes (SKIP TO F3) 1

F2. Have you ever done anything you got paid for?

- No (SKIP TO F6) 0
- Yes (SKIP TO F4) 1

F3. What kind of work do you do? (Specify) _____ [___]
 (IF MORE THAN ONE CURRENT JOB) _____ [___]
 _____ [___]
 (SKIP TO F5)

F4. What kind of work did you do most recently? (Specify) _____
 _____ [___]

F5. How long have/had you worked at this job? [___ / ___]
 mm yy

F6. Are you a student now?

- No 0
 - Yes 1
- IF "YES", Where? _____
 _____ [___]

SECTION G
SOCIAL SUPPORT

The next few questions are about your living arrangements and people in your life such as family friends and neighbors.

- G1. Think of the main place where you live, is it an apartment, a house, boarding house, women's facility or shelter, or have you been homeless?
- | | | |
|--|---|----------|
| Apartment | 1 | |
| House | 2 | |
| Women's facility/shelter (What kind of facility/shelter _____) | 3 | |
| Boarding house | 4 | |
| Homeless (SKIP TO G7) | 5 | |
| | | [____] |
- G2. Is it public housing?
- | | | |
|------------------------|---|--|
| No | 0 | |
| Yes (SKIP TO G4) | 1 | |
| Don't Know | 9 | |
- G3. (IF G1=HOUSE) Is it a house owned by you or your family?
- | | | |
|------------------|---|--|
| No | 0 | |
| Yes | 1 | |
| Don't Know | 9 | |
- G4. Think of the main place where you live, do you live with any of the following people?
(READ CHOICES)
- | | N | Y | IF "YES", How many |
|---------------------------------|---|---|--------------------|
| a. Partner | 0 | 1 | |
| b. Your own children | 0 | 1 | [____] |
| c. Your mother | 0 | 1 | |
| d. Your father | 0 | 1 | |
| e. Your brothers | 0 | 1 | [____] |
| f. Your sisters | 0 | 1 | [____] |
| g. Any other children | 0 | 1 | [____] |
| h. Grandparent(Who) _____ | 0 | 1 | [____] |
| i. Partner's family (Who) _____ | 0 | 1 | [____] |
| j. Other family (Who) _____ | 0 | 1 | [____] |
| k. Other friends (Who) _____ | 0 | 1 | [____] |
| l. Who else (Who) _____ | 0 | 1 | [____] |

TOTAL + RESPONDENT = [____]

Let's see, including you that makes ____ people living together right?

G5. How many people in the main place where you live are males 16 years of age or older? [___]
number

G6. How long have you lived at this address? [___ / ___]
mm- yy

G7. How many people can you count on in times of need? [___]
number

G8. (ASK ONLY FOR WOMEN WITH CHILDREN) How many people would be able to take care of your children for several hours if needed? [___]
number

G9. How often do you get together with a friend or relative you don't live with? [___]
(PROBE: IF THEY SAY EVERYDAY; PROBE FOR TIMES/DAY - 1=wk 2=mm 3=yy)

G10. About how many times per week do you talk with a friend or relative on the telephone?
(PROBE: IF THEY SAY EVERYDAY, PROBE FOR TIMES/DAY) [___]
1=wk 2=mm 3=yy

G11. How often would you like to see friends? (READ ALOUD)

More often	1
Less often	2
It's about right	3

G12. How often would you like to see your family? (READ ALOUD)

More often	1
Less often	2
It's about right	3

G13. When was the last time you called on someone you know to defend or to protect you?
[___ / ___]
mm yy

Called on someone to protect you, but can't say when.....	88
Never called on someone to protect you.....	89
Don't Know.....	99

G14. **FOR CONTROLS** How likely is it that someone will injure you in the next year?

[___]
code

G15 **FOR CONTROLS** If someone were going to hurt you, who would it be?

[___]
code

SECTION H
SYSTEM CONTACTS

Now I would like to ask you about some services you might have received.

H1. Do you have a family doctor or a doctor that you see regularly?

No 0
Yes 1

H2. When was the last time you saw a doctor or nurse in a clinic or doctor's office?

[___ / ___]
mm yy

H3. Not including today, how many times have you been a patient in an emergency department in the past six months?

[___]
number

H4. Not including today, in the last six months, did you use any of the following services?

(READ ALL RESPONSES)

	N	Y	IF "YES", For What?
a. Case worker/social worker/counselor/ therapist	0	1	_____ [___]
b. Police	0	1	_____ [___]
c. Courts	0	1	_____ [___]
d. WIC Worker for your children	0	1	_____ [___]
e. Welfare office	0	1	_____ [___]
f. Women's facility	0	1	_____ [___]

H5. Not including today, in the last six months, have you been a patient in a hospital overnight?

