THE POLICE RESPONSE TO BATTERED WOMEN: PREDICTORS OF OFFICERS' USE OF ARREST, COUNSELING OR MINIMAL ACTION

BY

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A thesis submitted to the Graduate School of the University of Wisconsin-Madison in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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ABSTRACT

THE POLICE RESPONSE TO BATTERED WOMEN:
PREDICTORS OF OFFICERS' USE OF ARREST, COUNSELING, OR MINIMAL ACTION

The response of police officers to the serious and widespread problem of woman battering was chosen for study because victims often seek aid from the police yet, like other potential helpers, police officers are likely to hold unhelpful myths about the problem. In addition, some counseling methods used by officers appear useful for resolving family conflict but may have negative consequences for victims when family conflict turns to family violence. Officers may also fail to assist victims because of a general orientation away from the police social service role.

A review of the literature on the links between theories of the problem of woman battering and officer attitudes, the response of society and the police to all types of victims, and the general attributes of police

officers, resulted in the formation of a hypothetical model to explain the police response to woman battering. Fifteen hypotheses were proposed: use of arrest would be positively associated with 1) instrumental gender identity, 2) belief in nontraditional women's roles, 3) positive attitudes toward women, 4) positive attitudes toward battered women 5) low approval of marital violence and 6) lack of family crisis intervention training; use of informal action would be positively associated with 7) expressive gender identity, 8) prior work with people, 9) social service orientation, and 10) family crisis intervention training; use of minimal action would be positively associated with 11) undifferentiated gender identity, 12) belief in traditional women's roles, 13) negative attitudes toward women, 14) negative attitudes toward battered women, and 15) approval of marital violence.

Questionnaire data was collected from a nonrepresentative sample of 116 police officers from three city and seven small town departments in Wisconsin. Two types of criterion measures were used. In one type, reports of each officer's most recent encounter with a marital violence case were used and "arrest" was defined as arrest of the man on any charge,"informal action" meant the use of mediation, specific referrals, etc., and

"minimal action" meant the use of general warnings, general referrals, etc. In the second type of criterion measure, two written descriptions of woman battering were used to elicit each officer's likelihood of responding by arresting the man or using the informal actions of counseling, warning, giving options and discouraging arrest. "Minimal action" was defined for the second type of measure as a low probability of responding with arrest, informal action or referral.

Four hypotheses were supported using both types of dependent measures:

1) Arrest was positively associated with officer instrumentality;
2) informal action was positively associated with prior work with people; and
3) minimal action was positively associated with a belief in traditional women's roles and
4) the approval of marital violence.

Four additional hypotheses were supported using one of the criterion measures:

1) Arrest was positively associated with a lack of family crisis intervention training;
2) informal action was positively associated with a social service orientation and
3) family crisis intervention training; and

4) minimal action was positively associated with an undifferentiated gender identity.

One hypothesis received partial and conditional support: nonsexist attitudes were positively related with a tendency to arrest only after controlling for officer instrumentality or prior work. There was evidence that the hypotheses pertaining to general attitudes toward women and battered women failed to find support because the measures tapped a larger dimension regarding cynicism toward human nature. The results support a multi-factor model of the police response to battered women and thus support a range of positions used to explain police behavior, positions stressing attitude, personality, training or work orientation variables.

Multiple correlation methods were used to describe the relative contributions of sets of demographic, situational, and predictor variables. Although officer attitudes, and hence officer bias, had some association with their self-reported behavior, officers appeared to act largely from a professional base because situational variables were much stronger predictors than attitude variables. Situational variables were especially strong in predicting arrest during the officers' most recent encounters. Attitudes, especially nonsexist attitudes, were strongest when predicting a tendency to

use informal actions, including counseling.

Future research may overcome some of the limitations of this study by using random samples, observational measures, scales tapping specific attitudes about victims, and more sensitive criterion and predictor measures. Some of the measures developed for this study, however, show promise for use in research in this important area of study.

PREFACE

My interest in the problem of spouse assault began when I started to work as an individual and marriage counselor/social worker at a family service agency in 1973. I was shocked to find that about one fifth of my clients had been physically abused on more than one occasion by someone who had promised them the opposite of abuse, namely, love. The plight of my clients who were abused women seemed especially acute.

I think my awareness of the problem of woman battering was heightened by a number of factors. Being a male counselor/social worker and knowing that most of my clients would be women, I wanted to be particularly sensitive to the cultural oppression of my women clients. Violence against women and the lack of society's response to this violence seemed to be the most blatant form of women's oppression. In addition, I had long been opposed to the use of violence in solving conflicts or in self-expression. My orientation to counseling also played a part. I saw problems such as violence primarily as problems of faulty personal and social learning and problems in their own right; I saw them as

symptoms of a disturbed mind or a disturbed relationship, only secondarily, if at all.

I realized that battered women did not have the protection they needed and that the attitudes of the helping professions, including my own, might be compounding their plight. I chose the police for study because they often provide a crucial link between the point of family crisis and further help for family members. A controversy was developing over explanations for the police preference for either crisis counseling or no action rather than arrest in these cases. Was the position of "arrest as a last resort" the result of training in alternatives to arrest, negative attitudes toward women and victims, the personality of the officer, or his or her background? From the above question, this study was born.

I want to give my thanks to the agencies and many individuals who assisted with this study.

The study was part of a project supported by a grant from the Wisconsin Council on Criminal Justice under sponsorship of the Dane County Advocates for Battered Women (Grant No. 77-06-20 SC-2963-6).
I am thankful to the police department personnel who facilitated the gathering of data and to the police

officers who took their time to complete the lengthy questionnaire.

Patricia Barrett Size worked as co-director of the project. I am especially thankful to her for her ideas, encouragement and successful coordination of the project throughout its course. Helen Sklar contributed greatly during the first stage of the study which involved the officer interviews and questionnaire development.

My advisor, Associate Professor Patricia Wolleat, contributed to the study in a number of ways. She provided comments on the proposal, many substantive and editorial comments on the drafts of the dissertation, help with interpreting the data, and clarification of data analysis procedures. Other committee members, Professors James Lee and Philip Perrone, gave many useful suggestions regarding measurement techniques and data analysis.

Useful comments on the research design were given by Drs. George Kelling, Jane Traupman, and Mary Utne.

The tedious job of coding data was done by Kiera Berkley, April Hoffman, Katie Kyndely, Mark Saunders, and Patricia Size. Rating of the injury and verbal response measures was done by Vivienne Epstein,

Nan Goupil, Nancy Peterson, Kathy Ryder-Welter, and Sandy Ward.

Consultation on the statistical procedures for this complex study were provided by Drs. Thomas Everson, Robert Peterson, and Ronald Serlin.

Professor Morton Bard, Professor Herman Goldstein, Mike Puls, and Sandee Stone offered editorial and substantive comments on an earlier condensed version of this report.

Patrick Riopelle gave a number of recommendations regarding the dissemination of the findings and their implications for policy development.

Finally, Barbara Roe provided not only expert typing but editorial assistance as well.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Marital violence has recently been uncovered as a serious and widespread social problem. The police, of all social service workers, are likely to have the first and often the only contact with families in which this type of violence occurs. The police have been criticized, however, for not taking enough action in these cases. Critics claim that the police, due to their training, overemphasize counseling and mediation with the couple and discourage arrest, leaving the victim unprotected and the offender feeling vindicated. Some critics claim that officers, because of negative attitudes toward women, are apathetic or hostile to the victims, who are usually women.

Very little systematically gathered data exists, however, on how officers actually respond to marital violence cases and whether or not officers' attitudes, training or other variables predict their response. The

purpose of this study is to provide a tentative answer to the question: Are the actions of officers most strongly predicted by their attitudes, training, or other officer variables, or are their actions predicted by variables such as the behavior of the offender or the policies of the department?[1] The answer to this question has implications for policy-makers and for those providing human relations training to police officers.

The first chapter of this dissertation will present the rationale for the study, including definitions, an overview of the problem, and what is now known about the police response to the problem, plus the purpose, plan and significance of the study.

Rationale for the Study

The Problem of Marital Violence

Marital violence will be defined in this study as the deliberate, attempted or actual infliction of injury by a husband or wife, boyfriend or girlfriend on the partner. For the sake of simplicity, unless otherwise noted, the word "marital" will refer to unmarried couples as well as to married ones.

The term "violence" will cover all types of physical acts from a slap with an open hand, to throwing objects,

to repeated blows with a fist or object, to the use of a knife or gun. The definition applies whether or not injuries result and whether or not "provocation" or "precipitation" by the victim is involved. I have chosen a definition which includes acts of minor violence for several reasons: first, because I reject any form of violence between intimates as inappropriate; second, for the sake of clarity, since, as Gelles (1974) discusses, defining an act as violent depends very much on who does the defining--the victim, offender, social agent, or researchers; third, because mild forms of violence often escalate over months or years to more severe forms; and finally, because one act of violence, even of slight severity, might tilt the power balance of a relationship and maintain it for years (Straus, Note 1).

With the recent publicity given to the problem of woman-battering (and other forms of family violence), one might think that it is a relatively new phenomenon. Davidson (1977), however, presents documentation to show that wifebeating has occurred throughout history. She cites British common law, for example, which, in reflecting social custom, authorized a husband to "chastise his wife with any reasonable instrument" (p. 18).

Selective inattention by social scientists, Straus (1973) suggests, kept the problem of family violence out

of their field of interest prior to the 1970's. Exceptions to this have been a few psychological case studies which stressed the statistical and psychological deviancy of violent couples. Perhaps from a need to romanticize the family or to maintain its traditional power structure, professionals and the public alike have assumed that the problem consisted of isolated events in the lives of a small minority of couples. Data from a study by Straus and his associates show otherwise (Straus, 1977; Straus, Gelles & Steinmetz, 1979). In that study a representative sample of just over 2100 married couples in the United States was surveyed. Five percent of the respondents said they had beaten their spouse sometime in the marriage; almost 4% of those questioned admitted going further than beating and had used a gun or knife on their partner. Combined with other data on sibling and parent-child violence, these researchers concluded that "aside from wars and riots, physical violence occurs between family members more often than it occurs between any other individuals" (Straus, 1977, p. 2).

Another nationally representative study, the National Crime Survey, was conducted by the U. S. Census Bureau with data from 72,000 households (Gaquin, 1977). Abuse by a husband or ex-husband comprised about 15%

of all assaults against women, giving an annual estimate of approximately 150,000 persons who are assaulted by a spouse or ex-spouse. Women were more likely to have suffered greater injuries at the hands of their spouse or ex-spouse than at the hands of others.

These two studies roughly corroborate the evidence on the extent of the problem presented by studies of small, non-representative community samples (Gelles, 1973; Steinmetz, 1977), help-seeking couples (Beck & Jones, 1973) and police records (Dobash & Dobash, 1977b, Fojtik, n.d.; Size, Note 2).

Spouses in these families are not the only victims. Children are also victimized. They have a greater chance than most children of being physically abused by their parents (Gelles, 1973; Gayford, 1974) and of suffering emotionally (Levine, 1975; Moore, 1975). Emotional trauma is evidenced by psychosomatic illnesses, insomnia with intense fear, and enuresis (Hilberman & Munson, 1977).

One of the ways in which commonly held assumptions minimize the problem of spouse abuse is through the claim that it is part of a lower class or minority group "subculture" of violence." Implicit in this theory is that certain subcultures tolerate or even value a high level of violence. The "subculture of violence" theory in general has been seriously challenged by sociological

studies (Berkowitz, 1975; Erlanger, 1974). In the case of marital violence, although Straus et al. (1979) found violence to be more frequent and severe in families with blue-collar husbands, a fairly high percentage of both blue- and white-collar-husband families experienced violence.

In comparing the violence perpetrated by husbands and by wives, Straus and his associates found nearly equal numbers of husbands and wives who admitted to the use of some type of violence (12.1% and 11.6%, in a one year period, respectively). Straus is quick to add that these data should not detract from the current efforts to eliminate women battering for the following reasons: (a) Husbands are more likely to use more dangerous forms of violence and to repeat these acts more often. In the National Crime Survey, wives were 13 times more likely to report being victims of spouse assault than the reverse (Gaquin, 1977). (b) The data do not indicate how many of the violent acts by women are in defense against their husband's violence. (c) Husbands are usually physically stronger and wives are therefore more likely to sustain serious injuries. (d) Wives are locked into the relationship materially and psychologically to a greater extent than husbands (see discussion by Straus, 1976, and Martin, 1975). And (e) the likelihood

of violence increases somewhat during pregnancy, thus posing a threat to the unborn child (Gelles, 1975).

