

Chapter Two

Individual Factors That Contribute to Intimate Partner Violence

She would go downtown and take out warrants out on him and restraining orders and he'll go back and one night she took and killed him, you know they got into a fight, and one night she took and got it, they got into a fight, and she grabbed a pistol and shot him in the head, and he got killed the day before I had to go to court and go to training school, and uh, I went to training school at the age of 14 years old. I didn't know where my mother was at, she was going with guys that would sell her drugs, you know, she was doping you know.—Eddie, forty-something African American man, North Carolina

The previous chapter provided an overview of intimate partner violence in the United States. This chapter is the first of three that explore different causes of intimate partner violence: individual (chapter 2), structural (chapter 3), and cultural (chapter 4).

In this chapter I focus on individual factors that contribute to intimate partner violence. First I examine the role that sexual abuse in childhood plays in the likelihood that women will be beaten in their adult relationships. Second, I examine the role that child abuse and exposure to IPV in childhood plays in the probability that men will grow up to become batterers. In both cases, exposure and victimization to violence in childhood lead to an increased probability for IPV—both perpetration and victimization—in adulthood. We begin by examining the relationship among women.

INDIVIDUAL PREDICTORS OF IPV FOR WOMEN

In the interviews I conducted with women, I focused on their experiences growing up, dating, and in their adult intimate relationships. During these discussions,

the number of experiences with sexual abuse that tumbled out of them was surprising and troubling. The analyses in this chapter highlight the ways that experiences with sexual abuse in childhood and the teen years affect women's ability to cope with battering in their adulthood.

Sexual Abuse in Childhood and Adolescence and Battering in Adulthood

A key issue facing scholars, policy makers, and practitioners is the ability to predict who will batter and who will be battered. And, though many feminists agree (Brownmiller 1975; MacKinnon 1989; Rich 1980; Sanday 1981, 1990) that the single best predictor of battering or becoming a victim of IPV is *gender* (85 percent of battering is done by men to women) (Tjaden and Thoennes 2000), this chapter will examine the role that childhood sexual abuse (CSA) plays in the pathway to becoming a victim of IPV. Specifically, I will (1) describe the relationship between CSA and IPV and (2) identify the *process* by which CSA shapes women's experiences with IPV.

Abuse in Childhood and Abuse in Adulthood

At least half of all women report at least one incident of *physical abuse* by a parent or caretaker before age 18 (Tjaden and Thoennes 2000). Though women who were victims of child abuse are not significantly more likely to grow up to be battered in adulthood (46 percent are but 53.3 percent are not), women who *were* victims of child abuse are *twice as likely* to experience IPV as women who were not physically assaulted in childhood (46.7 percent compared to 19.8 percent) (Tjaden and Thoennes 2000). In other words, more than half of women who were physically abused in childhood *do not* grow up to be battered in adulthood, but the *risk* for IPV is *twice as high* for female victims of child abuse as for those women who were not abused as children.

The relationship between being sexually abused in childhood and being raped in adulthood follows a similar pattern. Women raped as minors are *twice as likely* to be raped in adulthood (18.3 percent compared to 8.7 percent). However, as was the case with child abuse, most women who are raped in childhood are *not* raped in adulthood—18.3 percent of those raped in childhood are raped as adults, but 81.2 percent of those raped in childhood are *not* raped as adults.

In summary, we have good estimates of both sexual and physical abuse in both childhood and adulthood, and we understand something about the increased risk victims of both physical and sexual abuse in childhood have *for the same type of violence* in adulthood. In short, though most children who

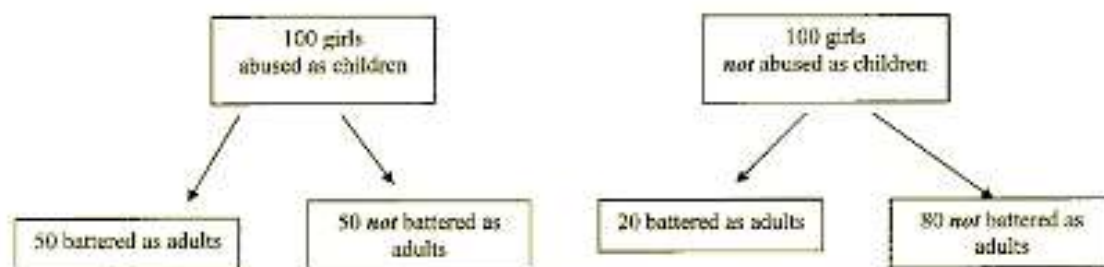


Figure 2.1. Relationship between Abuse in Childhood and Being Battered in Adulthood

experience sexual abuse or physical violence *are not* victimized in adulthood, victims of childhood sexual or physical abuse *are twice as likely* to experience the *same type of abuse in adulthood as their non-childhood victim counterparts*.

The question becomes how abuse in childhood creates a pathway to abuse in adulthood. In her study of stripping and prostitution, Raphael explicates the ways in which sexual abuse and exploitation diminish self-esteem and can create a pathway to intimate partner violence. She notes that prostitution and violence destroy the body's boundaries. "If your body does not present limits to other people, you begin to feel that you do not have a right to exist, to take up space" (2004, 164). Beyond her work, however, little empirical research exists on the relationship between *sexual abuse* in childhood or adolescence and *physical abuse* in adulthood. Also, because my sample is limited to women who have been battered, I am unable to use experiences with sexual abuse in childhood to *predict* the likelihood of being battered in adulthood. This chapter focuses on experiences of a group of battered women who were also victims of severe CSA and illuminates the ways in which this early childhood sexual abuse led to poor partnering decisions and limited agency in ending IPV when it did occur.

An Important Research Note: Developing Rapport

Each interview began by asking the women to describe the families in which they grew up.¹ In some cases the women talked at length about abusive fathers or stepfathers. In other cases they made a brief reference to their fathers, stepfathers, or their mothers' boyfriends that led me to believe that some abuse had occurred. In most cases, as the women became more comfortable and we established more rapport, the stories literally tumbled out. When one conducts research on such a painful topic, it is critically important to establish trust and rapport with the subject. I have found that victims of gender oppression (rape, IPV) are often ashamed of their experiences, and they have encountered people who are literally shocked by their stories. Therefore, they tend to start out mildly and slowly drop more and more outrageous experiences on the table. It

is critical that the researcher express sympathy but not shock at these revelations. By accepting the extraordinary experiences of these women, the researcher develops the trust necessary for the revelation of increasingly intimate and increasingly shocking events.²

Though not all girls who are sexually abused in childhood and adolescence grow up to be battered women, a significant relationship does seem to exist between being a battered woman and early experiences with rape and incest (Lawless 2001, Wesley 2006).³

Among the women in this study, CSA fell into three distinct categories: premature sex engagement, incest, and childhood prostitution. I begin with some descriptive data on the forms of childhood and adolescent sexual abuse (CSA) and then examine the two "survival" strategies that put victims of CSA at risk for IPV: (1) marrying as teenagers to escape incest and prostitution, and (2) choosing intimate partners who could protect them from outside violence but who ended up abusing them.