No 0
Yes 1
Don't Know 9

- H6. Not including today, in the last six months, have you been arrested, in prison or on probation?
- | | |
|---------------------------|---------|
| No | 0 |
| Yes | 1 |
| Don't Know | 9 |
| IF "YES", For what? _____ | [___] |
- H7. Have you been in the military in the last six months?
- | | |
|------------------|---|
| No | 0 |
| Yes | 1 |
| Don't Know | 9 |
- H8. Have you been involved with a drug or alcohol support group in the last six months?
- | | |
|------------------|---|
| No | 0 |
| Yes | 1 |
| Don't Know | 9 |
- H9. Have you ever gone to a friend or relative's house, or to a women's shelter because you wanted to feel safe from someone?
- | | |
|---------------------------------|---------|
| No | 0 |
| Yes | 1 |
| Don't Know | 9 |
| IF "YES," Safe from whom? _____ | [___] |
| Where did you go? _____ | [___] |
- H10. Over the past six months, about how many times did you go to church or attend a religious service? [___]
number
- H11. Do you participate in any other social activities or groups?
- | | |
|--|---------|
| No | 0 |
| Yes | 1 |
| Don't Know | 9 |
| a. IF "YES", What Kind? _____ | [___] |
| b. If "YES", About how many times per week or month do you participate in any of these group activities? _____ | [___] |
- 1=wk 2=mm 3=yy

SECTION I

PSYCHOLOGICAL FACTORS

11. The following questions concern how you have been feeling recently. For each question, please indicate how often you have felt this way during the past week. The choices are:

Rarely or none of the time (less than 1 day)	1
Some or little of the time (1-2 days)	2
Occasionally or a moderate amount of the time (3-4 days)	3
Most of the time (5-7 days)	4

a. I was bothered by things that usually do not bother me.	1	2	3	4
b. I did not feel like eating; my appetite was poor.	1	2	3	4
c. I felt that I could not shake the blues even with help from my family or friends.	1	2	3	4
d. I felt that I was just as good as other people.	1	2	3	4
e. I had trouble keeping my mind on what I was doing.	-1	2	3	4
f. I felt depressed.	1	2	3	4
g. I felt that everything I did was an effort.	1	2	3	4
h. I felt hopeful about the future.	1	2	3	4
i. I thought my life had been a failure.	1	2	3	4
j. I felt fearful.	1	2	3	4
k. My sleep was restless.	1	2	3	4
l. I was happy.	1	2	3	4
m. I talked less than usual.	1	2	3	4
n. I felt lonely.	1	2	3	4
n. People were unfriendly.	1	2	3	4
n. I enjoyed life.	1	2	3	4
o. I had crying spells.	1	2	3	4
p. I felt sad.	1	2	3	4
q. I felt that people disliked me.	1	2	3	4
r. I could not get "going."	1	2	3	4

SECTION J
FINANCIAL SUPPORT

Now I'd like to ask you some questions about financial support.

- J1. How many people, not including yourself, depend on you financially, like for food and shelter? [___]
number -
- J2. Does someone help you out financially in anyway? By this I mean contributing to your rent, food bills or just helping you out.
No (SKIP TO J4)..... 0
Yes 1
a. If "YES", What is the relationship of the person/ people to you?
_____ [___]
]
- J3. Does this make up the most of your financial support?
No 0
Yes 1
Don't Know 9
- J4. Many people find creative ways to make money in order to make ends meet, in the past six months have you: (READ ALL RESPONSES)
- | | N | Y | |
|--------------------------------|---|---|---------|
| a. Babysat for money | 0 | 1 | |
| b. Borrowed money | 0 | 1 | |
| c. Traded food stamps for cash | 0 | 1 | |
| d. Sold a WIC check | 0 | 1 | |
| e. Exchanged sex for anything | 0 | 1 | |
| f. Sold Drugs | 0 | 1 | |
| g. What else? (Specify) _____ | 0 | 1 | [___] |
| h. Don't Know | | | 99 |
- J5. Do you receive food stamps?
No 0
Yes 1
Don't Know 9
- J6. Do you receive SSI or SSDI?
No 0
Yes 1
Don't Know 9

J7. Do you receive cash assistance from DPA?	
No	0
Yes	1
Don't Know	9
J8. Do you receive medical assistance for yourself or your family?	
No	0
Yes	1
Don't Know	9
J9. Do you have a WIC worker?	
No	0
Yes	1
Don't Know	9

SECTION K USE OF DRUGS, AND ALCOHOL

Now we are going to talk about drugs and alcohol.