For these same reasons the problem of battered women has received special emphasis in this study, although I wish to remain open to the study of violence directed at all family members. Research thus far has not answered questions about how often violence is used in self-defense and about the differences between spouses in the severity of injuries they sustain.

Various causes have been postulated to explain husband/wife battering. Theories vary in complexity, amount of empirical support, and the emphasis on individual, situational, or social variables. Some of these causal theories and the supporting evidence for them will be presented in Chapter Two. An important point to note here is that some of these theories may have helped to keep the problem hidden from public view. A supportive interaction sometimes occurs between theory and social attitudes or norms. Social scientists and helping professionals are not immune to the myths, stereotypes, and attitudes of society. When, through selective inattention, social scientists do not challenge or test the theories of practitioners and the public, myths and stereotypes can be maintained. Indeed, theory can then be used to support cultural myths and stereotypes, shaping

what becomes defined as a problem, providing causal explanations and perhaps influencing behavior in a way which leads to further injustice.

The Police Response to Marital Violence.

One group which is very important to study in terms of its responses, attitudes, and implicit theories toward family violence is the police. The number of police calls to family conflict situations constitutes a substantial proportion of their calls. In Parnas' (1967) study of the Chicago Police Department, 17% of the calls were related to "criminal incidents" and 25% of the calls were for domestic disputes. The number of domestic dispute calls which involved assault between any two family members was reported to be 29% (N = 1338) in one study and 44% (N = 148) in another (Bard & Zacker, 1974; Zacker & Bard, 1977). Although it is generally believed that women battered by a spouse or ex-spouse are less likely to call the police than women assaulted by a stranger, this is not the case. Data from the National Crime Survey showed that about 55% of spouse abuse victims called the police. This compared to about 45% of women who called the police following assault by a stranger.

The crucial role the police can play in preventing serious crime in the family is underscored by data from a study by the Kansas City Police Department (Breedlove, Kennish, Sandler, & Sawtell, 1977). In 85% of the households in which serious domestic assault occurred, the police had been called at least once in the preceding two years. In 50% of these households the police had responded at least five times in the preceding two years.[2] Over a third of these persons (37%) had been arrested for a disturbance or assault. In this study and another in Detroit (Wilt & Bannon, 1977) the majority of persons committing an assault or homicide against a family member made a threat of violence prior to the violent act.

Police officers are often told by their trainers that domestic disturbance calls are among the most dangerous calls for them to answer.[3] Officers dislike domestic disturbance calls for several additional reasons. The situations are often unpredictable and filled with emotion, thus they are emotionally draining for many officers. The training which most officers receive does not equip them to intervene effectively in these disputes (Bard, 1974). While 71% of police jurisdictions in the country provide some type of training in family crisis intervention, the quality and quantity of this training varies enormously (Baker, 1977).

In addition, many officers experience role conflict; they do not believe that police intervention in family disputes constitutes "real" police work. They consider domestic disturbance calls to be low status "social work." Many officers want to be helpful and are concerned but state that they become frustrated and discouraged when family members do not follow through on their recommendations and referrals or fail to file a formal complaint. When a woman fails to take action, the officer may conclude that the abuse must satisfy her "masochistic needs," that the abuse is trivial and she is being "hysterical," or that she has verbally provoked the assault and to some extent deserves it.

An officer's reluctance to respond may also arise from the attitude that all family matters are private matters or that "a man's home is his castle" with the implication that he may treat his wife and children as he desires. Whereas there was once official sanction for taking a "hands-off" approach to marital fights, some police organizations have recently shifted to a position which stresses the need for increased sensitivity to the problem, crisis counseling for all types of disputes, and if an assault has occurred, the same kind of criminal investigation as for any other assault (IACP, 1977; Stephens, 1977). There is a need to inves-

tigate how these changes will influence the attitudes and everyday actions of patrol officers.

Among those critical of the police response to domestic violence have been sociologists, lawyers, police commanders, and women's rights groups. Many case examples have been given of police insensitivity to battered women and of tragedy allegedly resulting from police inaction (Davidson, 1978; Eisenberg & Micklow, 1977; Jensen, 1977; Langley and Levy, 1977; Martin, 1976; New York Times, June 14, 1976). Truninger (1971) surveyed a group of private and legal service attorneys and found that they "beleived that police aggravated situations by a seeming insistence on defining the behavior (wife assault) as noncriminal" (p. 271). They said police recommended a restraining order rather than arrest, then would not arrest with a restraining order giving the pseudo-legal advice that it was not a civil matter and that the victim should call a lawyer.

James Bannon (Note 3), Commander of the Detroit Police Department, believes that the police, prosecutors, and courts contribute to domestic violence by their laissez-faire attitudes. These attitudes stem, he says, from a regard for women as subordinate. He concludes that because of socialization into the masculine role and absorption with coercive physical force

"traditionally trained and socialized policemen are the worst possible choice to attempt to intervene in domestic violence" (p. 3).

Field and Field (1973) have identified some of the practical roots of nonarrest policies such as the fear that an arrest will lead to more violence or lost family income. However, they also see other sources for policies which discourage those interested in legal redress: (a) violence may be seen as acceptable in some subcultures (also Martin, 1976, p. 141); (b) an arrest may involve more work; (c) the injury may not be considered severe enough, e.g., the informal rules which require presence of a gun or high number of stitches before a call is responded to or an arrest is made (also Bannon, Note 3, and Freeman, 1977); (d) knowledge of the way in which the district attorney and courts minimize the problem; and (e) fear of law suit for false arrest.

Fields (1978) criticizes training practices which stress arrest as the least preferred option when the efficacy of these practices in reducing assaults has not been demonstrated. She gives examples of how training material minimizes the seriousness of family violence and how the violence is minimized in practice, for example, by dispatchers giving low priority to such

calls.

Training officers to use a form of mediation which assumes equal power and blame in domestic disputes, including those in which violence occurs, may over-emphasize neutrality. A neutral position on the part of the police may give the man who batters the message that he has done nothing wrong and convey to the victim the message that she must share the blame for injuries she has suffered. Some early crisis intervention training materials did not distinguish between a response to disputes, which are verbal and noncriminal, from a response to assaults, which are crimes of violence. Advice given to officers included trying "to find out in each case what each individual contributed to the conflict . . . if one of the disputants holds himself to blame, find out in what ways the other shares the blame" (Bard, 1975, p. 906). One psychologist (Barocas, 1973) consulting to police departments wrote:

> If police are left to draw on their own biased notions of family psychodynamics, they may actually behave in ways to induce a tragic outcome (e.g., by forming protective-seductive alliances with helpless women against brutal husbands, contributing to the emasculation of male disputants. . . (p. 636). Unless a policeman was continuously alert to his own gut reactions, he was apt to find himself responding negatively and irrationally in many crisis situations,

> especially against the marital partner who was more obviously abusive and cruel, because of his own identification with the more mistreated spouse and not fully recognizing the latter's less obvious provocative behavior in sado-masochistic interactions. (p. 638)

Fields (1978) joins with Bannon (Note 3), Martin (1976) and Eisenberg and Micklow (1977) in attributing at least some of the reason for police inaction to sexism. Fields describes several examples of anti-woman attitudes in a widely used training manual (Bard, 1975). The majority of the women in the training skits, for example, are instructed to be more dominant and forceful than their partner.

In response to the alleged sexism of the police, a class action suit was filed in 1976 on behalf of women assaulted by their husbands against the New York City Police Department, the New York City Probation Department, and the state Family Court (Jensen, 1977). The complaint stated that officers, by denying the existence, prevalence, and seriousness of spouse assaults against married women, discriminated against them. Affidavits of 71 women in support of the motion attested to refusals or failures to arrest because the woman was married to her assailant, failure to inform women of their right to make a civilian arrest, failure

to assist the women in obtaining medical assistance, and other failures to provide assistance. In addition, officers were reported to have made statements which encouraged husbands to believe they may commit crimes against their wives and escape punishment. The suit was allowed to proceed to trial but not as a class action. Following an out-of-court settlement the police department modified its policies. Guidelines were established such that in misdemeanor cases, the officer's decision to arrest must not rely on the couple's marital status, the officer's preference to reconcile the parties, or the victim's prior legal actions or lack of such actions. In felony cases officers were told not to attempt reconciliation or mediation, but to arrest (as they would for other felonies).[4]

The New York City Police Department and others (Bard & Connally, 1978) believed that the complaint demanded officers to make an arrest in every case. Justice Gellinoff, deciding on the original complaint, stated that they missed the point of the action: "Plaintiffs do not seek to abolish the traditional discretionary powers of the police; they merely seek to compel the police to exercise their discretion in each 'particular' situation and not to automatically decline to make an arrest solely because the assaulter

and victim are married to each other " (Bruno v. Codd, 1977, p. 974). A similar class action suit in another city and the threat of others has led to changes in some policies and training manuals.

Bard and Connolly (1978) caution that changes in public policy need to be based on empirically derived data and not solely on case studies or case examples. They warn of the violence potential of the arrest option and of the possibility that traditionally oriented officers will use arrest as an overly simple solution to the problem. They contend that allowing police officers discretion and equipping them with skills to mediate or counsel disputants and link them to appropriate agencies is better than introducing them into an already overloaded criminal justice system. They state, "Policies and practices which encourage officers to seek alternatives to arrest are consistent both with progressive legal thought and with the practical realitites of invoking the criminal process" (p. 6).

Bard, Connolly and others (Driscoll, 1977; NILECJ, 1977) emphasize that the primary purpose of training in conflict resolution techniques is to reduce family violence, whereas once it was conducted primarily to reduce threats to the officer's safety (Parnas, 1967). Programs of training in family crisis intervention

techniques have not demonstrated an ability to reduce assaults in families. The original demonstration project (Bard, 1970), projects in six cities independently evaluated for the National Institute of Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice, (Wylie, Basinger, Heinecks & Reuckert, 1976) and other projects (Lieblum & Schwartz, 1973) have not been able to show conclusively their ability to lower the incidence of family assaults or homicides.

Surveys of battered women regarding their perceptions of the police response to their plight have shown that these women have more favorable perceptions of the police than might be expected from reviewing the case reports. The specific results of these studies will be given in the next chapter. Also reviewed there will be the only reported study on police behavior in response to interpersonal disputes (Bard & Zacker, 1976) and the only reported study on victim and situational variables which predict arrest (Police Foundation, 1977). The recency and paucity of these studies indicate the extent to which researchers have neglected this area of study.

Lack of Data on the Police Predictors of the Police Response

Despite the large number of persons assaulted by their spouse and the frequency of police contact with these victims, often as the only helping agents, no systematic study has been reported on the characteristics of police officers which influence how they react to spouse assault calls. The case studies of victims and the impressions of police officials, victim advocates, lawyers, and social scientists provide important clues to explain variation in police behavior. Yet these studies and impressions require empirical verification if they are to give substance to our knowledge and guide our policies and training programs.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study has been to uncover the factors in the background, personality, attitudes and training of police officers which significantly influence their behavioral response to marital violence situations. More specifically, it attempts to answer the following question: Are the officer's discretionary behaviors of arrest, counseling, or minimal action, related to the officer's sexism, gender identity, training, and background?

The study also planned to answer the question: Are variables of the situation, such as severity of injuries, better predictors of the police response than officer variables?

Implications for Counselors

Answers to the above questions can provide counselors with valuable information regarding the typical range of police responses and the predictors of these responses. Information from this study can be used by counselors who are acting in several roles. The police are increasingly seeking counsultation and training from counselors, psychologists, and social workers in a number of areas: how to reduce their own job stress, methods of counseling, crisis intervention techniques, theories of family dynamics, and other topics related to family intervention. Agencies serving battered women are growing rapidly in number and counselors serve on the teams of these agencies. Having frequent contact with the police, the staff of these agencies may find valuable certain information about the police response and how it might be improved. Finally, as part of their increasing acceptance of a social service role in the community, the police sometimes hire counselors

and other helping professionals to assist them during or after a family dispute. Counselors in this role may also benefit from the results of this study by learning more about officers' responses in general and the variables predictive of officer behavior.

Plan of the Study

This study used data which was collected as part of a larger project funded by a grant from the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (LEAA) (Saunders, Size & Sklar, Note 4). The LEAA project sought to answer the questions of this study as well as to compare the attitudes of police officers, battered women, and advocates for battered women regarding battered women and the police role in marital conflict. It also examined the theory of victim masochism and developed a model to predict police reporting by battered women.