Childhood Sexual Abuse: Premature Sex Engagement

Premature sex engagement refers to experiencing one's first sexual intercourse at a very young age (13 or 14) with an older man. The most typical pattern involved 13- and 14-year-old girls having their first sexual experiences with men ten years older, men in their mid-twenties. However, in some cases the first sexual experiences of these young teenage girls involved much older men—in their thirties or forties.⁴ Though this fits the definition of statutory rape, these women primarily defined these experiences as "consensual." The issue of consent in these cases is a tricky and complex one, as Odem (1995) points out in her historical study of sexuality; the "age of consent" laws effectively remove the possibility that girls under the age of 18 can legally consent to *any* sexual activity. Recently some states have modified their statutory rape laws to require age differences of at least a year; for example, sex between two 17-year-olds no longer meets the legal requirements of statutory rape.⁵

This issue is further complicated by the blurring of the term "consent." Diana Scully (1990) points out that convicted rapists' definitions of rape hinge on *their* perceptions of a woman's consent rather than the women's own perceptions. And research on incest and CSA notes that in many cases victims do report "consenting." I argue that the women whom I classify as experiencing premature sex engagement fall into the same category as victims of CSA and not into the category of those cases now excluded from statutory rape. In all cases, the age difference between the girls and the men they had sex with was at least ten years. Furthermore, this age gap results in both a power differen-

tial and an experience differential that often left these girls feeling exploited, even when they consented.

Veta, for example, told of her first sexual experience when she was 16. Her "partner" was a 42-year-old married man by whom she would become pregnant. In discussing the awkwardness of the age difference Veta recalled telling her parents she was pregnant. When they insisted that she bring the father of her child to their home to meet him, she realized she was bringing home a man who was not only married to someone else but *older than her parents*.

Of the twenty African American women I interviewed, eighteen (90 percent), experienced premature sex engagement (several via incest and/or prostitution). Though common among white women as well, somewhat fewer (ten of fifteen or 67 percent) experienced premature sex engagement. Furthermore, only one experienced incest, and none experienced prostitution. These patterns reinforce those that are reported by national studies which reveal that African American teenage girls are one and a half times more likely to have had sexual intercourse than their white peers (Dye 2005).

Not only was early teenage sexual activity common, but it almost *always* involved older, and presumably more experienced, first sex partners. And, for African American women, these sexual experiences at 14 or 15 almost invariably led to pregnancy and a birth before the mother turned sixteen.⁶ With rare exceptions, girls who had their first child by age 16 dropped out of high school and failed to earn a general education diploma (GED). Race differences exacerbate the problems associated with teen childbearing. For example, because African Americans have higher levels of *unintended unemployment* (Hattery and Smith 2007a; Padavic and Reskin 2002) and because African Americans and women require more education to make the same wages as white men (Padavic and Reskin 2002), the long-term consequences of these experiences significantly shape the life chances of African American girls (Hattery and Smith 2007a; Maynard 1997) and their children. The failure to complete high school left these women even more vulnerable to IPV because they had little earning power in a changing economy where low-skilled employment continues to disappear. This form of economic dependency is highly correlated with IPV (Browne 1987; Brush 2000, 2001).

Clearly race shaped both the likelihood of experiencing premature sex engagement as well as its consequences. The fact that *nearly all* of the African American women I interviewed experienced premature sex engagement suggests that, as scholars and practitioners (teachers, social workers, and health care providers), we need to adjust our understanding of the "typical" experiences of African American teenage girls to include this type of experience. Second, because we know that premature sex engagement has many consequences

for young women, especially African Americans, these race differences demand our attention. The consequences range from those associated with early sexual intercourse (Alan Guttmacher Institute 2006), to those associated with the exploitation inherent in these experiences (Wesley 2006; Sweet and Tewksbury 2000), to those associated with teen childbearing (Hattery and Smith 2007a; Maynard 1997).

Incest and Child Molestation at Home

Incest and child molestation are reported by 15 to 25 percent of adult women (Tjaden and Thoennes 2000). Several white and African American women whom I interviewed admitted to childhood sexual abuse by fathers, stepfathers, and mothers' boyfriends. Among the thirty-five women I interviewed, five (15 percent) reported at least one experience with incest.

Candy is a white woman from North Carolina who was molested at age 15 by her mother's boyfriend. As a result of this abuse she became pregnant and was thrown out of the house. Shortly thereafter she married a young man her own age but because of his drug addiction they divorced a year later.

Debbie is an African American woman from North Carolina who was not only molested by her father but tortured physically as well. Among other things, her father slapped her, banged her head against the wall, forcibly cut her hair—while he made her lie on the cement floor of the garage—and burned her with a welding iron. Debbie's father also kept the family—she has eight brothers—isolated, and made the children quit school when they reached the age of 16 so that they could go to work. He demanded that they bring their wages home for his use. By age 17 Debbie had moved out of the house. Shortly after, she met John, and they married within weeks.

Consistent with national level data (Tjaden and Thoennes 2000) very few race differences exist with regard to the women's experiences with incest. The race differences that did emerge in this study revolved primarily around women's willingness to talk about the incest.⁷ Regardless of their willingness to disclose the details, scholars and practitioners need to assume a high probability for CSA when working with young women, especially young women who are in trouble or "at risk" (Gaarder and Belknap 2002; Sweet and Tewksbury 2000; Wesley 2006).

PREADOLESCENT PROSTITUTION: THE LIQUOR OR DRINK HOUSE

Among the women I interviewed, none of the white women but 15 percent (three of twenty) of the African American women had experiences as child

prostitutes. One case involved "situational prostitution," the other two cases involved *continuous* child prostitution in drink houses run by the fathers/stepfathers of the women.

I begin the discussion of liquor houses with a caveat: I do not imply here that childhood prostitution is a normative or even a common experience for young African American women. I do suspect, however, that Winston-Salem, North Carolina, is similar in many regards to other southern communities with a single major employer; in Winston-Salem this employer is RJ Reynolds Tobacco. In these communities relationships often form between the company, its executives, and the illegitimate economy that exists in all communities. As in many southern communities until very recently, work was segregated (Hattery and Smith 2007a; Hill-Collins 1994; Shapiro 2003), and RJ Reynolds was no exception. Though a few African Americans were hired to sweep floors and do the most menial labor associated with cigarette production, for the most part they were excluded from working at the town's primary company. As is typical in many southern towns, African Americans were, however, called on to "service" the white community as housekeepers, nannies, gardeners, and as liquor suppliers (Korstad 2003; Tursi 1994). This was an especially important function during Prohibition, and the habit local white men developed then of going into liquor houses to imbibe persists today. When conditions like these exist, the environment is primed for many exploitative and oppressive behaviors, among them prostitution. Therefore, I believe there is much to learn from the case of Winston-Salem, North Carolina.