- K1. How many of your friends ever smoked marijuana? (READ RESPONSES)	
All	1
Most	2
Some	3
None	4
K2. How many of your friends smoke marijuana now? (READ RESPONSES)	
All	1
Most	2
Some	3
None	4
K3. Over the past six months, how often did you use marijuana? [___]	
	1=wk 2=mm 3=past 6 months
Used marijuana in past six months, but can't say how often	88
Did not use marijuana in the past six months	89
K4. When was the last time you used marijuana? [___ / ___ / ___]	
	mm dd yy
K5. Over the past six months, how often did you drink beer, wine or liquor? [___]	
	1=wk 2=mm 3=past 6 months
Drank, but can't say how often	88
Did not drink beer, wine or liquor in past six months	89

K6. When was the last time you drank beer, wine, or liquor? [___ / ___ / ___]
 mm dd yy

K7. Over the past six months, how often did you use cocaine or crack? [___]
 1=wk 2=mm 3=past 6 months
 Used cocaine or crack but can't say how often..... 88
 Did not use cocaine or crack in past six months..... 89

K8. When was the last time you ever used cocaine or crack? [___ / ___ / ___]
 mm dd yy

FOR K9 THROUGH K13, ASK A, AND ONLY ASK B IF A DOES NOT EQUAL "0" OR "NONE".

	a. When was the last time you ever used:	b. Over the last six months, how often did you use:
K9. Uppers, bennies, speed, crank or amphetamines	[___ / ___ / ___] mm dd yy	[___] 1 = wk 2 = mm 3=past 6 months
K10. Downers, barbs, barbiturates	[___ / ___ / ___] mm dd yy	[___] 1 = wk 2 = mm 3=past 6 months
K11. Heroin	[___ / ___ / ___] mm dd yy	[___] 1 = wk 2 = mm 3=past 6 months
K12. Inhalants - like whippets, glue, NO	[___ / ___ / ___] mm dd yy	[___] 1 = wk 2 = mm 3=past 6 months
K13. Anything else (Specify) [___]	[___ / ___ / ___] mm dd yy	[___] 1 = wk 2 = mm 3=past 6 months

K14. How many times in your life have you been treated for drug or alcohol abuse? [___]
 number
 Treated for drug or alcohol abuse, but can't say how many times 88
 Never treated for drug or alcohol abuse (SKIP TO K17)..... 89
 Don't Know 99

K15. When was the last time you were treated for drug or alcohol abuse?
 [___ / ___ / ___]
 mm dd yy

K16. What were you treated for? _____ [___]

IF K6="NEVER IN WHOLE LIFE" SKIP QUESTIONS K17-K21.

K17. How many drinks can you hold? [___]
 number

K18.	Have close friends or relatives worried or complained about your drinking in the past year?	
	No	0
	Yes	1
	Don't Know	9
K19.	Do you sometimes take a drink in the morning when you first get up?	
	No	0
	Yes	1
	Don't Know	9
K20.	Has a friend or family member ever told you about things you said or did while you were drinking that you could not remember?	
	No	0
	Yes	1
	Don't Know	9
K21.	Do you sometimes feel the need to cut down on your drinking?	
	No	0
	Yes	1
	Dont' Know	9

SECTION L
SELF - ESTEEM SCALE

When I read you the following statements, try to describe yourself as you really are, not how you'd like to be or think you ought to be. After I read each statement, I need you to decide if you strongly agree, agree, disagree or strongly disagree. I'll give you this sheet to look at so you can choose your answer.

- L1. I feel that I am a person of worth, at least on an equal basis with others.
- | | |
|------------------------|---|
| Strongly Agree | 1 |
| Agree | 2 |
| Disagree | 3 |
| Strongly Disagree..... | 4 |
- L2. I feel that I have a number of good qualities.
- | | |
|------------------------|---|
| Strongly Agree | 1 |
| Agree | 2 |
| Disagree | 3 |
| Strongly Disagree..... | 4 |
- L3. All in all, I am inclined to feel that I am a failure.
- | | |
|------------------------|---|
| Strongly Agree | 1 |
| Agree | 2 |
| Disagree | 3 |
| Strongly Disagree..... | 4 |
- L4. I am able to do things as well as most other people.
- | | |
|------------------------|---|
| Strongly Agree | 1 |
| Agree | 2 |
| Disagree | 3 |
| Strongly Disagree..... | 4 |
- L5. I feel I do not have much to be proud of.
- | | |
|------------------------|---|
| Strongly Agree | 1 |
| Agree | 2 |
| Disagree | 3 |
| Strongly Disagree..... | 4 |
- L6. I take a positive attitude toward myself.
- | | |
|------------------------|---|
| Strongly Agree | 1 |
| Agree | 2 |
| Disagree | 3 |
| Strongly Disagree..... | 4 |

M4. Over the past six months, how often have you seen/ him/ her per week? [___]
 1=wk 2=mm 3=past 6 months

M5. Does he/ she do anything now that he/ she gets/ got paid for?
 No 0
 Yes 1
 Don't Know 9
 IF "YES", What does he/ she do? [___]
 _____ [___]
 _____ [___]
 _____ [___]

M6. Many times people find creative ways to make ends meet. Does/ he/ she now make any money by:
 a. daywork, like doing repairs
 No 0
 Yes 1
 Don't Know 9
 b. selling merchandise on the street
 No 0
 Yes 1
 Don't Know 9
 c. selling drugs
 No 0
 Yes 1
 Don't Know 9
 d. other ways
 No 0
 Yes (Specify) 1
 Don't Know 9
 [___]
 code

Now let's talk about his/ her childhood.