The sample for the present study consisted of 116 police officers from three cities and seven small towns in Wisconsin. Departments were not selected randomly, but rather with some consideration of the level of their cooperation, proximity to the researchers, size, and economic base of the communities. Officers were recruited by the administrative staffs of their

departments. Officers were asked to volunteer to complete an anonymous questionnaire on domestic violence.

The questionnaire was self-administered during off-duty time. It was developed after an extensive review of the literature, interviews with 16 officers and 16 battered women, and pre-testing for readability and item variance. The questionnaire consisted of a battery of instruments most of which had been developed by other researchers.

Some of the variables which may influence police behavior in marital violence cases are shown in Figure 1. This study focuses on the variables in the upper left-hand corner of the diagram, those pertaining to police officers' background, personality, attitudes, and training. The questions under study are: Do background, training, attitude, and personality variables have an association with officers' selection of arrest, counseling, or minimal action? If there are associations between the predictor variables and the criterion behavioral variables, in what direction is the association? The preceding descriptions of the problem and the various perspectives on how the police handle marital assault cases, provide the basis for the hypotheses. The review of the literature in Chapter Two leads to the development of a hypothetical model of

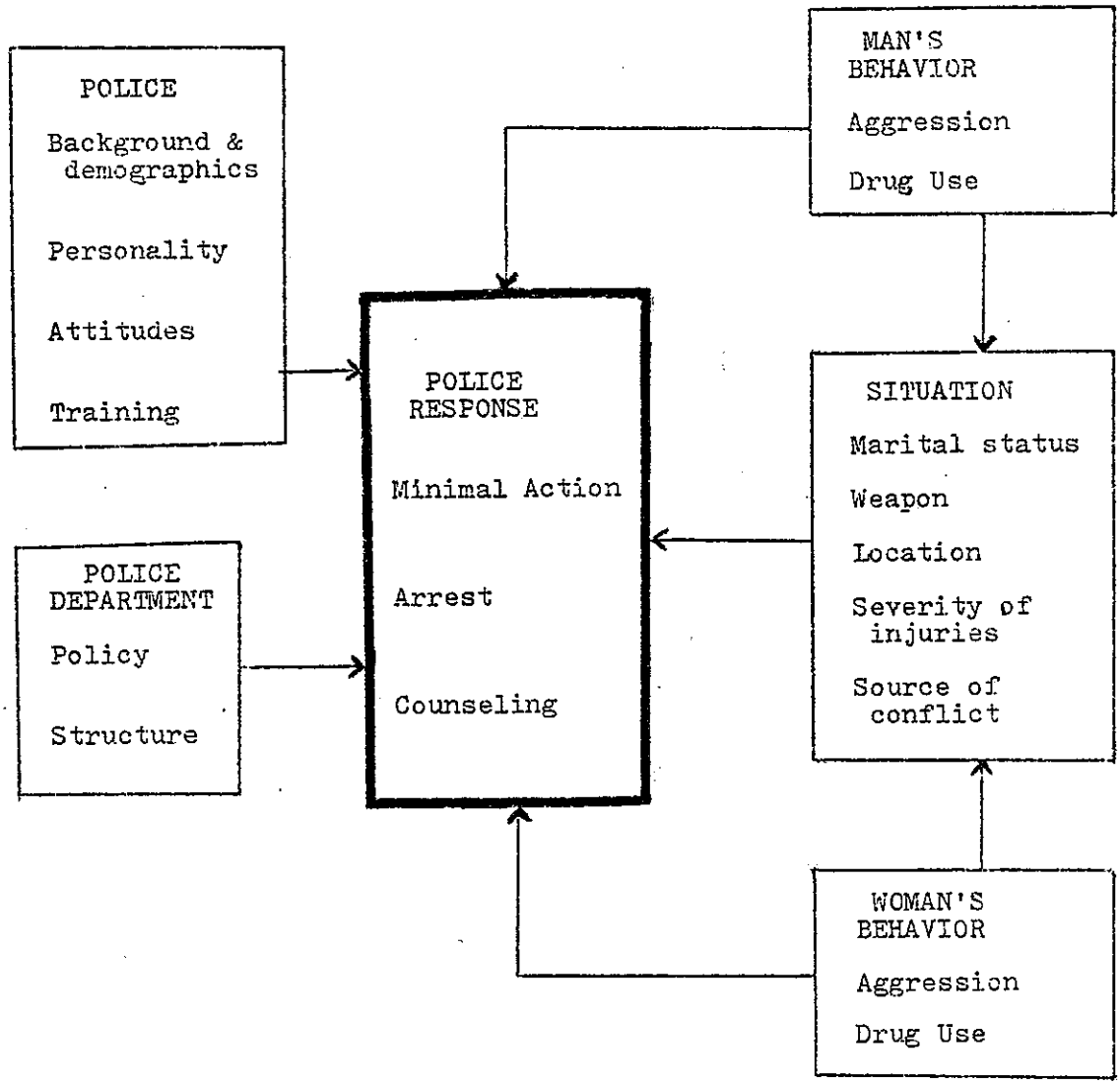


Figure 1. Diagram of some variables involved in the police response to marital violence.

the police response which specifies the relationships between officer variables and types of officer responses in cases of woman battering.

Chapter Three describes how the variables were operationalized, how the data were gathered, and what statistical procedures were used to test the hypotheses and explore the data.

Significance of the Study

This study has implications for the development of police training programs and consultation guidelines by counselors and for the development or refinement of police policies pertaining to marital violence. It also adds to the theory and knowledge about the relationship between attitudes and behavior, both in general and in relation to specific constructs. Since validated and unvalidated instruments were used, the study aids in the development of instruments for the study of an important, but relatively unexplored, topic.

The study tested the often conflicting popular and professional theories of the police response to marital violence. Because it is an exploratory and self-report study, the results need to be corroborated by more rigorous observational research if they are

to be used to guide policy. Nonetheless, this study represents a first step toward answering such questions as: (a) What characteristics of officers might make for an improved response to cases of woman battering? (b) Does officer discretion allow discrimination to operate or does it maintain justice and make the best use of criminal justice resources?

Finally, and most relevant for counselors, as the police increasingly recognize their role as social service providers and crisis counselors, they will require intensive training in specific methods of counseling. To aid counselors in developing police training programs, this study provides some information on the typical responses of officers to spouse assault incidents and the content and methods of training which influence these responses.

Before explaining more about the methodology and design of the study, a more extensive review of the literature will be provided.

CHAPTER TWO

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

The preceding chapter presented evidence which showed that a substantial portion of our nation's population is subject to spouse abuse. The police are often called into these disputes but find themselves ill-prepared to handle them. They become frustrated over role conflicts and over family members' failure to change. A controversy has arisen over police action in these cases because, whereas many police organizations claim an enlightened, progressive approach stressing alternatives to arrest, critics from within and without the police ranks charge the police with insensitivity and discrimination against victims.

This chapter will take a more detailed look at the response of police to the problem of marital violence. Before doing so, a review of the causal theories of marital violence which may be reflected in police attitudes and beliefs will be provided. Profes-

sional and popular beliefs about the causes of the problem have direct implications for studying police responses to the problem. An overview of society's response to victims will also be provided since police officers' behavior may parallel this response. The review of the literature will lead to a hypothesized model of police variables with specified relationships to the modes of police behavior in spouse assault cases.

Theories of Marital Violence Which May Parallel Police Attitudes

Social Learning Theories.

Abusive behavior and victimization behavior may be transmitted from one generation to the next through the process of modeling, a principle of social learning theory. Spouse abusers are more likely than nonspouse abusers to have observed their parents fighting physically with each other (Fojtik, 1976; Gelles, 1973). Women who have seen their parents fight physically are more likely than other women to become spouse abuse victims (Gelles, 1976; Price & Armstrong, 1978).

The principle of reinforcement may also help to

explain abusive and victimization behavior. Women who, as children, were subject to abuse are more likely than other women to become battered women (Price & Armstrong, 1978). If they found that they could not control the abuse, they may have extinguished their expectancies of change and succumbed to "learned helplessness" (Ball & Wyman, 1977; Walker, 1977). Intermittent positive reinforcement from their partner between abusive episodes may further reduce motivation for the women to leave the relationship.

Abusive behavior may be reinforced because the abuser gets what he wants, for example, promises from his partner that she will not leave him, or the behavior may be reinforced because physiological tension is reduced after the aggressive behavior.

Reinforcement theory can also be applied in a dyadic or systems context (Bandura, 1973; Patterson & Hops, 1972). Aggression may be viewed as the end of a chain of escalating behaviors which finally coerces the partner to acquiesce. Statements of acquiescence may not be genuine or kept but are reinforced because they stop the aversive behavior. Thus a negative cycle of interaction is developed.

If officers view abusive or victimization behavior as stemming solely from childhood experiences, they may

feel pessimistic about the couple's ability to change and hence take little action to help them. If they view the violence as a product of the couple's interaction, they may have little sympathy for the victim. When asked on the questionnaire for general comments, one officer wrote, "The present concern of police personnel is to quell disturbances and preserve the peace. Problems which have been building over a period of years cannot be settled by frequent or infrequent visits by police personnel."

Theories of Psychopathology.

If police officers view the problem of spouse assault as stemming largely from the psychopathology of the offender, they may consider criminal sanction to be the least preferred option and believe that help can come only from mental health professionals. A similar view may arise if they believe the victim enjoys the abuse because of a mental aberration. During a pre-survey interview, one officer described his efforts on repeated calls to convince the woman to leave the relationship or press charges. He then said, "I can only conclude that she must enjoy the abuse in some sick sort of way." Another officer commented, "A lot of times it seems that the woman enjoys what's happening,

the excitement of being hit, the excitement of calling us, the commotion. . . .It's like a soap opera."

Evidence testing the psychopathology theory of marital violence is scant. Faulk's (1974) study of 23 men convicted of violent crimes against their wives revealed that only two of the men suffered from severe mental illness and nine were judged to have no psychiatric abnormality. Gelles (1973) discerned instrumental and, in a sense, rational ends to the violence in the families he studied. When severe depression, delusional jealousy or paranoia do occur in the spouse abuser, they appear to arise from over-attachment and low self-esteem coupled with real or perceived separation of the partner (Elbow, 1977; Faulk, 1974; Makman, 1978). The belief that violence and mental illness are associated may arise from the psychiatric overprediction of violence in the mentally ill (Steadman & Cocozza, 1975) and from media distortions of mental illness (Scheff, 1966).

Some authors (Snell, Rosenwald & Robey, 1964) believe that spouse abuse victims are masochistic and that they seek punishment to relieve guilt over their "controlling, castrating behavior" (p. 111). They use "masochism" in the sense that the victim is motivated toward suffering and not in the sense that suffering is a by-product of maladaptive behavior (see Sack &

Miller, 1975, for a discussion of these usages). Most evidence indicates that the masochism of battered women is merely descriptive and not motivational. A large proportion (55-94%) of the women seek outside help and are as likely as other assault victims to resist attacks (Carlson, 1977; Fojtik, 1977; Gaquin, 1977; Gelles, 1976). Those battered women with fewer resources and less power are more likely to stay in the abusive relationship (Gelles, 1976), thus supporting the alternate theory that the woman's adaptive behavior is blocked (Waites, 1977). Contrary to the masochism theory, battered women were found to be less hostile than comparison groups and, while scoring high on insecurity, were not overly submissive compared to the norm (Price & Armstrong, 1978; Star, 1978). One study (Saunders & Size, Note 5) found that the majority of battered women reported that they endured abuse because they feel dependent on their partners, feel sorry for them because of their problems, and believed that they could stop their partner's abuse by trying harder to love them. A small group of respondents believed that they deserved the abuse or claimed that abuse was their only source of attention. A very small percentage of women admitted experiences of pleasure mixed with pain.

The common acceptance of masochism or pain enjoyment as a way of explaining wife abuse may arise from the influence of psychoanalytic theories in our society and from the way these theories can lend "official" credence to the domination of women. It may arise as well from the difficulty in seeing the many internal and external forces preventing battered women from changing their marriage or leaving it. Consequently, it is difficult to empathize with someone who seemingly accepts abuse (for further discussion and evidence on the theory of female masochism, see Horney, 1967; Martin, 1976; Saunders, 1977; Steinmetz & Straus, 1974; Tavris & Offir, 1977).