A liquor house is a type of unregulated social club. Usually it is located in an apartment in a public housing project. In a typical liquor house, a man allows a woman (and often her children) to live rent free upstairs in exchange for her (and her children) running the liquor house on the main level of the home. And, this arrangement usually involves an exchange for sex with the woman whenever he desires it.⁸

When I inquired about the men who frequented the drink houses, Evie told me that of course there were the locals, men who lived in the projects, but that the primary customers were white male executives from RJ Reynolds Tobacco Company. These men would come during their lunch hour and at happy hour (usually after 4 p.m.) to consume alcohol, smokes, and have sex before returning to their quiet, white, middle-class neighborhoods.

Some of the Reynolds men got paid on Wednesday. They'll come in, maybe, and buy . . . give me a five, and maybe they done bought four drinks and I would have the change. Sometimes they would sell fish in there. And a lot of times, some of the guys would get the cigarettes and change cigarettes for drinks. And it was just like, I wonder that the people that lived out by a car [meaning out in the suburbs]. There was nice section. But they would come in

our neighborhood, and drink, and buy women and stuff like that.—Evie, fifty-something African American woman, North Carolina

Both women who worked in (and in fact grew up in) liquor houses were initially lured into this work by their fathers/stepfathers who told them they could earn a little money making sandwiches and pouring drinks. Evie recalls that by age 12 she was frying fish and totally managing the food side of the operation. In addition, Evie admitted that her father prostituted her as well; she was required to “perform favors” for the men in the drink house.

You can’t imagine what it’s like to have to sit on the laps of men when you are a 10-year-old. I hadn’t even learned to ride a bike yet.—Evie, fifty-something African American woman, North Carolina

Perhaps most striking about these stories of preadolescent prostitution is the way that they are shaped by both race and social class. Not only were the women subjected to this type of sexual abuse African American and poor, but the situation itself was in part created out of race and class inequalities that exist in the community. In a segregated community like Winston-Salem, few legitimate ways exist for African Americans to earn a living, and those that do exist are primarily restricted to educated, middle-class, and professional African Americans and to women who were employed as domestics (Hill-Collins 1994). Poor whites were able to find work in the RJ Reynolds cigarette factories, but African Americans were excluded from this employment option. Thus, African Americans living in the housing projects created a “service” economy that filled a niche, one that would never have been allowed in most white neighborhoods regardless of its social class composition (Korstad 2003; Tursi 1994). Thus race, class, and gender were powerful forces in shaping both the individual experiences these women had with preadolescent prostitution as well as the phenomenon itself.⁹

In response to the CSA these women experienced, they employed two related survival strategies: (1) marrying to escape the abuse and (2) choosing dangerous partners. Both strategies put these women at risk for IPV. I turn now to a discussion of the survival strategies and incredible violence that these women endured at the hands of their abusive partners.

SEXUAL ABUSE AND A DRIVE TO ESCAPE

By age 17, seeking answers and help, Debbie became a disciple of James and Tammy Bakker’s PTL ministry. Homeless for a time, she slept in a trailer on the grounds of the PTL Club in Charlotte. There she met a young man. After

a few weeks they had sex, and feeling guilty, they married. Within months her husband became abusive both physically and sexually. In addition to moving out of the house during the period of incest and molestation, it was also common for these women to marry early, a practice that was encouraged by the victims' own mothers. Debbie describes her decision to marry John.

It was after three days we met that we kissed. And we never really discussed that kiss or nothing. We just liked each other right away. So he took me to a jewelry store and bought me an engagement ring and a wedding band. Then he had this necklace around his neck that said "I love you" that somebody gave to him. So he took it off and put it around my neck. Then I put the engagement ring on and he asked me to go with him. And I said, "Sure." *I wanted to be free from my family. I thought if I get married, my name changes and I'm free from my family.*—Debbie, thirty-something African American woman, North Carolina

For many women like Debbie, getting pregnant and/or married was perhaps the only route for escape (Lawless 2001). *All* of the women who acknowledged that they had been sexually abused or prostituted in childhood entered their first intimate, romantic sexual *relationship* before they were 18. Frequently these relationships involved living together (married or not) within weeks or months of getting together. Moving in with another man seemed the most obvious escape route, one that almost always led to physical, emotional, and sometimes sexual abuse at the hands of their lovers (Brandt 2006; Griffing et al. 2005). In their attempts to escape the sexual abuse they were experiencing at home these girls often left with the first man who would take them away (usually by marrying them), and within months it was clear to these girls that they had traded one sort of violence and abuse for another. Debbie paints a graphic picture:

I wanted to please him [sexually], because my mom never talked to me or nothing. I had to figure out what I'm supposed to do. I knew you screwed, but I wanted more than that. So I looked at the videos. And when I did something on him that I learned from the video, he was like, "Oh, where did you learn to do that? You had to do it before somewhere else." But then he got sexually abusive. He wanted to like use objects on me and all kinds of stuff. When he did that, that's when I started hating him. And I wouldn't let him do it and he would get mad. And then he would tear my pictures up of my family and burned them. He tore up some of my clothes he bought me. One time he got so mad, we was going down the road and he ran his car into an overpass bridge. We were both in it, and he was going 80 miles per hour. He totaled the car, but we both walked out of it. [AH: Was he trying to kill you?] Yeah. He wanted to kill both of us.—Debbie, thirty-something African American woman, North Carolina.

Many, many women I interviewed reported having sex when they did not want to, though they seldom called it rape. And, many reported that sex seemed to be a tool of the violence or an attempt to make up after a battering episode. They described not only the hurt of being raped by their intimate partners, the men who claimed to love them, but also the consequences, such as unintended pregnancy. We can also assume that many women were at risk for contracting HIV/AIDS as well, though it is difficult to pinpoint the incident that leads to transmission when acts of consensual intercourse are mixed in with acts of rape or nonconsensual intercourse. Cheri describes her experience:

So, you know, the park. We smoke a little blunt. And then we have sex in the car, which was ironic, 'cause we'd never done this before. Ok, my pants still on my ankles and then he just starts beating me on my face. Yeah. I mean, his was too [pants were down]. That's how, soon as he done it, it happened. He didn't even get up off of me. He just started beating me, talking about, that's what I was doing, that's what I gave to somebody else and just rambling on and on and on. And I crawled out of the car and crawled under my car. Then my stubborn butt wouldn't leave 'til he gave me my two hundred dollars back. Then, he was like, he was like, well, go clean your face up. . . . I had about six bones broken over here. This was broken and this was broken. And to this day, I can't see out this eye. I have a dislocated retina. And, like, this bone was broken and stuff. And, so, I went a whole day without going to the emergency room 'cause I was scared. So, when I finally went to the emergency room, 'cause the eye wouldn't open up is what made me go, and I was in so much pain, I found out I was pregnant. So, I told . . . so I told the abortion clinic, if ya'll don't get this baby out of me, I am. So they got me a volunteer to help pay for it, but by the time they came through, I was five months pregnant. So then that almost killed me.—Cheri, thirty-something African American woman, North Carolina

The strategies employed by Debbie, like those of so many other women I interviewed, extend a well-established finding by scholars who study CSA: that CSA is a major pathway to careers in stripping and prostitution (Monto and Hotaling 2001; Sweet and Tewksbury 2000; Wesley 2006) and juvenile delinquency (Gaarder and Belknap 2002; Goodkind, Ng, and Sarri 2006). I argue that seeking out sexual partners as a means of escape is similar to stripping and prostitution in that they all involve trading sexual access for economic support. In contrast, the battered women I interviewed who had *not* experienced CSA left intimate partner relationships the *first time* they were hit. As a result, they were seldom forced into the cycle of trading sexual access for the economic support of a man who would also abuse them.