M7. When he/ she was growing up, did anyone hit his/ her mom?
 No 0
 Yes 1
 Don't Know 9
 IF "YES", What was the person's relationship to his/ her mom? [___]
 _____ code

- M8. When he/ she was growing up, did his/ her mom, dad, or another adult beat up on him/ her ?
- | | |
|------------------|---|
| No | 0 |
| Yes | 1 |
| Don't Know | 9 |
- IF "YES", What is the person's relationship to him/ her ? [___]
code
-
- M9. Over the past six months, how often would you say he/ she has been in a physical fight with someone not including yourself? [___]
- 1=wk 2=mm 3=past 6 months
- | | |
|--------------------|----|
| Never fought | 89 |
| Don't Know | 99 |
- M10. Over the past six months, not including tonight, how many times has he kicked, hit, punched, or pushed you? [___]
- 1=wk 2=mm 3=past 6 months
- | | |
|------------------|----|
| Never | 89 |
| Don't Know | 99 |
- M11. When was the worst time including tonight?
- _____ [___]
code
- M12. Does he/ she ever carry something to keep him/her safe?
- | | |
|------------------------|---|
| No (SKIP TO M14) | 0 |
| Yes | 1 |
| Don't Know | 9 |
- M13. What does he/ she usually carry? (CIRCLE ALL THAT APPLY)
- | | |
|------------------------------------|-----------|
| Gun | 1 |
| Knife | 2 |
| Razor | 3 |
| Other Sharp Object (Specify) _____ | 4 [___] |
| Club | 5 |
| Brass Knuckles | 6 |
| Mace | 7 |
| Other (Specify) _____ | 8 [___] |
| Don't Know | 9 |
- M14. How often does he/ she drink beer, wine or liquor? [___]
- 1=wk 2=mm
- | | |
|-------------------------------------|----|
| Drank but can't say how often | 88 |
| Never Drank | 89 |
| Don't Know | 99 |

M15. Do you ever feel that he/ she should cut down on drinking?
 No..... 0
 Yes 1

M16. When was the last time that he/ she got drunk? [___/___/___]
 mm dd yy

M17. At any-time did he/ she use:

	N	Y	DK	If "YES" How often?
a. Marijuana	0	1	9	[___] 1=wk, 2=mm
b. Cocaine/ Crack	0	1	9	[___] 1=wk, 2=mm
c. Uppers, bennies, speed, crank, or amphetamines	0	1	9	[___] 1=wk, 2=mm
d. Downers, barbs, Barbiturates	0	1	9	[___] 1=wk, 2=mm
e. Heroin	0	1	9	[___] 1=wk, 2=mm
f. Inhalants - like whippets, glue, NO	0	1	9	[___] 1=wk, 2=mm
g. Anything else (Specify) _____	0	1	9	[___] 1=wk, 2=mm

M18. When was the last time he/ she got high on marijuana or drugs? [___/___/___]
 mm dd yy
 Got high, but don't know when the last time was..... 88
 Never got high (SKIP TO M21) 89
 Don't know 99

M19. What was he/ she using? (Specify) _____ [___]
 code

M20. Did you ever feel that he/ she should cut down on drugs?
 No 0
 Yes 1
 IF "YES", Which drugs? (Specify) _____ [___]
 code

M21. Before today, has he/ she ever been arrested and charged for anything?
 No (SKIP TO M28) 0
 Yes 1
 Don't Know 9

- M22. For what? (DO NOT READ, CIRCLE ALL THAT APPLY)
- Shoplifting/ vandalism 1
 - Parole/ probation violations 2
 - Drug Charges 3
 - Forgery 4
 - Weapons Offense 5
 - Burglary, larceny, B & E..... 6
 - Robbery 7
 - Assault 8
 - Arson 9
 - Rape 10
 - Homicide, manslaughter 11
 - Prostitution 12
 - Contempt of court 13
 - Anything else (Specify) 14 [___]
 - Don't Know 99

M23. When was the most recent time was arrested? [___ / ___]
mm yy

- M24. Has ever been in jail or prison for a week or longer?
- No (SKIP TO M26) 0
 - Yes 1

M25. When was the most recent time before today? [___ / ___]
mm yy

- M26. Is on probation or parole?
- No 0
 - Yes 1
 - Don't Know 9

IF NOT CURRENT PARTNER, ASK M27.