Alcohol and Other Drug Abuse

One possible way to minimize the problem of spouse assault is to assume its origins lie solely in drug abuse. Some officers interviewed during the questionnaire development phase of the study believed that spouse abuse was caused by alcohol consumption in 90% of the cases. Although several studies report the presence of alcohol use in a high percentage of spouse assault cases (40-60%, Eisenberg & Micklow, 1976; Gayford, 1975; Gelles, 1974), systematic police observations conflict over whether alcohol intake is more highly associated

with nonviolent family calls or violent ones (Bard & Zacker, 1974; Breedlove et al., 1976; Zacker & Bard, 1977). Price and Armstrong (1978) found that the husbands of battered women and of recently divorced women used alcohol to the same extent. One difference found in the study was that the husbands of battered women were increasing their alcohol intake just before separation. Gelles (1973) questions the causal order of events and suggests that alcohol may be used as an excuse to vent rage rather than being the cause of rage. Both the abuser and victim may feel more comfortable blaming an "alcohol problem" for the violence than confronting the violence as a problem.

Self-Attitude Theories.

Low self-esteem may lead to violence because the offender is trying to protect against real or imagined criticism by going on the offensive. Some abusers claim, "She attacked my ego, so I attacked her physically." Some officers reported in pre-survey interviews that they saw the violence as a way for the offender to protect against threats to his "masculine ego." While systematic testing of abuser's self-attitudes is lacking, many clinicians have observed that abusers have low self-esteem with concomitant traits of helplessness,

shyness, and a lack of social skills (Ball, 1977; Schultz, 1968; Scott, 1974; Shainess, 1977). It is likely that the offender's low self-esteem leads to the jealousy, dependency, and controlling behavior so often noted of spouse abusers (Elbow, 1977; Faulk, 1974; Fojtik, 1977; Roy, 1977; Walker, 1979). The low self-esteem, however, may be covered by a "macho" masculine exterior and observers and the abuser himself may be unaware of his feelings of self-loathing and depression (Davidson, 1978).

The low self-esteem of the abuser is matched by an equally low or lower self-esteem of the victim. Star(1979), using the 16 Personality Factor Questionnaire with 57 battered women, found that the overall profile depicted women with low self-esteem, a lack of self-confidence, and a tendency to withdraw. Poor early life relationships seemed to account for the shyness and reserve. Childhood trauma may take away the woman's sense of control and additionally the expectation of success if she seeks control (Ball & Wyman, 1977). Her feelings of self-worth may be lowered further by repeated verbal abuse from her partner (Gelles, 1973). Some women's sense of entrapment leads them to suicide or the killing of their mates. Of the 100 battered women surveyed by Gayford (1975) 37 had attempted suicide.

A 34-year-old male officer, making some general comments on the questionnaire, perceived the trapped feelings of battered women: "It appears that the feeling of being lost, alone, too involved to reach out for help or to change the present problem is difficult on a woman. They see everything outside their present world as being more complicated and difficult to cope with than pain and fear of violence."

The personality traits and forms of psychopathology presented above do not work in isolation to produce violent behavior. If behavior is viewed as stemming largely from within the individual, it tends to be viewed as a fairly enduring and consistent characteristic of the person. However, a large body of evidence indicates the construct "personality" to be less consistent than commonly held and to be under strong situational influence (Mischel, 1968). Trait labels, such as "aggressive" and "masochistic," may develop a weight of their own by which they begin to overexplain past behavior and overpredict future behavior. These generalizations can result in unnecessary stigmatization and self-fulfilling prophecies (Shah, 1975). The traits are sometimes described in a circular fashion: "He has an aggressive personality because he has been aggressive. He has been aggressive because he has an aggressive

personality." Such terms offer an illusion of explanation and prediction where they do not really exist.

Psychopathological models of child abuse have been criticized for using diffuse criteria in defining the trait and for failing to test hypotheses empirically (Gelles, 1973). These same criticisms can be applied to most of the studies on spouse abuse cited above.

Systems Theory.

Systems theory focuses on the way in which family members interact in order to move the family system toward or away from violent encounters. Some authors see interpersonal violence as resulting not from subcultural norms, family structure, or individual psychological variables, but from a set of relational rules (Hepburn, 1973; Toch, 1969). Violence is seen as the final event in a sequence of threat reduction tactics. Threats may be reduced in three ways: (a) by avoidance; (b) by accepting a negative re-evaluation of one's social identity; or (c) by retaliation. Retaliation may be an attempt to reduce threat by forcing the other to deal with a threat; however, this tactic may lead to counter-retaliation and an escalation to violence. Toch (1969) adds that violence may also be used to promote one's self-image or to enforce status norms.

In line with symbolic interaction theory, a couple may have developed a shared meaning regarding the legitimacy of some acts of violence but not others. Retaliation or help-seeking may occur when one spouse "goes too far." Thus, some battered women seek help only after the children begin to be abused by her partner, or the violence becomes more severe or less predictable. Some theorists maintain that conflict, even when resulting in aggression, is necessary and good because it leads to the growth of social systems (Coser, 1966). Much of the police training material on family crisis intervention, reviewed earlier, rests on the assumption that family conflict is normal. However, the training material does not usually differentiate assertive from violent methods of conflict resolution, or when it does, violence is portrayed as a symptom of faulty interactions. This view tends to equalize the responsibility for the violence.

One officer's comments, which he wrote on the questionnaire, reflected this view: "I feel physical violence is usually brought on by a combination of contributing factors from both parties and I have little sympathy for a spouse that lives with someone who abuses them because I myself think it is an unlivable condition and would move out regardless of the hardship caused."

It is commonly assumed that spouse abuse victims are nagging, verbally abusive, or aggressive. Some theorists believe the victims--particularly women--are likely to feed into violence-prone situations with an adeptness with words (Goode, 1974; Whitehurst, 1974). Only 23% of the women in Gayford's (1975) study, however, reported that attacks were preceded by arguments. Some women, for example, are known to be attacked while asleep. While 80% of the women in the Prescott and Letko (1977) study shared the blame for the dispute, the so-called provocations included refusing sex, getting a promotion, or reminding their partner to pay the bills. In a review of the experimental literature, most studies found either no differences between the sexes on verbal aggression or more verbal aggression for men (Frodi, Macaulay, & Thome, 1977).

Gelles (1973) acknowledged the role the victim--man or woman--plays in producing a violent attack. He had the impression there was a continuum of provocation which went from nagging, to name calling, to verbal abuse, to physical assault. Intimates learn quickly the vulnerable spots of their partners' egos and are able to attack these spots in retaliation for alleged injustices. However, Gelles did not report the percentage of cases in which assaults were victim precipitated.

He also noted that "nagging" might mean a woman asks her husband to shovel the snow or confronts him about his failure to look for work. He states, "It is almost impossible in family interaction for a wife or husband not to nag their spouse" (p. 159).

Straus (1974) found a positive correlation, with an accelerating trend, between verbal and physical aggression in married couples. This data is only suggestive of an escalation from verbal to physical aggression because the causal order is not known.

Since the effect of verbal aggression on physical aggression is not firmly established, the victim's immediate behavior may produce less of an influence than what the victim or his or her behavior symbolizes. Therefore, it is important to consider variables which explain how behavior or status is interpreted.

Structure and Resource Theories.

One aspect of family structure which seems to be closely related to marital violence is a status or resource deficiency of the husband relative to his wife. When other resources are lacking, violence is used as an "ultimate resource" to maintain a culturally prescribed position of power.

O'Brien (1971) hypothesized that if husbands held a status inconsistent with their socially ascribed superior status, physical aggression would be more likely than if they held a status higher than their wives. The violent husbands in a sample of 150 divorcing couples were more highly represented in the following categories: husband seriously dissatisfied with his job, husband started but failed to finish either high school or college, husband's income was a serious source of conflict, husband's education was less than wife's, and husband's occupational status was lower than that of his father-in-law.

Allen and Straus (1975) also tested the theory that husband-wife violence is linked to their status (education, occupation, income, satisfaction with income). To the economic and prestige characteristics they added personal traits (self-esteem, sociability, etc.) to derive a resource measure. They hypothesized that:

1. when the resources of a spouse are low, and when that spouse's power is greater, the greater his or her use of violence as the ultimate resource;
2. when the resources of a spouse are high, there is no relationship between power and

violence.

The results confirmed the hypothesis that male power was associated with violence only when the husband lacked validating resources, but this was true only for working class husbands. As predicted, the greater the resources for both husbands and wives, the less their use of physical force. There was little or no relationship between the balance of power and either partner's use of violence. The authors suggest that the class differences found may be accounted for by a greater acceptance of instrumental violence in the lower class and of expressive violence in the middle class. An added factor may be middle class husband's lessening of support for traditional family norms.

During the questionnaire development stage of this study, several officers stated the belief that violence was used in reaction to threats to male authority. The threats were seen as arising more from the man's misperceptions than from the behavior of the woman.

Cultural Theories.

A number of authors cite cultural norms and social structure as important or even as the sole determinants of marital violence (Dobash & Dobash, 1977a; Eisenberg

& Micklow, 1974; Martin, 1976; Straus, 1976, 1977; Warrior, 1975). A high level of violence in society as a whole may be one of the factors leading to marital violence. Officially sanctioned violence in the form of wars appears to increase both homicide rates (Archer, 1976) and violence depicted in children's stories (Huggins & Straus, 1976). Media violence, while not often depicting marital violence, gives the message that physical force is one way to solve problems. The evidence for a causal link between television violence and violent behavior continues to be debated, but many reviewers of the research conclude that media depictions of violence help keep our society a highly violent one (Surgeon General, 1972).

Cultural norms permitting marital violence, especially wife-beating, are likely to contribute to the problem. A cultural contradiction seems to exist whereby marriage is viewed as a center of love, affection, and emotional security and an institution committed to non-violence, and at the same time a certain level of marital violence is sanctioned. The marriage license is in a sense a "hitting license." Evidence for this comes from the policies and practices of the criminal justice system, which often explicitly or implicitly condone the violence. Evidence also comes from studies

which show high rates of approval for marital violence, (Stark & McEvoy, 1979) and less punishment recommended for violent couples who are married as opposed to unmarried (Straus, Note 1).

Societal factors are probably strongest in affecting violence against women. The woman is seen as a convenient target for frustrations the man develops elsewhere (Dobash & Dobash, 1977b; Martin, 1976; Pizzey, 1974; Prescott & Letko, 1977). The wife is seen as a convenient target because she is in close proximity to the offender, is usually physically weaker, and may be trapped to a degree in the relationship. To the extent that the man has been conditioned by culture to treat women as subordinate, the wife is also the "appropriate victim of assault" (Dobash & Dobash, 1977b, p. 496).

A few officers commented on their questionnaires on the link between sexism and woman battering. A 40-year-old male officer wrote: "Until some of the traditional ideas like a man is king and the wife is the slave are changed, this problem will continue." A 31-year-old female officer commented: "I believe that women achieving financial equity in the job market and control over their own bodies reproductively would help considerably. Most women have far too few

options open to them anyway."

Straus (1976) describes nine ways in which the male-dominated structure of society creates and maintains woman-battering:

1. The defense of male authority. In a male-dominant society the presumption of male superiority must be validated by superior resources. Evidence was given earlier for the way violence becomes used as the "ultimate resource" to maintain power.
2. Compulsive masculinity. In industrial societies, mothers predominate in child-rearing which makes it difficult for males to achieve masculine identity. Since women are labeled inferior to men, males may struggle compulsively to demonstrate their masculinity. It follows that women become scapegoated and the objects of aggression.
3. Economic constraints and discrimination. Few alternatives are offered to women due to the sexist economic and occupational structure of society, therefore women endure attacks rather than face poverty.
4. Burdens of child care. Another way women are kept tied to abusive relationships is

the way society places the responsibility of child-rearing onto women and at the same time does not provide supportive services.

5. Myth of the single parent household. Social and economic constraints make it difficult for single parent families to exist, and many battered women believe that it is essential to keep their marriage together for the children.
6. Preëminence of the wife role for women. Since our culture gives full identity only to women who are wives and mothers, it is difficult for women to end violent marriages.
7. Negative self-image. In a society which stresses achievement, but blocks women from achieving, women are likely to have lower self-esteem. This negative self-image and consequent guilt cause women to tolerate abuse.
8. Women as children. While the conception of women as property is no longer a part of our legal system, a covert moral right to "punish" wives may parallel the overt right to punish children.
9. Male orientation of the criminal justice system. Since most members of the criminal jus-

tice system are male, they are more likely to hold more traditional views of female roles and consequently tend to work for family unity at all costs. The courts and police tend to legitimize husband-wife violence by granting the partner immunity from suit, delaying legal processes, and denying the victim compensation. The responses of the criminal justice system will be discussed at greater length in a later section.