With regard to social class, the strategy of trading sexual access for economic support, though used by many women for centuries and in all cultures, is by and large a strategy that affluent women do *not* need to rely on. The middle-class women in the sample *did not* establish a pattern of trading sexual access for economic support to flee abusive relationships. Instead, they relied on their own economic assets.

Andi is an African American woman I interviewed in Minnesota. Andi's is yet another case of premature sex engagement. At 13 Andi had her first sexual relationship with a man ten years her senior. He was 23. She ultimately bore two children by this man though they never married. Because he was also a drug dealer and violent with her and the children, she decided that she needed to escape.

Yeah—I got my older son, I got all my stuff and we went to Chicago. Um, with me working for the moving company, I knew this guy who drove a truck, and so he was up there and he had to go back to Chicago, so he took us to Chicago. I stayed in a hotel for about a week and then went to a shelter. I stayed in the shelter, but, mind you, I'm a hot girl, so, I don't know, but I stayed in the shelter for, like, three days—and then met this guy. One day when I was outside of the shelter. And I do not know what was going through my mind, but I liked him; he was like, "Why don't you come to Minnesota with me." So I came to Minnesota. I'd been in Chicago for a-week-and-a-half. [AH: *And how quickly did you move to Minnesota?*] The next day after I met him. It was like—no, I didn't—it was like one of those stupid you're risking your life moves—but I was like, "Hey—What do I have to lose right now? I have absolutely nothing." So—he was—He had already came up here to Minnesota 'cause his brother got murdered and they couldn't stay in Chicago because the people who killed his brother were actually trying to kill him. So he were up here and he was supposed to be in Chicago picking up this girl who says she was pregnant by him but she said she didn't want to go, so he brought me back up here instead and told his family that I was her. I was living with him and his family—with him and his mom, and his grandma and younger brothers and sisters. I thought it was—I thought it was weird. Really, really weird. But, I mean, we talked to each other every day and we started getting involved with each other and everything. [AH: *Were you sleeping with him?*] Eventually—yeah. Yeah. The reason it's weird to me that we started getting closer, he started getting real close to my kids and my kids started getting close to him. So I kept working and he finally got a job. And—he was working at [Simoniz] at first, 'cause he had never had a real job and he had always been hustling down in Chicago—that was the life out there. So he got his job at Simoniz in Apollo Air—and so we decided we wanted to get an apartment of our own. So we got an apartment of our own.

Everything seemed pretty good for a minute. It was all right—I mean but it was a two bedroom apartment and everything. He got a job at Target, so that was a better job so we were living on our own, we got furniture and stuff—'cause we work hard to get furniture and everything, make sure the kids are okay, had daycare set up; all that was good—but then one night he flipped out because he found out I had smoked a blunt which I shouldn't have but it was a temptation. He found out I had smoked a blunt and that I had been around some guys. So he flipped out and we got into this fight and everything. . . . Well, first he had just grabbed me, and like, slammed me into the wall; and me, I'm not gonna just stand there—so, like, I try to shove him off me. And I grabbed his shirt up, like, roped it up—like that—and then I kept telling him "get off me," and stuff and, no, he steady slinging me around and stuff and he ended up hitting my face against the wall.—Andi, twenty-something African American woman, Minnesota

Andi's story, though perhaps extreme in that it involves moving several hundred miles, is typical of the stories I heard from the women I interviewed. What Andi's story illustrates is the cycle that many of the battered women I interviewed fell into, specifically their drive to replace the financial security they traded when they left abusive circumstances. These women often reported that they felt that their options were limited to either living alone and in poverty or taking a chance to improve their economic conditions by moving in with a man.

Though this may seem obvious, something that all women face, for many of the battered women I interviewed, leaving a violent or sexually abusive relationship—often leaving fathers, stepfathers, or older men—had plunged them into such severe poverty that they were homeless. In addition, moving out often meant that they lost their jobs because they either failed to come to work during the transition or they could not continue to go to work *and* care for their children. It is common in low-income families for parents to "split shifts" so that one parent watches the children while the other works, thus eliminating or significantly reducing child care costs (Hattery 2001b). Leaving the abusive relationship often meant leaving behind the only child care that was available and "affordable." Therefore, the pressures these women felt to find a new relationship were significant and pressing. Most of the women I interviewed reported that after leaving an abusive relationship they often established a new relationship within weeks, often with someone they barely knew or with someone they knew had a reputation for violence, and more often than not, this relationship turned violent as well.

This confirms the findings of other scholars who found similar patterns in studies of homeless women who reported high rates of violence in their relationships. "It is evident that the women entered into initial adult relationships

for multiple reasons (often related to childhood issues)—to escape the home environment, to prove to themselves and others that they could ‘do it right,’ to achieve what they discerned as safety, security, comfort, or love” (Wesley and Wright 2005, 1089). In short, as Wesley and Wright note, women who have experienced abuse typically find that their options “shrink.” And, this is compounded by race and social class. Women with fewer of their own economic resources were more likely to jump directly into new relationships in order to avoid what they saw as a real chance they would otherwise be homeless. And, because of the strong correlation between race and social class (Hattery and Smith 2007a; Shapiro 2003) this pattern was more pronounced among African American women than their white counterparts. Thus, the data presented here further our understanding of the links among CSA, IPV, race, class, and homelessness.

TRADING SEXUAL ACCESS FOR PROTECTION

Women who have been raped or sexually assaulted often view men as dangerous (Brownmiller 1975; Griffin 1979; Koss 1985; Koss et al. 1994). If they are sexually assaulted by someone they know, they often report feeling as if they can no longer trust anyone. Women who are raped by a stranger may develop a generalized distrust of the world (Griffin 1979; Koss 1985; Koss et al. 1994). Living with the awareness that they can be victimized again, some women may put up with sexual and physical abuse by their intimate partners in exchange for the protection these men provide from the outside world (MacKinnon 1989; Rich 1980, 1995). As a result of the CSA the women in this sample experienced, they entered their adult lives in a nearly obsessive search of exactly that kind of male protection.