- M27. Now I'd like to ask you, are you in a relationship now?
- No 0
 - Yes 1
 - Don't Know 9
- IF "YES", How long have you been together? [___ / ___]
mm yy

SKIP TO SECTION P

N8. What race does he/ she consider himself/ herself to be? (READ CHOICES ALOUD)

- White..... 1
- Hispanic..... 2
- Black or African American..... 3
- Asian..... 4
- Other (*Specify* _____) 5
- Don't Know..... 6

N9. How old is he/ she? [____]
years

- N10. Does he/ she do anything that he/ she gets/ got paid for?
- No..... 0
 - Yes..... 1
 - Don't Know..... 9

IF "YES", What does he/ she do?

_____ [____]

N11. Many times people find creative ways to make ends meet. Does/ Did he/ she make any money by:

- a. daywork like doing odd jobs, repairs
 - No..... 0
 - Yes..... 1
 - Don't Know..... 9
- b. selling merchandise on the street
 - No..... 0
 - Yes..... 1
 - Don't Know..... 9
- c. selling drugs
 - No..... 0
 - Yes..... 1
 - Don't Know..... 9
- d. other ways
 - No..... 0
 - Yes (*Specify*)..... 1
 - Don't Know..... 9

[____]
code

Now let's talk about his/ her childhood.

- N12. When he/ she was growing up, did anyone hit his/ her mom?
 No 0
 Yes 1
 Don't Know 9
 IF "YES", What is the person's relationship to him/ her ? [___]
 code
-
- N13. When he/ she was growing up, did his/ her mom, dad, or another adult beat up on him/ her ?
 No 0
 Yes 1
 Don't Know 9
 IF "YES", What is the person's relationship to him/ her ? [___]
 code
-
- N14. Over the past six months, how often would you say he/ she has been in a physical fight with someone? [___]
 1=wk 2=mm 3=past 6 months
 Never fought 89
 Don't Know 99
- N15. Does he/ she ever carry something to keep him/her safe?
 No (SKIP TO N17) 0
 Yes 1
 Don't Know 9
- N16. What did he/ she usually carry? (CIRCLE ALL THAT APPLY)
 Gun 1
 Knife 2
 Razor 3
 Other Sharp Object (Specify) 4 [___]
 Club 5
 Brass Knuckles 6
 Mace 7
 Other (Specify) 8 [___]
 Don't Know 9
- N17. How often does he/ she drink beer, wine or liquor? [___]
 1=wk 2=mm
 Drank but can't say how often 88
 Never Drank 89
 Don't Know 99

N25. For what? (DO NOT READ, CIRCLE ALL THAT APPLY)

Shoplifting/ vandalism	1
Parole/ probation violations	2
Drug Charges	3
Forgery	4
Weapons Offense	5
Burglary, larceny, B & E.....	6
Robbery	7
Assault	8
Arson	9
Rape	10
Homicide, manslaughter	11
Prostitution	12
Contempt of court	13
Anything else (Specify)	14 [___]
Don't Know	99

N26. When was the most recent time he/she was arrested? [___ / ___]
mm yy

N27. Has he/ she ever been in jail or prison for a week or longer?
No (SKIP TO N29) 0
Yes 1

N28. When was the most recent time? [___ / ___]
mm yy

N29. Is he/she on probation or parole?
No 0
Yes 1
Don't Know 9

SECTION O
MOST RECENT CONFLICT WITH PARTNER

FOR CONTROLS AND FOR CASES WHO WERE NOT INJURED BY A PARTNER
AND REPORT HAVING ANY PAST SEXUAL PARTNER

Think about the last time you and your most recent partner were together and had an argument, or fight. I am going to ask you some questions about that time.

O1. About how long ago did this happen? [___ / ___ / ___]
mm dd yy

O2. What time of day was it? [___ : ___]
[AM=1 PM=2]

O3. How did this argument first begin? (RECORD EXACTLY IN PATIENT'S OWN WORDS)

_____ [___]
code

PROBE:

What was it about? (RECORD IN PATIENT'S OWN WORDS)

_____ [___]
code

O4. Was anyone else there during the argument or fight?
No..... 0
Yes 1
Don't Know 9
IF "YES", What is your relationship to him/ her? [___]
code

O5. During the argument did your partner: (READ ALL CHOICES)

	No	Yes
Remain calm	0	1
Yell	0	1
Leave the room	0	1
Punch, slap, push, kick or bite you	0	1
Threaten you with something that could hurt you?	0	1
IF "YES", With what?		[___]
Stab or cut you	0	1
IF "YES", With what?		[___]
Shoot at you with a gun?	0	1
IF "YES", Were you hit?		[___]
Anything else (<i>Specify</i>)	0	1
		[___]

O6. Did you ...? (READ ALL CHOICES)

	No	Yes
Punch, slap, push, kick or bite [him/ her]	0	1
Threaten [him/ her]?	0	1
IF "YES", With what?		[___]
Stab or cut [him/ her]	0	1
IF "YES", With what?		[___]
shoot at [him/ her] with a gun	0	1
IF "YES", Was [he/ she] hit?		[___]
Anything else (<i>Specify</i>)	0	1
		[___]

IF NO PHYSICAL INJURY SKIP TO O8.