All of the above types of variables--individual, family, and social--can be seen to interact to produce an episode of marital violence. The above review has left out particular precipitating factors, such as the presence of weapons, pregnancy, and other factors. These may be significant factors as well (Breedlove, et al., 1977; Gelles, 1976). Any variable or category of variables taken alone probably accounts for only a small proportion of the variance in explaining violent behavior. Particular combinations of the variables appear to be needed to produce the right explosive mix. Aside from the simple addition of variables many of them probably have a reciprocal relationship producing a feedback cycle which moves the system toward or away from a violent encounter (cf. Straus, 1973).

Straus (1977) provides a diagram, reproduced in Figure 2, showing some of the variables which account for wife abuse. Positive feedback loops maintaining the system are shown. Note that the response of the police may be a factor contributing to the victim's plight. A closer look at the police response will be given in the next section after a discussion of society's response to victims in general.

The Societal and Police Response to Victims

Society's response to victims is often anything but sympathetic. Following the stabbing murder of Kitty Genovese in 1964, in which 38 people looked on but failed to help, social scientists began to look for answers to explain their lack of response. Ryan (1971) suggests that more than apathy is involved and that social injustices are maintained, despite values of equality, through a process of blaming the victim.

A number of theories have been developed and tested to explain the process of victim derogation. Identification theory states that the more one identifies with the victim and the less with agencies of social control, the more likely one is to respond with sympathy or help. "Defensive attribution" explains

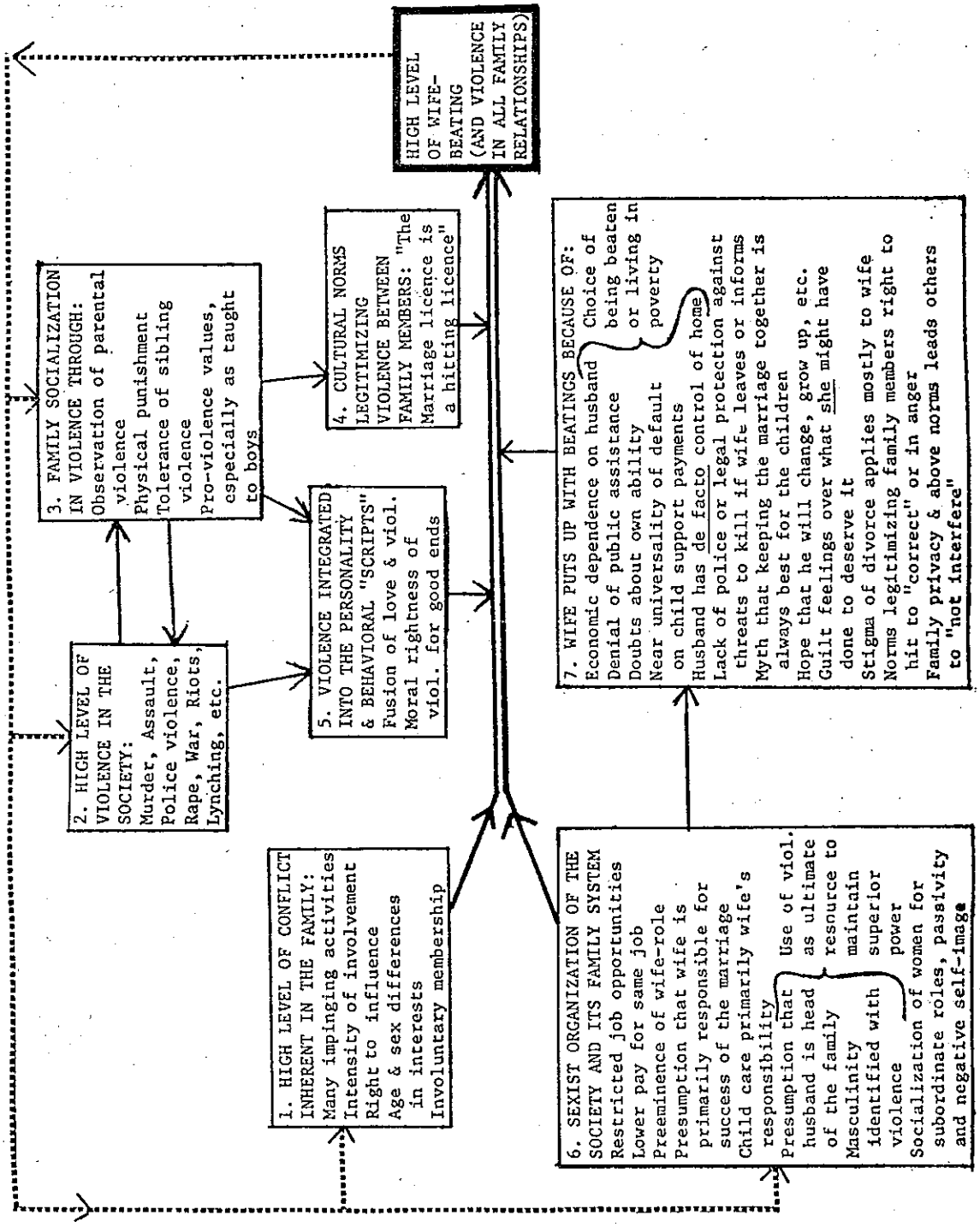


Figure 2. Flow chart illustrating some of the factors accounting for high incidence of wife beating (solid lines) and positive feedback loops maintaining the system (dashed lines)(from Straus, 1977).

derogation of innocent victims by hypothesizing that one's fear of being a similar random and innocent target of violence can be reduced by downgrading the victim and shifting the responsibility for the crime to the victim. "Just world theory" posits that people have a psychological need to see the world as basically just--thus, people deserve what they get and get what they deserve. It predicts that if a victim is responsible for his or her fate, the victim's actions will be downgraded; if the victim is innocent, observers can restore justice by derogating the victim's characteristics. All of these theories have obtained some empirical support and continue to be tested against each other. In his review of research on bystander intervention, Bickman (Note 8) concluded that a determinant more important than the seriousness of the crime or welfare of the victim is the observer's interpretation of what is the right way to respond.

Several of the bystanders at Kitty Genovese's murder said they did not respond because they inferred that the assailant was the woman's husband (Rosenthal, 1964). Some evidence from laboratory studies shows that observers to an assault are less likely to respond if they believe the victim is married to her assailant and they attribute less seriousness to incidents with

married couples than with dating couples (Shotlund & Straw, 1976). Observers might assume that married couples care for each other more and therefore the violence cannot be serious, or they might assume husbands have more of a right to hit their partner. In a small-sample social psychological experiment, men were less likely than women to respond to women being attacked by men compared to woman-to-man attacks or woman-to-woman attacks (Borofsky, Stollak & Messe, 1971). Thus, some form of sex bias appears to be a determinant of intervention.

On a social level, Ryan (1971) criticizes well-intentioned programs which purport to help victims for actually "blaming the victim," because they often label and treat the victim as deficient and deviant and do not attack underlying causes. Dobash and Dobash (1977a) similarly point to the conflicting motives of social agents who attempt to provide a specific solution for a few individuals while supporting an ideology and a social structure which assure continued victimization. Regarding marital violence they see patriarchy as the social system which is the root cause. As a result, counseling is provided but the counselor focuses on changing the victim's behavior; similarly, laws are enacted to protect battered women, but the police and

courts resist implementation of the laws.

As noted in the first chapter, the police have been criticized for their insensitivity and inaction in marital violence cases and some police organizations have changed their policies which hopefully will improve their response. Yet, little empirical data exist to show what the police do in these situations or how their attitudes may be reflected in their behavior. A study by Bard and Zacker (1976) provides some indication of police behavior. They had a panel of researchers and police officers categorize the detailed reports officers gave of 150 interventions they made into all types of personal disputes. In many cases, officers were found to use a mixture of approaches in handling one dispute. Consensus was reached on three major categories.

The distinguishing features of the categories were reported as follows (p. 10):

1. Authority: The officer takes complete charge, defines the situation, and does not seek suggestions from anyone.
2. Negotiation: The officer encourages the parties to reach an agreement by focusing on the issues at hand. The officer does <u>not</u> stress authority, but makes suggestions or offers

advice, or insists that the parties focus on the issue.

3. Counseling: The officer penetrates the surface issues of the conflict, trying to assist the parties in understanding their basic situation and the consequences of certain behavior.

Note that "authority" does not necessarily mean the use of arrest. "Counseling" is further described as an approach which treats "all disputants as people who have an underlying problem of which they are unaware" (p. 11). This appears to resemble an empathic or interpretive approach which helps people become more aware of their feelings by reflecting feelings of a slightly deeper level. Later, however, counseling is described as a method in which "the disputants are often exhorted to use their own judgment in reviewing the situation and taking constructive steps to improve it" (p. 11). One of the examples given seems to use guilt-induction along with minimizing an injury:

> He reminded them that their children would never forget incidents like the present one. . . He said that if they both acted like children there would be no one to govern their child. Reminding them that they were lucky this time-- the husband had had no charges against him; the wife had only a broken nose-- the officer left" (p. 58).

After a period in which officers were required to use a particular approach, counseling and negotiation were valued more by the officers and authority less. Authority was used more often when disputants were of the same sex. Negotiation was more likely to be applied when one person asked the officer to mediate a compromise. Counseling was likely to be used when the parties had an intimate rather than a distant relationship.

Twenty-five percent of the disputes involved couples. Data on assault were not analyzed by marital status, but analysis of 344 disputes during the last phase of the project revealed that assault was more likely if the relationship was intimate, of more than one year in length, and chronic, intrapersonal stress existed in one of the parties. The design of this study is weakened somewhat because it is based on self-report rather than observational data and the researchers were unable to gain the perspective of the disputants. However, it gives some insight into the varieties of police behavior and some of the victim/offender characteristics which affect this behavior. It is of value to note that counseling and mediation were used more when disputants had an imbalance of power (opposite sexes) and when an assault <u>probably</u> occurred. Measuring

the relationship between spouse assault and mode of response requires a separate correlation.

Another study bearing on the police response to marital violence is one conducted for the Police Foundation (Breedlove, et al., 1977). Officers recorded on cards a number of variables they observed in violent and non-violent domestic dispute calls. The recording was voluntary and only 5% of the total number of contacts were recorded, or 324 contacts. Using discriminant analysis to predict physical force, the best predictors were the presence of a gun, history of previous disturbance, and presence of alcohol, in that order. The method of Automatic Interaction Detection (AID) found that married or divorced participants, as opposed to common-law spouses, relatives, or strangers, were more likely to use physical force.

Arrest was best predicted in discriminant analysis by the following variables: presence of a firearm, a third party as the source of disturbance, and the presence of alcohol. The AID program found no consistent patterns related to arrest and neither program found race, attitude of participants, or several conflict topics to be significantly related to arrest. Compared to the Bard and Zacker study, there is even more chance for officer bias in the data of this study because the

recording was voluntary and much less structured. It confirms the Bard and Zacker finding that more intimates than strangers are assaultive. It contrasts with the Bard & Zacker studies (1974, 1976), however, regarding the influence of alcohol. It also contrasts with other studies which show that the attitude of the offender is an important determinant of arrest (Lundman, 1976); however, the report did not detail what attitudes were measured or how.

Four surveys have asked battered women about their perceptions of the police response. Roy (1977) found that 90% (n = 99) of those seeking police help reported that the police avoided arrest and did not inform the victims as to all of their arrest alternatives. The 30% who found the police helpful gave as reasons: referral for an order of protection, temporary removal of the husband and/or asking victims if they wanted to press charges. Less than six percent of the victims labelled the police attitudes as hostile or blaming. These figures compared to 45% of the respondents who perceived Family Court officers as helpful and 19% perceiving them as hostile or blaming.

Carlson's (1977) survey of 57 battered women revealed that 27% regarded the police as "concerned and helpful," another 10% rated the police as "concerned but

not helpful." Fifteen percent of the victims perceived the police as "not helpful at all," three percent as "hostile," and one percent as "primarily concerned with own safety."

As part of her survey of 101 battered women, Fojtik (1977) reported that 21.6% of the women had called the police for assistance; 46.7% of these women reported the police helpful. Of the 30 women who had called the police in the Saunders and Size survey (Note 5), half saw the police as indifferent, and as not helpful or concerned in general. Their ratings of specific encounters showed somewhat higher ratings: 54% helpful, and 66% concerned. However the police were rated as the least concerned and helpful out of a group of eight formal and informal helpers.

In summary, between 27 and 50% of the battered women in these studies found the police helpful. Generalizations from these studies are difficult to make because the women were seeking help from battered women's organizations and thus are not representative of all battered women. Nonetheless, the studies suggest that while the police response may not be as calloused as the generalizations of case studies claim, there is plenty of room for improvement.