Ironically, wanting a protector is, by definition, wanting someone capable of violence. To defend a woman from another man’s physical violence, he must himself be capable of inflicting physical harm or of providing the threat of physical harm. Clearly not all protectors *use* physical violence, either against women or men, but the paradox lingers—and it played itself out especially clearly in Candy’s relationship.

Candy, whose story was presented earlier, was molested at age 15 by her mother’s boyfriend. Like many of the other women’s stories told here, she sought adult intimate partners who would protect her even while abusing her. Candy lives/lived¹⁰ with Mark, a physically dominant man who is horribly abusive. Among many incidents, he choked her until she was unconscious, beat her against the stick shift of their car until her pelvis broke—causing her a few days later to miscarry their child—slapped her, pulled her hair, jumped

on her and broke several ribs—almost causing an additional miscarriage and landing Candy in the hospital for two days—and bit her in the face at least ten times. At 5'9" and 120 pounds, Candy is extremely thin. At 300 pounds, even Mark's slaps are extremely dangerous. Candy also indicated that Mark had raped her "once or twice." At the time of the interview, this level of battering had been going on for four to five years. However, Candy rationalizes that although Mark may beat her, abuse her emotionally, and rape her, *he does not allow anyone else to treat her this way.*

Candy stays with Mark because he provides protection from the violence she fears she might otherwise experience at the hands of a stranger. The abuse she experiences with Mark is predictable, making it preferable to the unpredictable nature of sexual harassment and sexual and physical assault that women face in the workplace and outside world (MacKinnon 1989; Rich 1980, 1995). Recall Candy's quote that opens the introductory chapter, which I repeat here in brief:

"He might try to hit me and he might try to kill me but. . . *He was going to protect me from everybody else.*—Candy, twenty-something white woman, North Carolina

Candy's quote illustrates not only an extreme example of the types of violence these women live with, but it also demonstrates her cognizance of her situation. Many people believe that battered women have no agency or that they do not know how to make good choices. Candy's statement is clear: she understands very clearly the trade-off that she is making. And, though extreme, Candy's case illustrates the trade-off that many battered women make: choosing life-threatening violence that is predictable over the kind of random violence they perceive awaits them in the streets. In Candy's case this choice also puts her at risk of becoming one of the 1,300 women who are murdered by their partners and ex-partners each year. And, it illustrates, profoundly, the mistake U.S. society makes in teaching women to fear strangers when in fact their greatest risk for violence is in their own homes.

A LIFE OF ILLEGAL AND ILLEGITIMATE BEHAVIOR

Sexual assault and sexual abuse are significant events in any woman's (or man's) life. As noted by Pipher (1994) and Wolf (1992), many girls and women who are raped or sexually abused rely on dangerous coping strategies: they medicate the pain with alcohol or drugs, they attempt to become "sexually invisible" by developing anorexia, bulimia, and overeating. Some will go so far to end the pain as committing suicide or going "crazy." There is little

one can do to protect girls and women from being the victims of rape and sexual abuse, but those who deal with its victims note the importance of support and a healthy environment in which to heal. The women I interviewed had neither a healthy environment nor the financial resources to get the support they needed. For Evie in particular, the effects of being forced to work as a child prostitute in her father's drink house, living in a violent household, and living in poverty had lifelong effects.

Evie was exposed to many different avenues for making money in the illegitimate economy while she was working at the drink house. As one can imagine, she ruled out prostitution and escaped it as soon as she could. Though, as was the case with many of the other victims of childhood sexual abuse, she did sometimes trade sex for the financial support of a male partner: a place to live, some food on the table, or some drugs. However, for the majority of Evie's life, she supported herself in all sorts of ways. Her father was a numbers writer,¹¹ and she learned the numbers trade in the liquor house. As a teenager, she began running numbers for her father. She also learned to deal drugs. Sometimes she would hold a part-time job; for example, she worked for a while in a laundry, but she was always engaged in running numbers and dealing, even when she was employed. Evie told of how dry cleaning customers would drop off or pick up laundry and ask to see her. They would place bets or buy drugs from Evie; she weaved legitimate work in with illegitimate work. Evie also learned about the opportunities to make money by selling products on the aftermarket. She would steal clothes and accessories from stores at the mall and sell them in aftermarket outlets.

As we talked more and more about her adult life, Evie talked about the only legitimate job she had ever had. She worked as a cook at the county hospital for the last four years, a job she got when she was 46 years old. It was Evie's first "real" job, not because, like many white, middle-class women, she had been out of the labor market raising children and taking care of a home, nor because she was on welfare, but because she had always supported herself in the illegitimate economy. When I met Evie in the shelter, she had lost her job at the hospital due to a single absence that resulted from battering. (I will return to this issue in chapter 4.)

Living her whole life in the illegitimate world and being abused physically, sexually, and emotionally left Evie with very little hope and trust that things would work out. Evie had never experienced any measure of stability—except for constant instability—and this adversely affected her decision making. As Evie was describing her foray into legitimate employment, she smiled for a moment. She loved to cook and was happy that she could earn a living doing something she loved. The other staff in the hospital kitchen were impressed by her skills, and when I asked what her signature dish was, she

gleamed and replied: "My turkey and stuffing! Everything made from scratch."

In the midst of this conversation Evie stopped, opened up her pocketbook, and pulled out a receipt. She had been living in and paying rent to a local flop hotel for the last four years to the tune of almost \$40,000.¹² I was shocked, and when I remarked that for that sum, with her good job at the hospital, she could have bought a small house or at least paid on a mortgage, her face sunk. Yes, she knew that. When I asked her why she had not invested in something more permanent, even an apartment, which would have cost less per month and allowed her to save some money, she replied that it was her fear of instability. She assumed that she would lose her job. She was actually shocked herself that she had managed to keep a legitimate job for four years. To put it simply, the long-term effects of sexual abuse in childhood, when coupled with a life of poverty and an unhealthy home life, had far-reaching, lifelong effects that extended into nearly all aspects of "normal" adult life.

RACE, CLASS, AND GENDER: ANALYZING THE DATA

This discussion has focused on the relationship between women's experiences with sexual violence in childhood and adolescence (CSA) and intimate partner violence (IPV) in adult relationships. Here I employ the race, class, and gender paradigm to analyze the individual variations in experiences with both CSA and IPV. I also use the paradigm as a framework for understanding the ways that race and class structure the lives of individual actors so that opportunities are either created or denied. Because CSA and IPV are both types of violence against women and fundamentally about gender, I begin with a discussion of sexual abuse as *gendered*.

The sexual abuse experienced by these women illustrates a culture of misogyny (Brownmiller 1975; MacKinnon 1989; Rich 1980; Sanday 1981, 1990/2007). The abuse serves to teach and reinforce the lesson that women are of lower or perhaps no value relative to men, other than as sex objects, reinforcing Raphael's finding (2004). The abuse also serves to reinforce the masculine identities of the perpetrators, reminding women and men of the power of patriarchy in shaping relationships and households. If we assume that girls learn many of their lessons about men from the men with whom they live growing up, then the lessons in these households were (are) the lessons of patriarchy; women have no value, women are to be controlled and punished by men, and sexual abuse is defined as normal and often appropriate (Geffner 1997).