O7. What one thing in particular triggered [him/ her] into getting physical with you?

_____ [___]

code

O8. How did the argument end? _____

_____ [___]

code

O9. Do you think _____ [he/ she] was drinking beer, wine, or liquor within four hours before the argument?

No	0
Yes	1
Don't Know	9

O10. Do you think _____ he/ she was using marijuana or drugs within four hours before the argument?

No (SKIP TO O12) 0
 Yes 1
 Don't Know 9

O11. What do you think _____ was/ were using?

Weed/ Marijuana 1
 Cocaine/ Crack 2
 Uppers/ Bennies/ Speed/ Crank/ Amphetamines 3
 Downers/ Barbs/ Barbiturates 4
 Heroin (Horse) 5
 Inhalants -- like whippets/ glue / NO 6
 Anything else (Specify) _____ 7 [___]
 Don't Know 9

O12. Were you drinking beer, wine or liquor within four hours before this happened?

No 0
 Yes 1
 Don't Know 9

O13. Were you using any drugs within 4 hours before this happened?

No (SKIP TO SECTION P) 0
 Yes 1
 Don't Know 9

O14. What were you using?

Weed/ Marijuana 1
 Cocaine/ Crack 2
 Uppers/ Bennies/ Speed/ Crank/ Amphetamines 3
 Downers/ Barbs/ Barbiturates 4
 Heroin 5
 Inhalants -- like whippets/ glue / NO 6
 Anything else (Specify) _____ 7 [___]
 Don't Know 9

**SECTION P
PARTNER RELATIONSHIP HISTORY**

Now I'd like to ask you some more questions about all your relationships.

P1. Thinking of all your past sexual relationships ever, how many of your partners kicked, hit, punched or pushed you? [___]
number
None (SKIPTO P5)..... 0
Don't Know 99

P2. How many were male? [___]
number

P3. When was the last time this happened? [___ / ___ / ___]
mm dd yy

P4. Can you tell me about the worst time ever? _____

_____ [___]
code

P5. **ONLY ASK IF SUBJECT REPORTED HAVING BEEN PREGNANT** Did any partner ever physically hurt you when you were pregnant?
No 0
Yes 1
Don't Know 9
IF "YES", during how many pregnancies? [___]

P6. Did any person ever force you to have sex when you didn't want to?
No..... 0
Yes 1
Don't Know 9
IF "YES", How many times did this happen? [___]
number
What is your relationship to **that person/ those people** ? [___]
_____ [___]

ONLY ASK IF SUBJECT HAS CHILDREN

P7. At some time did any partner hurt your children?

No	0
Yes	1
Don't Know	9

IF YOU ANSWER "YES" FOR THE NEXT QUESTION I HAVE TO TELL THE STAFF IN THE EMERGENCY DEPARTMENT. FEEL FREE TO NOT ANSWER THE QUESTION, BUT ALSO FEEL FREE TO ANSWER THE QUESTION.

P8. Are any of your children being hurt or in danger now?

No	0
Yes	1
Don't Know	9

SECTION Q
ADDITIONAL RELATIONSHIPS

Now I'd like to ask you some questions about males other than your partners.

Q1. Not including any of the people you may have already told me about, has any (other) male ever physically hurt you by kicking, hitting, punching or pushing you?

No (SKIP TO Q6)..... 0
 Yes 1
 Don't Know 9

Q2. What is his/ their relationship to you? (CIRCLE ALL THAT APPLY)

Father 1
 Step father 2
 Grandfather/Step-grandfather 3
 Brother 4
 Son 5
 Foster parent 6
 Foster grandparent 7
 Cousin 8
 Friend 9
 Acquaintance/Neighbor 10
 Stranger 11
 Other (Specify) _____ 12 [____]

Q3. Has any (other) male that you haven't told me about physically injured you?

No 0
 Yes 1
 Don't know 9
 IF "YES", What is your relationship to him/ them? _____ [____]
 code

Q4. When was the last time this happened?

[____ / ____ / ____]
 mm dd yy

Q5. Can you tell me about the worst time in the past year?

 _____ [____]
 code

Q6. Did any male other than a partner ever physically hurt you when you were pregnant?