The reasons spouse assault victims give for not calling the police may provide clues to their perceptions of the police. Data from the nationally representative sample reported by Gaquin (1977) indicated that the most frequent reason given for not calling the police was that the incident was a "private or personal matter, didn't want to report it." The second most frequent reason given was "police wouldn't want to be bothered." Spouse abuse victims were much more likely to give both of these reasons than other assault victims. Thus, shame and embarrassment, plus a belief that the police will be bothered by the call, may deter victims from calling the police. Perceptions that the police will be bothered may well be formed from prior contact with the police during similar incidents.

Police Attributes, Attitudes and Discretionary Behavior

An understanding of police officers' personality make-up, attitudes, and use of discretion can contribute to an understanding of the police response to battered women. Generalizations about the police need to be done with caution, however, since there is great diversity of personality and opinions within the police profession, especially along the lines of years of

experience, educational background and department unit (Watson & Sterling, 1969).

Police Attributes and Attitudes.

Rubin (1972) summarizes his own and others' research on the psychological variables of police officers. He dismisses the stereotype that the police officer is a "frustrated dictator who is attracted to the police service in order to give vent to his aggressive or neurotic feelings" (p. 17). Psychological testing indicates that police applicants have high intelligence and superior adjustment. They are characterized as more suspicious than the average person, ready to take risks, prone to act on impulses, and more likely to emphasize virility. Rubin notes that the only elevations on the MMPI for police cadets revealed a need for activity and a need to discharge impulses. He concludes from his own study that rigid, paranoid, and impulsive behavior of the police results when they are under the strain of role conflicts. These conflicts include trying to simultaneously act as a peacekeeper, community-service worker and crime-fighter and trying to maintain autonomy within a highly structured organization. When not under stress, Rubin concludes that personality features of the police serve them well because, through an aversion to

introspection, they will focus on the environment to maintain alertness and optimal functioning. A recent study by Hanewicz (1978) generally confirms these findings. Police recruits in New York City in both 1959 and 1968 valued the traits of alertness, job knowledge, honesty, dedication and common sense from a list of 40 traits (NILECJ, 1970).

Summarizing their findings on police officers' pragmatic nature, Watson and Sterling (1969) state:

> Police tend to be pragmatists, a characteristic related, no doubt, to the exigencies of their calling. Much of a policeman's work calls for action--now. He frequently handles emergencies in which time is precious. He has to make decisions in situations where facts are hard to come by and guidelines are uncertain. Small wonder, then that he values "common sense" more than theory, success more than ideals. (p. 6)

In addition to pragmatism, Watson and Sterling found that a tendency to accept or conform to authority was also characteristic of their national sample of officers. This authoritarianism was combined with political conservatism since, on a variety of attitudes, police were closer to conservative citizens than liberal ones. Further work by Sterling (1972), using a psychological measure, showed that this trait extended to an emotional level as well. Generally speaking, those who are more educated and those who are administrators and trainers

are less authoritarian.

Other research has confirmed the tendency for police officers to be authoritarian (Rokeach, 1960). McNamara (1967) notes, however, a correspondence between recruit scores on the F-scale and those of similar occupational and socioeconomic status.

Hanewicz (1978), in his review of the literature, sees evidence growing for the position that police have traits in common with certain other occupational groups rather than traits which are exclusive to police officers. Balch (1972) concludes from this research that "police departments do not attract particular personalities, but instead tend to recruit from a relatively authoritarian class of people" (p. 108). Niederhoffer (1969) on the other hand, views authoritarianism as an aspect of "socialization and experience with the police social system" (p. 131). It is possible that both positions are partly true: the effects of socialization as an officer are added to the qualities present at recruitment.

The trait of authoritarianism will be a focus of this review because of its links with violence. Numerous studies have shown childhood experience of violence to be an antecedent of authoritarianism in adults; this holds true even when the effects of education

and socioeconomic status are partialled out (for a review see Gelles & Straus, 1975). Along with a tendency to submit to authority, to be cynical, and to stereotype others, the authoritarian personality is more likely to approve the use of punishment and physical force. This approval of force and punishment applies to international conflict (Worchel, 1967), to criminals (Gelles & Straus, 1975) and to children (Steinmetz, 1974). To the extent that an officer is authoritarian and experienced childhood violence, it is expected that he or she will approve of marital violence.

The first major measure of authoritarianism was developed soon after WWII (Adorno, Frenkel-Burnswik, Levinson & Sanford, 1950). It was used to measure anti-semitism and other fascist attitudes and has been found to correlate with political conservatism. To overcome this source of bias, Rokeach (1960) developed the Dogmatism Scale, a measure of general intolerance for the beliefs of out-groups. Both extremes of the political spectrum scored high on this scale. Rokeach also developed an Opinionization Scale which measured right-wing and left-wing ideology as well as general intolerance. Political ideology and dogmatism were shown to be independent constructs. To round out the theory of right-wing authoritarianism, Kreml (1977) investigated

the psychological characteristics of left-wing "authoritarianism" and found "anti-order," "anti-power," "impulse expression," and "introspectiveness" to be traits of what he called the "anti-authoritarian personality." From this, one can predict that those high in right-wing opinionation and dogmatism will have more negative attitudes toward nondominant groups and approve of more violence toward them.

As cited earlier, the police tend to be aligned more with conservative citizens than liberal citizens on political views and attitudes toward authority, including the use of a "tough" approach by the police. In general, however, there may be a "value gap" between police officers and citizens. Studies indicate that officers place a higher emphasis on personal values, such as freedom, than on social values, such as equality (Griffeth & Cafferty, 1977; Rokeach, Miller, & Snyder, 1971; Sherrid & Beech, 1976) and democratic gains made during academy training may decrease or even reverse after experience with police work (McNamara, 1967).

Right-wing dogmatics with a desire to punish unconventional persons and preserve the present order, might be expected to resist the liberalization of women's roles. Evidence, in fact, indicates that a belief in traditional roles for women is part of a larger pattern

of political conservatism (Henley & Pincus, 1978; Hershey & Sullivan, 1977) and is correlated with ethnocentrism (Worchel, 1967). Police officers might be expected to hold traditional views toward female roles, especially older male officers, since men and older persons generally hold more traditional views of women (Spence & Helmreich, 1972; Tomeh, 1978; Vanier & Hardison, 1978).

Chang and Zastrow (1976) asked officers to evaluate various groups on the evaluative dimension of the semantic differential scale. The stimulus "American Women" was rated seventh out of 13 occupational and other groups. It was rated just above "people" but below "priests and ministers," "I am," "police officers," "medical doctors," "prison security officers," and "scientists." Thus, officers rated women slightly above the general population. A positive general evaluation of women, however, may be different from acceptance of equality in sex roles. Historical and current feminist analyses suggest that placing women on a pedestal is just as oppressive as more obvious forms of degradation (for discussion see Daly, 1973).

A belief in traditional roles for women appears to be related to perceptions of rape and rape victims. Feild's (1978) survey of just over 1,000 citizens showed

a number of beliefs about rape to be positively correlated with traditional views of women, beliefs that: (a) rape prevention is the woman's responsibility; (b) rape is motivated by sex, not power; (c) rapists deserve less severe punishment; (d) a woman is undesirable after being raped; (e) a woman should resist during a rape attack.

Within the police sample of Feild's study (n = 254), being male and white were predictive of a belief that the victim's behavior or appearance caused the attack. For the police officers, rape attitudes were not significantly correlated with contact with rapists, contact with rape victims, interviews with rape victims about their rape, or personal knowledge of a raped woman. Police officers, citizens, and rapists were aligned, and differed from rape crisis counselors, in believing that it is the woman's responsibility to prevent rape, that sex and not power is the motive, that women are less desirable after rape, and that the rapist is abnormal. The officers and counselors agreed on one factor: It is not the woman's role to resist during rape.

The overlap between the crimes of rape and wife assault include the fact that in both the victims are women, the motivation is nonsexual and there is a pro-

pensity for persons to blame the victim (Dobash & Dobash, 1977b; Warrior, 1975). From the Feild's study one can hypothesize that the police are more likely than others helping battered women to have negative attitudes toward battered women. These include beliefs that women cause and enjoy the violence and remain in the situation for psychological rather than external reasons. Compared to other officers, these negative attitudes are hypothesized to be held more by male officers with conservative dogmatism and a belief in traditional women's roles.

The 116 officers in the present study were compared on a number of attitude dimensions with 52 battered women and 39 advocates for battered women (Saunders and Size, Note 5). All three samples tended to agree that battered women experience pain rather than pleasure when struck and are not responsible for causing the violence. The victim and advocates, however, were significantly more likely than the police to agree that women experience pain and no pleasure when struck. The police more strongly endorsed statements that women are responsible for starting the violence and for being able to avoid it. Also, police officers gave lower general evaluations than the other groups to the stimulus "battered women" using the semantic differential

technique. Negative evaluations of battered women in all three samples were associated with general, negative attitudes toward women, but not with beliefs about women's roles.

While the three groups agreed that the police response to couples' fights constitutes crime prevention, only four percent of the officers believed arrest was the best way to deal with the problem, compared with 63% of the battered women and 38% of the advocates for battered women.

Officers were closer to the battered women than the advocates in citing internal reasons women stay in abusive relationships--"love for the man," "hope that marriage would improve," etc. However, nearly 70% of the officers saw economic dependence as a reason women stayed.

A limitation of the above study is the lack of a sample of the general population. However, even if officers are shown to have more negative attitudes than the general population, their attitudes may not lead to discriminatory behavior. If, however, the attitude/behavior relationship holds, officers with negative attitudes would use minimal action because arrest would mean denying the legitimacy of force against an oppressed group, and counseling would mean helping the couple.

Related to the use of authority and physical force is the police "ethic of masculinity." Bannon (Note 3) was quoted in the introduction as saying the police are poor candidates for effectively responding to domestic violence calls because of their "socialization into the masculine role and absorption with coercive force" (p. 3). Some of this socialization may occur during police training. Harris (1973), in his participant-observer study, The Police Academy: An Inside View, described the way recruits tried to confirm their masculine image to others and to themselves by exaggerating the traits associated with manhood. He extends the interpretation of Westley (1953) who said the police respond with violence when they perceive threats to their authority:

> It would seem that an officer would be less likely to react to disrespect personally if he feels secure within himself. Concomitantly, it would be those officers least secure in their masculine image who are prone to react violently to perceived threats to their masculinity. What people may be doing when they challenge an officer's authority is to challenge his masculinity which he, in part, identifies with authority and respect. (p. 92).

Some officers' readiness to turn to force when threatened or when solving problems is reflected in their advice to two battered women interviewed in the Saunders

and Size study, telling the women to use a gun the next time they were attacked.

Suggesting that police officers shed their super-masculine traits may not be feasible or desirable since at times force and assertiveness are required. Modern sex role theorists point to the possible existence of the best of both masculine and feminine traits in the androgynous individual (Bem, 1977; Constantinople, 1974). Personal growth may in fact be limited if persons limit themselves to the culturally ascribed behaviors for their gender. The androgynous individual is marked by an ability and comfort with crossing over the barriers of traditional sex roles. Several studies show that androgynous subjects, irrespective of gender, are more flexible than either sex-typed or sex-reversed subjects (Babladelis, 1978; Bem, 1975; Bem & Lenney, 1976). Androgynous individuals display both independent and nurturant qualities and higher levels of identity achievement and self-esteem (Orlofsky, 1975). Factor analytic studies (Gaudreau, 1977; Moreland, Gulavick, Montague & Harren, 1978) have led researchers to use the terms "instrumental" and "expressive" to describe the independent gender identities, since the factor loadings of trait words "masculine" and "feminine" were low on these dimensions. Persons scoring low on both instrumentality

and expressiveness tend to have low self-esteem (Spence, Helmreich & Stapp, 1975) and are termed "undifferentiated." Contrary to the above findings, Jones, Chernovetz and Hansson (1978), using a nonexperimental design and nonbehavioral measures, found masculine subjects, independent of gender, to have more adaptive, flexible, unconventional, and competent patterns of responding.

Evidence contrary to the stereotype of police officers as supermasculine is given in the previously mentioned study by Saunders and Size (Note 5). Most male officers were categorized as androgynous; the next largest category was "undifferentiated." Instrumental or "masculine" officers comprised about a fifth of the sample. Surprisingly, about the same proportions of the four gender identities were found in a nearly all-female victim advocate sample (Saunders & Size, Note 5). Perhaps androgynous officers have instrumental behavior elicited by their work or are selectively perceived as "masculine." Perhaps, in addition, undifferentiated officers use masculine behavior to cover low self-esteem.