The lessons learned in the liquor houses are further shaped by race. One of the lessons learned by the girls who worked as prostitutes in the liquor houses

is that the bodies of African American girls and women are of even less value than the bodies of white women. The white men who abused these girls and paid to rape them (how can a 12-year-old consent to sex, even as a prostitute?) engaged in this activity in the African American community, *not* in the white community. These white men used their race and gender privilege to abuse these young African American girls. Though rates of sexual abuse by stepfathers and mothers' boyfriends is also high in the white community, the *systematic* abuse of young white women by men from outside the community, specifically *nonwhite men*, is not only less common, *it simply does not exist*.

This structured exploitation can be linked to another form of exploitation in southern communities: the sexual abuse of African American women by white men during slavery and the era of Jim Crow (see especially Davis 1983). During the 250 years of chattel slavery in this country white men routinely had nonconsensual sex with African American women slaves (Johnston 1970, 217).¹³ This circumstance occurred at all levels of the social class strata all the way up to the third president of the United States, Thomas Jefferson (Lanier 2000). After the official end of slavery, many southern white households employed an African American woman as a housekeeper or domestic. The systematic sexual abuse of these women is well documented (Halsell 1969) and again, extends all the way up the social class ladder to long-time U.S. Senator Strom Thurmond who "sowed his wild oats" with the young African American woman working in his parents' house. She became pregnant and gave birth to their child, Essie Mae Washington (Staples 2004). We can see then the way that a system of racial domination, and to a lesser degree social class inequality, can create an environment ripe for the systematic sexual abuse of African American girls by white men. It was and always has been part of the structure of the American South.

The experiences of the liquor houses are also shaped significantly by social class. Middle-class and affluent communities typically do not have these outward manifestations of the illegitimate economy. African Americans who live in middle-class and affluent neighborhoods and communities are not likely to experience the type of abuse I heard about and detail here. However, this does not mean that middle-class African Americans are immune to this type of situation. Many middle-class African Americans who can afford houses in white neighborhoods and communities are redlined; they can purchase homes only in predominantly African American neighborhoods which are, as a result of these practices, typically fairly heterogeneous by social class (Massey 2005; Massey and Denton 1993; Shapiro 2003), in contrast to white neighborhoods and communities which are very homogeneous by race *and* social class. Therefore, though middle-class African Americans are not likely to be victims of the types of exploitation associated with the liquor houses, they

may be aware of these establishments within their residential communities. Thus, the lens provided by the race, class, and gender paradigm provides the framework for examining the ways that three distinct systems of oppression—race, gender, and social class—are interwoven and shape the lives of those living underneath and within these systems.

National level data indicate that African American women are more likely to experience rape and sexual abuse (Tjaden and Thoennes 2000), and though the stories of CSA in this book come from African American women as well as white women, these interviews also confirm the national level data. Though many of the white women I interviewed had experienced molestation or incest, virtually *all* of the African American women I interviewed experienced CSA in the form of (1) incest, (2) childhood prostitution, and/or (3) premature sex engagement. Analysis of National Violence Against Women (NVAW) data also indicates that African American women are more likely to experience severe IPV than are their white counterparts (Hattery and Smith 2003, 2005). Though many reasons for this can be cited, I would argue that *one key issue is the increased exposure of African American women to CSA that ultimately increases their risk for IPV in adulthood.*

Furthermore, though rates of IPV are relatively stable across time and across racial/ethnic boundaries, my analyses of the NVAW data (Hattery and Smith 2003, 2005) demonstrate that race/ethnicity shapes the *forms* of violence that women experience. Overall, African American women are disproportionately likely to experience lethal and near lethal violence. For example, they are more likely to have a weapon (knife or gun) used against them, and they are more likely to be “beat up” (Hattery and Smith 2003, 2005). And, my interviews confirmed this quantitative finding as well. White women were less likely to report injuries that required a visit to the emergency room and/or other forms of medical attention than were their African American counterparts. African American women reported incidents such as being hit in the head with a ball-peen hammer, being hit in the mouth so hard that one woman’s teeth punctured both her top and bottom lips, being threatened with a shotgun, and being beaten beyond recognition—reported by the male batterer who was also a boxer and had recently killed another boxer in the ring.

Similarly, research on the effects of child physical and sexual abuse demonstrate that African American children who are abused and/or neglected are more likely to be involved in criminal activity as juveniles and adults than are white children who experienced abuse and/or neglect in childhood (Widom and Maxfield 2001). For girls, arrests were most often reported for alcohol and drug violations (Widom and Maxfield 2001), which is consistent with the research on “self-medicating” by female victims of CSA (Browne and Finkelhor 1986; Hanson 1990; Kendall-Tackett, Williams, and Finkelhor

1993; Rind, Tromovitch, and Bauserman 1998; Sturza and Campbell 2005). These data provide empirical evidence to corroborate the qualitative findings presented here: African American women who are victims of CSA are at increased risk for IPV as a result of the damaging effects of CSA that remain untreated and uninterrupted (Raphael 2004). Because minority and low-income girls are more likely to experience CSA, and because minority and low-income women are more vulnerable to and at higher risk for IPV (regardless of their experiences with CSA), additional attention and resources must be dedicated to our most marginalized and vulnerable citizens. I turn now to a discussion of the impact of childhood violence on men.

THE IMPACT OF VIOLENCE IN CHILDHOOD ON MEN

Growing up in a violent household, particularly one that involves IPV, is a significant predictor of violence in adulthood. Family scholars like Straus and Gelles talk about this as the intergenerational transmission of violence theory. Violence is transmitted from parent to child, from father to son. In their study of men, Ehrensaft, Cohen, and colleagues (2003) report that experiencing child abuse *doubles* a man's risk for beating his intimate partner. But witnessing violence in childhood *triples* a man's risk for becoming a batterer.¹⁴ Few researchers dispute the fact that child abuse and/or growing up witnessing parental intimate partner¹⁵ violence is detrimental to the healthy development of children.

Yet discussions of the intergenerational transmission of violence theory are wrought with controversy. Critics of the theory point to the fact that the majority of boys who grow up in violent homes do not grow up to abuse either their children or their female partners (Kaufman and Zigler 1987). This is an important critique. Other researchers are critical of the term because it implies a genetic transmission. I will discuss this critique in the concluding chapter, arguing that the intergenerational transmission of violence theory can be of value in examining the ways that men, especially violent men, *teach* their sons to be men. This is completely different from the genetic implications implied by the intergenerational transmission of violence theory.

Yet, as I stated in the first pages of this book, to ignore the fact that boys who grow up experiencing violence and/or witnessing it often grow into men who perpetrate it would be to ignore one of the processes by which IPV becomes part of intimate relationships. Indeed Murray Straus makes an interesting analogy: "It happens that research on smoking and lung cancer is very similar to that on having been abused and abusing. Two-thirds of those who smoke a pack of cigarettes a day or more do *not* die of lung cancer or other

smoking related diseases. Yet we do not take that as invalidating the theory that smoking causes lung cancer" (1991, 184).