No	0
Yes	1
Don't Know	9
IF "YES", during how many pregnancies?	[___]
	number
What was your relationship to <u>him/ them</u> ? _____	[___]
_____	[___]

Q7. Did any male you haven't told me about ever force you to have sex when you didn't want to?

No (SKIP TO Q9).....	0
Yes	1
Don't Know	9
IF "YES", How many times did this happen? _____	[___]
What was your relationship to that <u>person/ those people</u> ? _____	[___]
_____	[___]
Anyone else? _____	[___]

Q8. How about in the past year?

No	0
Yes	1
Don't Know	9

Now I'd like to ask you some questions about other females.

Q9- Not including any of the people you may have already told me about, in the past year has any (other) female physically hurt you by kicking, hitting, punching, or pushing you?

No (SKIP TO Q14).....	0
Yes	1
Don't Know	9

Q10. What is her/ their relationship to you? (CIRCLE ALL THAT APPLY)

Mother.....	01
Step mother	02
Grandmother/Step-grandmother	03
Sister	04
Daughter.....	05
Foster parent.....	06
Foster grandparent	07
Cousin	08
Friend	09
Acquaintance/Neighbor	10
Stranger.....	11
Anyone else (<i>Specify</i>) _____	12[___]
Don't Know	99

Q11. Has any other female that you haven't told me about physically injured you?
 No 0
 Yes 1
 Don't know 9
 IF "YES", What is your relationship to her/ them? _____ [___]
 code

Q12. When was the last time this happened? [___ / ___ / ___]
 mm dd yy

Q13. Can you tell me about the worst time?

 _____ [___]
 code

Q14. Did any female other than a partner ever physically hurt you when you were pregnant?
 No 0
 Yes 1
 Don't Know 9
 IF "YES", during how many pregnancies? [___]
 number

The next couple questions are about your childhood, that is before you turned 18 years old.

Q15. When you were growing up, did your mom ever get hit?
 No 0
 Yes 1
 Don't Know 9
 IF "YES", What was your relationship to the person who did it? _____ [___]
 code

Q16. When you were growing up, did any adult ever beat up on you?
 No 0
 Yes 1
 Don't Know 9
 IF "YES", What was his/ her relationship to you? _____ [___]
 Anyone else? _____ [___]

Q17. When you were growing up, did any adult force you to have sex?
 No 0
 Yes 1
 Don't Know 9
 IF "YES", What was his/ her relationship to you? _____ [___]

SECTION R
ADDITIONAL INFORMATION

Finally, we'd like to ask your opinion about Emergency Department Services.

R1. We want to improve care in the Emergency Room, and really value your opinions. I am going to read a list of services. In the future, would you like to be offered any of the following in an ER?

	No	Yes
Talk with a counselor	0	1
Get pain or nerve medicine	0	1
Find a new place to stay	0	1
Find out how to get a lawyer	0	1
Child care in the waiting area.....	0	1

R2. Can you make any other suggestions about Emergency Room services?

**** END OF SURVEY****

(Interviewers, please turn the page)

Reliability of Patient

Good	0
Fair	1
Poor	2
Don't Know.....	9

Interviewer comments: _____

APPENDIX B: QUALITATIVE CODING MANUAL

I. GENERAL RULE

- Many scenarios include information about prior incidents that in some way contribute to the current injury. Code all information unless specified otherwise. For example, do not code protection if it refers to past incident.

II. HYPOTHESES

1) "PLAYER HYPOTHESIS"

- indication that a male is flirting/having sex with another female who is not is girlfriend.
- Involves more than one potential girlfriend
- must be indication/description of male's behavior
- include as player behavior if respondent is not directly involved. For example mother gets involved because her son is cheating on girlfriend and mother tried to prevent girlfriend from shooting son.

2) "GENDER CENTRIC CONCERNS HYPOTHESIS"

Female centric concerns

- Competition over intimate or related to pregnancy
- includes indirect victimization; injured woman does not have to be a participant in the rivalry
- fight does not need to be between 2 potential female girlfriends. For example rivalry may be between girlfriend and boyfriend's mother is included.
- include fights that mention that female is upset over breakup of boyfriend
- includes player behavior (see above)
- female or males tries to impress intimate or potential intimate
- Fight involves hairs, nails, clothes and any other issues related to physical attractiveness. This includes jealousy over one female being prettier than another.