The categories of androgynous, instrumental, expressive and undifferentiated are strikingly similar to a typology of police officers developed by Muir (1977) in his ethnomethodological study. Before

developing a professional model of an officer, he rejected several criteria for defining what a good officer is, including supervisory ratings, recruit school performance, number of arrests, and not being psychiatrically "abnormal." His types are the "professional," the "enforcer," the "reciprocator," and the "avoider." He quotes Weber to help describe the professional officer: "warm passion and a cool sense of proportion in the same soul" (p. 51).

The "professional" strode a middle path between acting without listening and listening without acting. He felt better about himself, was versatile, and "was less defensive about the softness with which he handled family beefs, assured as he was that he had plenty of other opportunities to display other forms of competence" (p. 100). He appears analogous to the androgynous individual.

The "enforcer" had an enhanced belief in the efficacy of force. He was once idealistic but had become aggressively moralistic, seeing legalisms instead of people. He entered situations with a predisposition to see one side as good and the other bad. His attempts to be tough in protecting the underdog were erratic. He has some qualities of the instrumental individual.

The "reciprocator" used his personal skills of wit, friendliness, and warmth instead of coercion. In exchange, he developed the reputation of Joe Good Guy. He saw the police and citizens as similar and sought to understand rather than moralize. To be effective, however, he required continuing relationships of equal power and he had to serve fewer people. He has many of the traits of an expressive individual.

The "avoider" had a moral conflict over the use of power and had low self-confidence. He justified inaction in family conflict calls by using the equivocal phrase: "Don't get involved." While the violence may continue, the officer can say with some pride, "I never had any more complaints." The avoider has some of the same qualities as the "undifferentiated person."

While these comparisons between officer types and gender identities are tenuous, they may have heuristic value. It seems realistic to expect those low in self-esteem to avoid difficult situations, those who are instrumental to use arrest, those who are expressive to use counseling, and those who are androgynous to be flexible in responding.

Police Discretionary Powers

Police discretion is a topic of continuing concern for the police administrator, social scientist, and civil libertarian. The police themselves, especially recruits, recognize policing as a low discretion job, yet they desire autonomy (Viano & Susman, 1975). Some, outside the police perspective, have pointed out that police officers "have in effect, a greater degree of discretionary freedom in proceeding against offenders than any other public official" (Bittner, 1970, p. 107). There is general agreement that discretion is a necessary part of police work because of the limited resources of the police (Edelson, 1975). Decisions must be made about what areas of the community to patrol, when to arrest, whether an officer on the scene is required, and what complaints to investigate. Lundman's (1975) review of police discretion, including studies of police violence and police/juvenile contacts, showed that legal factors involved in the exercise of discretion were offense seriousness, evidence, and prior record. Extra-legal factors included race, offender's demeanor, complainant preference, and social class. Offense conspicuousness and the moral and legal ambiguity of the offense also seem to be factors (Goldstein, 1963;

Lundman, 1974). Since discretion is inevitable, recommendations can be made to structure it to assure justice (cf. Goldstein, 1977).

Sterling (1972) noted that despite the people-centered nature of police work, only 23% of recruits had prior work that stressed relationships with people on a level as complex as they would have in their police careers. Evidence is not available, but it seems likely that an officer's previous work experience may be a clue as to his or her use of discretion.

Finckenauer (1976) gave some evidence to show that officers with higher education respond differently than non-college educated officers; however, experience as an officer--the acquiring of "street wisdom"--appeared to be a more significant factor in explaining police decision-making. He had police recruits describe what they would do in response to a vignette which described situations ambiguous enough to call for discretion. Responses were rated by whether the officer used arrest, informal disposition, or no action with the offender. Banton (1964) named several sources which impact on officers' discretion: training, the example of co-workers, a knowledge of what cases the courts will accept, awareness of community standards and

expectations, and advice or instruction from their supervisors.

As a corrective for abuse, supervisory advice or directives from the chief can be used, but they are often subverted (Edelson, 1975). Training goals designed to enhance recruits' empathy and sensitivity to others can be sidetracked by both training officers and recruits (Harris, 1973). Therefore, there appears to be no single best method to structure discretion (for further discussion, see Goldstein,1977). Lundman (1975) points to the need for commonweal organizations like the police to be open to public examination so they can be subject to external democratic control. Social science research, he suggests, is one way to determine if the socially delegated powers given to the police are being abused.

Discretionary behavior as a function of personality or attitudes, however, is a difficult area to study. Personality-behavior correlations are rarely above .30 and situational factors contribute greatly to the variance in behavior (Mischel, 1968). Attitude-behavior consistency is also frequently low (Festinger, 1964; Wick, 1969) and the study of attitudes as predictors of behavior is sometimes abandoned because of this inconsistency (for reviews and discussion, see Lisk,

1975; Mervielde, 1977; Schuman & Johnson, 1976). An example from the area of marital violence is the lack of correlation between approval of violence and behaving violently (Straus, et al., 1979). Nonetheless, the correlation between attitudes and behavior can be increased if the following (and other factors) are considered:

1. The influence of other antecedents and mediators on behavior (Mervielde, 1977).
2. The directness of the experience with the attitude object (Fazio, 1978).
3. One's intentions to engage in the behavior (Azjen & Fishbein, 1973).
4. The match of specificity between attitude and behavior measures (Herbelein & Black, 1976).

Some of these methodological problems can be overcome by the use of a multivariate design which uses several predictor, criterion, and control variables consistent with the above criteria. Since many attitude measures are especially susceptible to social desirability response bias (Rosenthal & Rosnow, 1968), a measure of this source of invalidity can be used to improve the prediction of behavior from attitudes (Crowne & Marlowe, 1964).

A Model for Explaining Police Intervention into Woman Battering Cases

From the above review of the literature, a model can be constructed which include many of the variables previously known or suspected to show a relationship with police discretionary behavior in marital disputes. Figure 1 showed some of the major categories of variables predictive of minimal action, arrest, or counseling. These variables are: the characteristics of police, police department policy and structure, the dispute situation, the man's behavior, and the woman's behavior.

Figure 3 expands on the police variables from Figure 1 because they are of interest in this study. Most of these variables have been discussed in the literature review and can be divided into four categories: background and demographic, personality attributes, attitudes, and training. The criterion variables of arrest and counseling overlap because it is possible for both to occur in the same situation, for example, the officer begins counseling a couple but then arrests one of them for becoming aggressive. The arrows signify "weak causal order" and the signs indicate the hypothesized direction of the correlation between variables.

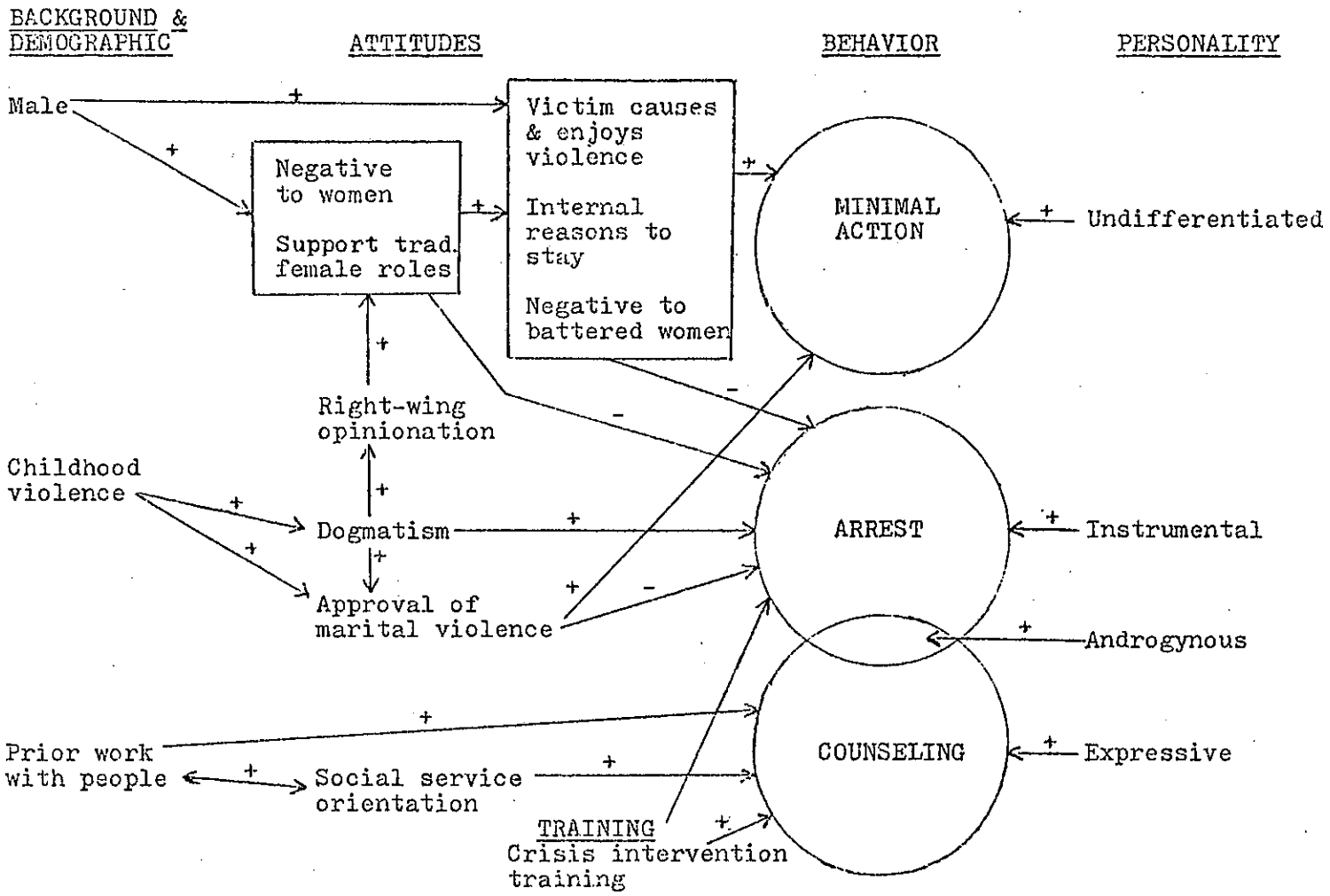


Figure 3. Police variables hypothesized to predict police behavior.

Some of these relationships, such as the one between violence and dogmatism, have considerable empirical support, while other relationships have very little support. The relationships between specific predictor and criterion variables will be stated as hypotheses in the next chapter. Also provided will be a description of procedures to test these hypotheses.

CHAPTER THREE

DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

This chapter presents the design of the study, the procedures which were used in gathering data, the definitions of the variables, and the descriptions of the measures. The chapter ends with a statement of the hypotheses and a description of the data analysis procedures used to test the hypotheses and to explore the data. Validity and reliability data of instruments developed in the study are presented in Chapter Four.

Type and Design of the Study

The design of the study is ex post facto rather than experimental and therefore no control of the predictor variables is possible through random assignment or manipulation. In an ex post facto survey design improper interpretations are more likely than in an experimental design (Kerlinger, 1973). The use of a multivariate approach, however, makes it easier to test

competing hypotheses and offers the use of statistical, as opposed to experimental, controls. A multivariate approach was possible in this study because a number of predictor variables were used. Multivariate procedures were applied for exploratory purposes.

Subjects

The sample consisted of 116 police officers from three cities and seven small towns in Wisconsin. The cities have populations of 45,000, 90,000, and 170,000. The small towns range in population from 2,500 to 10,000. All of the cities and towns are in southern Wisconsin except for one city which is in central Wisconsin. Two of the cities and two of the towns are in counties which had shelters for battered women operating at the time of the survey. Departments were selected, not at random, but in order to have some variability in size and economic base. Letters were sent to chiefs of police explaining the purpose of the study and asking for their cooperation. Only one chief refused to participate. One city and one town had to be replaced because no subjects volunteered.

Generally, chiefs of police in the towns and an assistant to the chief in the cities coordinated the recruitment of participants. Departments varied in

the way they asked officers to participate, using either memos or announcements. The person recruiting subjects was asked to say that participation of officers was voluntary, that officers would receive a five dollar incentive, and that their answers would remain anonymous. In one city I spoke briefly with two of the three shifts that had low sign-up rates and 13 more participants were so elicited.