Finally, it would also be dismissive to ignore the powerful impact of childhood violence on the men I interviewed. Many of these men grew up in households that were violent. Men like Darren grew up in households where their fathers physically abused their mothers.

I saw the violence growing up. I can remember him standing over my mother with an iron in his hand and me drawing a .22 rifle on him to make him back up. Stuff like that. I can remember him choking my mother when I was seven, eight, nine years old. And all my friends are going to the kitchen window. There he is; he's got her over the sink. It was violent. Nobody was ever hospitalized or anything like that, but it was usually associated with his drinking.—Darren, forty-something white man, North Carolina

In addition to the physical violence that occurred between Darren's parents, he described his father as emotionally absent; in fact, he indicated that his father was incapable of expressing emotion. After his parents divorced he saw his father only five or six times in the next twenty years, at which point his father died. On one of the rare occasions that Darren did see his father, they argued about his father's absence and lack of guidance, and Darren's father became physically violent with him.

He got up and he backed me up against a wall, and he was just quivering from head to toe. . . . He said, son, I love you, but I'll kill you. . . . He was just unable to handle the emotional side about losing his family.—Darren, forty-something white man, North Carolina

Other men grew up in homes in which their fathers were physically abusive to them.

Yeah, yeah, but I don't want him [my son], you know what I mean, to grow up and go through what we been through, you know what I'm sayin', I believe in discipline, I give out spankin's, but I just don't want him to go through what me, my brother, and my sister went through with this dude [his stepfather], you know what I'm sayin', 'cause I still got scars from when he beat us. He beat me with an extension cord, hit me in the face, yeah, he left a scar down my face, you know what I'm sayin', so I had to stay out of school for a while on that, you know. He used to taunt my brother all the time. You're a punk, you're a pussy, you're a pussy, you know what I'm sayin', you ain't never gonna be nothing, you're stupid, dumb, you see what I'm sayin', so me and him, he had grabbed me by my neck and broke my glasses because this one particular day

he kept calling my brother a punk, you're a punk, you're a pussy, you're a punk, so he had went outside and got into some altercation with some dude, [laugh] he came home, the dude kicked his ass [laugh] so when he came home I was like I guess you the punk and the pussy now, you know, so I guess that comment made him mad, and he grabbed me by my neck, so me and him start fightin', you know, but just by me making that comment I didn't care about gettin' beat up or getting a whippin', I just feel good that he got hit (laugh) you know what I mean, that was a great feeling, you know what I mean.—Manny, thirty-something African American man, North Carolina

Finally, though much less common, several of the men I interviewed grew up in households in which one parent killed the other, as noted in Eddie's quote that serves as an epigram to this chapter.

THE IMPACT OF PROSTITUTION ON SONS

The previous discussion detailed the impact of prostitution on girls and young women. Many of the men I interviewed also grew up with mothers who worked as prostitutes, usually as part of a drug addiction. Again, the impact on these young men was severe. Boys growing up in these households were often introduced to the drug culture and began using themselves. I would also argue that these boys and young men were learning important lessons about women: that women were not to be respected or trusted. Unfortunately they carried these views into their own adult relationships, as noted by Eddie, whose mother killed his father.

At the course of time I even would see my mother stick needles in her arms, shooting heroin, you know, and it just became a life for me that I had developed some bad habits from the people that I was hanging around and from I seen in my past, all that I knew what I knew and during the course of years, during the course of these years, in school, I would go to school, you know, lay my head on the desk, wouldn't focus on the work, or cuss the teacher out, skip school, goin' to school, having marijuana, school just wasn't important to me. It had no benefits to me whatsoever, because I had already had made up mind that I was going to be a drug dealer because, you know that's all I had seen, that's all I had developed. I thought that getting high and drinking was the way to go because that's all I developed throughout my years of coming to be a early teenager and uh, because all the abusive and damage I seen from my parents, all the damage of the people that I seen and hung around them. It became a habit to me and by the time I was 16 years old I was selling drugs and uh toting guns, and snorting cocaine, smoking crack at the age of 16 years

old, um, stealing cars, you know, the situation had gotten worse. I was snorting heroin, you know. The situation had just gotten bad at the age of 16 and therefore due to the fact that I had been in so much trouble, the judge sentenced me to go to Morganton High Rise for young men, a young prison camp in Morganton, North Carolina, and I was there and I went there, I caught 10 years when I was 16 years old. The judge gave me 10 years.—Eddie, forty-something African American man, North Carolina

RACE, CLASS, AND GENDER APPROACH

Much research documents the fact that rates of physical abuse of boys crosses all race and class lines (Tjaden and Thoennes 2000). Thus, the role that race and class play in the intergenerational transmission of violence is in some ways minimal. However, the interviews that I conducted with batterers of different racial/ethnic and class backgrounds illuminate the ways in which race and class *do shape* the relationship between male child abuse and battering in adulthood. The situation for men is similar to that for women: because minorities and the poor are significantly less likely to report abuse or have it interrupted when it occurs, the cycle of interpersonal violence is more likely to continue.

African American men also face distinct differences that shape their likelihood for seeing interpersonal violence propagated from one generation to the next. Most of these forces, such as unemployment and incarceration, will be discussed in the next chapter. However, it is important to point out here that young African American men are disproportionately likely to be exposed to other individual risk factors that shape their decisions and behaviors in adulthood, such as drug abuse, prostitution, and homicide. African American men (and women, as noted above) are far more likely than their white counterparts to grow up in families that subsist in the illegitimate economy, a risk factor for exposure to drug abuse and prostitution (for a lengthy discussion see Hattery and Smith 2007a). And homicide rates are substantially higher in the African American community; for example, homicide constitutes the fifth leading cause of death for African American men. As is the case with Eddie, one can only speculate about the impact that witnessing a domestic violence homicide had on his experiences with violence in adulthood. This increased exposure to severe violence certainly impacts the likelihood that African American men will grow up to batter their intimate partners.

CONCLUSION

Clearly the relationships among CSA, IPV, race/ethnicity, and social class are complex. I have argued here that African American women's disproportion-

ate exposure to CSA puts them at increased risk for IPV in adulthood. As noted by sociologist Deborah King (1988), the impact of race, class, gender, and other social statuses is not "additive" but rather intersectional or "multiplicative." In order to understand the differences in the experiences of IPV for African American and white women we need to understand the complexities of being a white woman and/or being an African American woman and how this status intersects with other systems—access to shelters, to health care, to stable employment, and to the criminal justice system—that shape both the risk for IPV as well as the services available for women who find themselves faced with IPV. The same is true of social class. The fact that social class and race are so conflated exacerbates the situation for African American women. In terms of CSA and IPV (the focus of this chapter) we need to pay attention to the fact that African American women who are sexually abused as girls will, on average, have less access to treatment (mental health services, counseling) that if successful in producing healing, may reduce their risk for IPV in adulthood.¹⁶

Most boys who grow up in violent homes do not grow up to become abusive themselves. But the impact of the abuse they witness or experience is severe nonetheless. Many of the men I interviewed, white and African American, grew up in homes that were extremely violent. In some cases they experienced violence themselves, but far more commonly they watched their fathers (or stepfathers) beat their mothers. This confirms the finding that Straus and Gelles and others have reported—that boys who grow up watching their fathers (or stepfathers) beat their mothers are at the greatest risk for growing up to beat their own female partners (Ehrensaft et al. 2003). I will return to this discussion of intergenerational transmission in the concluding chapter.