Male centric concerns

- male feels rejected by females
- The word "rejection" does not have to be used for example: "I wouldn't go out with him" is acceptable
- antagonist "pissed" because rejected but not rejected by the respondent

3) "RELATIONAL-PROTECTION HYPOTHESIS" (*antagonist is the protector*)

- person who retaliates or helps is not the person who originally was victimized (physically or emotionally).
- Antagonist **MUST** be the protector not the person being protected
- refers to this fight only (exception to "General Rule" described above)
- do not include of antagonist is only trying to break up the fight; she must take a side
- include if try to protect someone's reputation
- include if try to protect someone from getting hurt (physically)
- include if try to protect someone's resources
- code respondent is protector under category called "respondent is protector"

4) "MUTUAL CONTRIBUTION HYPOTHESIS" "MUTUALITY"

- Mutuality – uses physical or verbal aggression prior to injury
- include if respondent uses violence first

5) **INTERPERSONAL CONCERNS HYPOTHESIS**

- Include if respondent or antagonist says "he/she doesn't like me" or respondent doesn't like antagonist
- include if says "He say/she say"
- respondent/antagonist is accused of saying something about someone or rumors/gossip
- someone "lied;" involves someone talking about someone else
- does not include a direct accusation unless its an accusation about having said something about someone else

6) **"PERSONAL RESPECT HYPOTHESIS"**

- warrants a direct and immediate response, which often manifested in a physical confrontation. Respect, honor, toughness, status and reputation have all been emphasized as key features of the (male) code of the street. Usually includes some type of name calling, dirty looks, slight. Also include perceived attack or affront to their personal integrity. Target perceived to be full of herself, conceited. Snitching is a form of disrespect.
- Verbal insult, threats immediately prior to the violence. There must be an indication that someone is insulted. Its not enough for one person to be rude/angry.
- If the word threatened is used code respect only if antagonist threatens and respondent fights or says something in response to the threat
- Includes: show off in from of others (increase face saving concerns and increase probability of retaliation), "trying to be smart"
- code respect if respondent says she fought because "she had family around her"
- exclude relational respect/protection. If antagonist is protecting a third person but there is a violation of personal respect between antagonist and respondent then include in both categories

II. CODES USED IN DESCRIPTIVE ANALYSES

1) **Try to break up fight or mend things**

- respondent injured as a result of breaking up fight

2) **Respondent Get Drawn Into Fight**

- someone takes anger out on respondent rather than person really mad at
- respondent gets dragged into fight by forces beyond her own actions. For example, she is with her cousin who gets aggressive with antagonist and then antagonist injures her and cousin

3) **Respondent initiates violence**

- Respondent is the first person to become physically violent
- Include if she gets violent first but gets injured by someone who jumps in

4) **Respondent is innocent target**

- respondent says she 'don't know why happened"
- obvious that respondent was innocent victim i.e. predatory
- include if innocent victim but she contributes to her injury by fighting back
- it was a respondent of mistaken identity

5) **Argument over Money**

- include if fight is over child support
- include if fight is over a phone bill
- include if fight is over resources (i.e. basketball tickets or a car)

- 6) **Predatory Crime**
- includes theft
 - include rape
- 7) **Jealousy – only code if the words “jealousy” or “possessive” are used**
- 8) **Ongoing problems**
- must be some indication that problems are ongoing that is they did not start the day of the violence
 - “we had a fight before and she wanted to finish it” assume ongoing problems
 - We “always” had problems
 - “constantly” harassing me; “he’s been harassing me” “he’s always talking about wanting to jump me” “its not the first time he acted like this” “we always fight”
 - don’t include is its just an accusation about he say/she say
 - include if incident involves retaliation include if argument was over the phone and retaliation subsequently occurred face to face.
 - Include if first argument was between respondent and third party and then antagonist attacks because of fight between third party and respondent.
- 9) **Dispute is related to the kids or parenting**
- parent/adult gets involved in fight because kids are fighting
 - someone is criticized for not being a good mom
 - over issues related to discipline
- 10) **Case or respondent is angry or has problem**
- she/he’s got a problem, there’s some sort of problem
 - “went off,” “psycho,” “split personality,” “flipped out,” “act strange”, “throwed,” “360 degree turnaround”
 - pissed me off, got upset and started cursing, attitude, mad, frustrated
- 11) **respondent or antagonist was scared**
- key words “scared” “scary” “fearness”
- 12) **Drug seeking behaviors**
- buying drugs only
 - Include if respondent says “probably stole the money to get drugs”
- 13) **prank include play fighting**
- 14) **antagonist fights for a thrill**
- likes to fight, type of person she is, she’s in a fighting mood, thinks fighting solves everything, troublemaker, she gets like that
- 15) **respondent or antagonist is stressed**
- fight over issue that someone “died” “dying”
 - fight over issue that someone has “abandonment” issues
 - fight over issue that someone was “killed”
 - fight over issue feelings of upset because of a “fire”
- 16) **mentally ill**
- mention of a psychiatric problem” “mentally challanged” sent to psych department” “tried to commit suicide” “he’s looney” “messed up and on medications, xanax” “he’s psychotic”
 - include if respondent or antagonist is mentally ill
- 17) **argument: exchange of words prior to the violence**

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