Furthermore, it is clear that we cannot understand African American women's experiences with IPV until we understand their relation to African American men (Hattery and Smith 2007a). Because of a long history of segregation and antimiscegenation laws coupled with the continued abhorrence by whites of black-white marriage, most African American women who are in relationships are in relationships with African American men—intermarriage rates for African American women are less than 5 percent. Thus, an additional "risk" that African American women face is linked to their partnerships with African American men, who, like them, are situated in a particular space in the opportunity structure that heightens the probability that they will engage in violence against their female partners (Hattery and Smith 2007a).¹⁷

Finally, I note that one question that is always asked with regard to these "stories" is why these women sought out relationships with men as a route to escape sexual abuse. Part of the answer is quite simple: in most cases these women were poor and unable to make a living on their own. In short, they

were economically vulnerable. Of all the themes that run through the literature used in developing this book, that of "economic vulnerability" was the most frequently cited by interviewees.

Furthermore, the majority of African American women and some (about 25 percent) of the white women I interviewed were pregnant as teenagers. Most dropped out of school. Thus, they were extremely limited in their ability to provide for themselves economically, and they sought out relationships with men whom they thought could put a roof over their heads, some food in their children's bellies, and provide them with some level of support. This is one of the most powerful ways in which class inequality shapes exposure to IPV. Why? Because women who are marginalized and denied access to the opportunity structure are vulnerable to and at increased risk for violence both in the streets and at home.

Though I will make many policy recommendations in the final chapter, I note here that because of the strong relationship between adult IPV and childhood sexual abuse (for women) and child abuse and witnessing IPV (for men), interventions with the child victims of abuse, including those who witness it, are critical and are likely to produce a sharp reduction in the incidence of IPV in adulthood. In the next chapter I will examine the structural causes of IPV, such as unemployment, poor health, and incarceration.

NOTES

1. Incidentally, the interviews with the men began this way as well.
2. This is what made my interview with Debbie so noteworthy. She began the interview by saying that her father tortured her. Because women were so much more likely to start off slowly, using less charged language, I have to admit that at first I wondered if Debbie was being facetious. Within minutes, as her story unfolded, I realized that her term, torture, was indeed apt.
3. Furthermore, because African American women are significantly more likely than their white counterparts to report being raped or sexually abused in childhood or adolescence (Tjaden and Thoennes 2000), the impact on young African American women and girls is even greater.
4. In some cases the age differences were smaller, only ten years. Yet, I argue that for a teenager this age difference still represents a huge gap in knowledge about sex and power in the "relationship."
5. The case of Genarlow Wilson in Georgia, who spent several years in prison for having consensual sex with a 15-year-old—he was 17—led to the revision of the state statutes there and elsewhere.
6. Half of the white women who experienced premature sex engagement also became teen mothers, and they too struggled to complete high school and acquire any human capital.

7. Whereas both Valerie and Candy were willing to disclose the most intimate details of the abuse, African American women were more reluctant and preferred to simply indicate that it had occurred. This finding may be related to the overall pattern: African American women in general are less willing to disclose violence by relatives or intimates (CSA and IPV) because they are more distrustful of the police and follow a strong norm against airing "dirty laundry" in public (see Hattery and Smith 2003, 2005). Either way, the fact remains that girls who are sexually abused are most likely to experience that abuse at the hands of relatives and acquaintances.

8. Typically drink houses are open nearly twenty-four hours a day. The women I interviewed told me that they were horrible places to grow up in because customers, mostly men, come in all times of the day and night to get a drink, a plate of food, play cards, and buy cigars or cigarettes. A typical liquor house stocks not only liquor, wine, and beer but will often serve cold sandwiches during the afternoon and fish, pork chops, and french fries in the evening. Evie talked, almost with pride, about how she could make the sandwiches and even pour a shot of whiskey by the time she was 10. Her face turned dark and tears filled her eyes as she talked about the men she encountered there and what they made her do—employing the euphemism that she had to "sit on their laps."

9. Note that the burgeoning international child sex trade is similar. The vast majority of children sold into childhood prostitution are not only poor themselves but come from some of the poorest countries in the world.

10. Candy's order of protection (a 50-B) prohibits them from living together. However, according to Candy, they are living with each other on and off, and they are continuing to have a sexual relationship, another violation of both the 50-B and the terms of Mark's treatment program.

11. Individuals will place "numbers" on the day's horse races with a bookie. Depending on the outcome, they can win considerable amounts of money for a small investment, sometimes as little as a quarter. When they "hit," the bookie collects a percentage of the take. (See Drake and Cayton 1945, 380–81, for a further explanation and discussion of what they refer to as the "policy station.")

12. I saw the receipt that she pulled from her handbag.

13. From the work of Johnston we find the following. "The Negro slave woman was an absolute dependent; dependent upon white men who dominated the little isolated world of the plantation" (1970, 217).

14. Ehrensaft, Cohen, and colleagues (2003) also report that child abuse and witnessing parental violence puts individuals (both men and women) at risk for drug abuse, mental health "diseases," and other negative behavior.

15. I use the term parental here to stand for violence perpetrated between the intimate partners who are raising children. I fully recognize that in many cases the batterer or the victim may not be a parent to the child. The adults may be stepparents, foster parents, even grandparents who are raising the child. The use of the term "parental" is merely a tool to reduce the cumbersome nature of the discussion for the reader.

16. This is just one example. African American girls who are sexually abused are also less likely to have access to the criminal justice system, whose intervention may

provide the validation that sexual abuse victims need to avoid issues of low self-esteem and self-hatred. Lack of access to the criminal justice system for African American girls who are sexually abused will result in higher rates of vulnerability for IPV as these young women transition into adulthood. It is also important to note here that one reason these girls do not have sufficient access to the criminal justice system has to do with the long-standing belief that they should not tell police authorities about their abusive male partners. As sung by the late Billie Holiday:

Well I'd rather my man would hit me
Than for him to just up and quit me,
Ain't nobody's business if I do.
I swear I won't call no coppa,
If I'm beat up by my Poppa
Ain't nobody's business if I do

—Billie Holiday, 1930s

17. See especially Smith 2008.

INTIMATE PARTNER VIOLENCE

ANGELA J. HATTERY



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