Departments were asked to recruit officers who were currently "on the street," therefore the sample was mostly patrol officers. However, in small towns even the police chief goes on active patrol. The sample included 86 patrol officers (75.0%), 16 sergeants, two juvenile officers, and the remaining 12 ranked from lieutenant through chief. The average number of years of police work was 8.2 (SD = 5.7). There were six woman officers in the sample. Other characteristics of the sample are provided in Table E (Appendix F). Forty-two (64.6%)of the police personnel in the small towns returned the questionnaire. In the city departments, 74 (50.7%) of those who volunteered to participate in the study returned the questionnaire. This represents 22.1% of the total number of officers in the city departments. The total sample represented approxi-

mately 28.7% of the number of personnel on active patrol in all of the departments.

The rationale for selecting more than one department was to aid in the generalization of interpretations. Also aiding generalization and internal comparisons are the differing sizes and economic bases of the jurisdictions. It is supposed that these factors may influence the range of demographic variables and hence attitudes of the officers. For example, officers from a community that is professionally, rather than industrially based, might be expected to have more education and hence more liberal views of women's role. The rationale for using a five dollar incentive was to increase overall response rates but also to attract those who might not be sympathetic to the problem of marital violence.

There are two major limitations to the sampling procedures of this study. First, the departments themselves were not selected randomly from the population of police departments. This may have introduced a non-random bias into the results stemming from factors of department structure and policies, in particular policies regarding domestic disputes. Second, subjects were not selected within the departments on a random basis. Subjects who volunteer, even with incentive, to give their responses on a questionnaire about domestic

violence are likely to be different on some research variables than those who do not volunteer. Most importantly, they are more likely to be sympathetic toward the problem than nonvolunteers.

Procedures for Gathering Data

The chief or assistant to the chief who recruited the participants was also usually the person who distributed and collected the questionnaires. Because of the length of the questionnaire and because of the incentive payment, officers were required to self-administer the questionnaire during off-duty time. A cover letter explaining the study's purpose and procedures accompanied each questionnaire (see p.192 of Appendix A.) Each instrument in the questionnaire had its own instructions. To assure anonymity, officers signed a list rather than their questionnaire in order to receive the five dollars.

A self-administered paper-and-pencil questionnaire was chosen rather than an interview because of greater efficiency. Self-administration may also decrease the tendency for subjects to give socially desirable answers (Wiseman, 1972), although the evidence for this is inconclusive (Alwin, 1977). It was assumed that officers could understand the instructions and items.

Limitations of this method include lowered response rates and the chance for officers to discuss the items on the questionnaire with others and consequently alter their responses.

Variables

Predictor Variables

The predictor variables were chosen based on their expected relationship to each other and to the discretionary behavior of police officers in marital violence situations. The empirical and logical support for these relationships was developed in Chapter Two. This section will summarize the rationale for the use of each predictor variable and provide a brief definition of each variable.

Belief in traditional female roles. This variable was chosen because it may help explain the behavior of police officers toward battered women as part of their general beliefs about women's roles. The variable covers beliefs about the desirability of equality for men and women in work, family and social situations.

Attitudes toward women. This variable was included

because a general evaluative reaction to women is a different but related construct to beliefs about proper roles. The variable comprises a general affective evaluation of women.

Attitudes toward battered women. A variable of general and specific evaluations about battered women is important to include because of its potential for predicting behavioral responses to battered women. This is also an affective attitude variable.

Gender identity. Gender identity can be interpreted as an outcome of sex-role conditioning and as a personality dimension. The types--androgynous, instrumental, expressive and undifferentiated--may relate to police use of force or nurturance, or flexibility in using both or either when necessary. Definitions of these gender types were provided in Chapter Two.

Prior work. Work experience may be a sign of one's propensities or it may be a source of socialization. An officer's prior work with people, as opposed to data or things, may influence how he or she responds to marital violence calls. Those with a background in people work can be expected to use alternatives to arrest.

Social service orientation. An orientation to police work which stresses understanding and compassion

rather than alertness or appearance is likely to affect officers' reactions to marital violence. The variable reflects the extent to which an officer thinks a good officer has people-oriented qualities.

Family crisis intervention training. Many crisis training programs stress counseling and mediation and explicitly recommend arrest as a last resort. Therefore it can be expected that the amount, type, and intensity of this training will have an impact on officers' discretionary behavior in domestic violence cases.

Criterion Variables

Three major classes of criterion variables were used in the study: arrest, informal action (including counseling responses), and minimal action. There were two major reasons for having separate criterion variables and for not placing the three criterion variables into a single criterion variable with each of the three indicating a level of action. First, by definition "minimal action" is the least amount of officer action, but it did not seem possible to assign one of the remaining variables--informal action or arrest--to a category of "most action." There seemed to be no clear way of measuring the energies expended by officers in the arrest and informal action responses. Second, positions have been taken,

most with theoretical underpinnings, which posit a relationship between specific officer characteristics and the specific responses of arrest or informal action. Thus the hypotheses are on a specific level, relating specific predictors with the separate police action.

Arrest. Arrest is one of the major options open to officers in response to an assault incident and will mean the arrest of the spouse abuser or the tendency to arrest the spouse abuser. The definition includes any type of criminal charge, not only battery, because officers sometimes use a lesser charge even if they have good evidence that a battery occurred.

Informal actions. Counseling and mediation have been increasingly stressed over approximately the past ten years as the preferred modes of intervention in family disputes. In this study "counseling" will be defined as either empathizing with the feelings of family members or mediating their immediate problems. It will not include giving advice or making recommendations as the term has been defined elsewhere in police training (Bard & Zacker, 1976). While crisis counseling is viewed as an appropriate informal action for officers, informal action may also include referrals to specific agencies and giving personal and legal options to family members.

Minimal Action. Minimal or no action on the part of an officer signifies the least amount of investment in responding to a situation. Minimal action means the use of vague recommendations, referrals, and warnings without the use of arrest or informal actions, or simply a low probability of responding with arrest, informal action, or specific referrals.

Measures

Table 1 shows the correspondence between the variables and the measures used in the study.

Predictor Measures

Attitudes toward Women Scale (AWS, Appendix A, p. 198) (Spence & Helmreich, 1973). This is a measure of traditional views towards the roles of women, including work, family and social roles. The 25-item version was used. It has a correlation of .97 with the 55-item version, thereby showing nearly the same properties of validity as the long form.

The split-half reliability of the 25-item form was reported as .78 (Feild, 1978). A factor analysis showed the scale to be unifactorial (Spence & Helmreich, 1973). A test-retest correlation has not been reported.

Table 1

Correspondence Between Variables and Measures

Variable	Measure
Predictor	
androgyny-undifferentiated gender identity	modified Bem Sex Role Inventory
expressive - instrumental gender identity	modified Bem Sex Role Inventory
prior work with people	Dictionary of Occupational Titles
social service orientation	modified Wetteroth Trait Images Scale
family crisis intervention training	officer self-report
beliefs about women's roles	Attitudes Toward Women Scale
attitudes toward women	semantic differential technique
attitudes toward battered women	semantic differential technique
approval of marital violence	Approval of Marital Violence Scale
Criterion	
arrest	1) report of most recent encounter 2) high likelihood of arrest response to two vignette situations
informal action	1) recent encounter reports of specific referrals, specific warnings, mediation, asking about violence

Table 1 (Cont.)

Variable	Measure
	recommending immediate separation;
	2) high likelihood of responding to vignette situations with empathy, mediation, giving options, warning man, or discouraging arrest (not mutually exclusive)
minimal action	1) recent encounter reports of general responses: referrals, warnings, recommendations, or information seeking;
	2) low likelihood of responding with arrest, informal action, or referral in response to 2 vignette situations
Situational and Other	
demographics of officer and couple in recent situation	officer self-report
drug use of man and woman	officer self-report
aggressiveness of man and woman	checklist of actions; aggressiveness scale adapted from Kelling, et al.
injuries to man, woman, and officer	Spouse Assault Injury Scale, from Officer observations
social desirability response bias	Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability Scale

The scale successfully differentiated males and females and older and younger persons in expected directions, thus showing construct validity. This validity has been confirmed in may other studies using the AWS (for review see Spence & Helmreich, 1978). Correlations between the AWS and measures of gender identity have not shown consistent results (Jones, Chernowitz & Hansson, 1978; Spence & Helmreich, 1972; Zeldow, 1976). Normative data are available on large student and nonstudent samples, but none is reported for police officers.

Through experiments using physiological measures (Gackenbush & Auerbach, 1975) and the bogus pipeline procedure (Bowman & Auerbach, 1978), this measure has been found to be especially susceptible to biasing by males. There is some doubt as to whether the Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability Scale is able to detect this bias (Spence & Helmreich, 1975). In the Saunders and Size study (Note 5), the Marlowe-Crowne was significantly correlated with the AWS in all three samples but not all in the same direction. The police and victims were apparently trying to look more traditional and the advocates more liberal, suggesting that biasing occurs with reference to one's peer group. Along with its fakability, the AWS has been criticized for not using the "known groups" method in its original validation

(Kalin & Tilby, 1978). The response format is a five point Likert scale from "agree strongly" to "disagree strongly."

Evaluation of Women (Appendix, p. 201). The semantic differential technique was used to assess the general affective evaluation of women (Osgood, Suci & Tannenbaum, 1957). The test-retest reliability of the semantic differential in general ranges from .87 to .93 with a mean coefficient of .91. Individual and factor scores have shown its internal consistency to be quite good. Criterion-related validity is shown by its ability to obtain predicted results and construct validity is shown by its high correlation (.78-.90) with Likert, Thurstone, and Guttman scales of attitude (Osgood, Tannenbaum & Suci, 1957).

The 15 adjective pairs used here are from the 22-adjective pairs (items) used by Chang and Zastrow (1976) in their study of the police in Wisconsin. All of the adjective pairs are from the evaluative dimension rather than the activity or potency dimensions. Normative data are not available for the combination of items used here but a "conceptual replication" with the Chang and Zastrow study was possible. The stimulus groups rated in common by the two studies--"police" and "women"--received nearly the same ratings.[5] The

predicted correlations between this measure and the semantic differential measure of "battered women" across three samples, as cited earlier, indicates the construct validity of the measure. However, for the police sample, this measure was also positively and significantly correlated with the stimulus group "men," suggesting that, for officers, these measures tap the larger concept of attitudes toward humanity.

The internal reliability using the alpha coefficient was .76 for a combination of police, victim, and advocate samples (Saunders & Size, Note 5). Respondents are to mark one of seven points between bipolar adjectives indicating their reaction to the stimulus word or phrase on top of the list of adjectives. Because of lower face validity, social desirability bias is reduced in this measure. One limitation is the breadth of the dimension, and a second limitation is that some people resist generalizing about the stimulus group and refuse to respond or give all midpoint ratings.

Evaluation of Battered Women (Appendix A, p. 201). The phrase "Battered Women" was also assessed using the semantic differential technique. The same items and format were used as for the stimulus group "Women." The alpha coefficient for this sample was .78 with the three samples combined (Saunders & Size, Note 5).

Bem Sex Role Inventory (Appendix A, p. 206)

Five instrumental and five expressive items from the original scales were used (Bem, 1974). Filler items were used to disguise the purpose of the inventory. The 10 items were chosen because they had the highest item-total correlations on their respective dimensions (Bem & Watson, Note 9). Factor analysis confirms the high degree to which they contribute to their dimensions (Gaudreau, 1977). Test-retest reliability is not reported but internal consistency is shown by several replications of the dimensions by factor analysis (Gaudreau, 1977; Moreland, Galanick, Montague & Harren, 1978; Wakefield, Sasek, Friedman, & Bowden, 1976). The internal reliability (alpha coefficient) for the five item instrumental scale was .84 and for the five item expressive scale was .87, again for the three samples combined from the comparative study (Saunders & Size, Note 5).

Several experiments were able to predict the behavior of the gender types consistent with the theory, thus indicating the validity of the inventory (Bem, 1975; Bem & Lenney, 1976; Bem, Martyna & Watson, 1977). Norms are available for several large samples but have not yet been published for police officers. The purpose of the inventory is disguised and respondents are asked to rate traits from 1 to 7 on how characteristic the

trait is of them.

Following the recommendations of Myers and Sugar (Note 3) and Strahan (1975), two separate dimensions were created using the instrumental and expressive scales and these new dimensions were entered simultaneously into the multiple regression equations. The androgynous-undifferentiated dimension was formed by adding the instrumental (I) and expressive (E) scores and became the androgynous-undifferentiated dimension. Adding the scores of these scales is consistent with the definition of androgyny as the combination of male and female traits. A second dimension was formed by the subtraction of the I scale from the E scale. This became the expressiveness-instrumentality dimension. A high score on this dimension indicates expressive or feminine sex-typed characteristics, and a low score indicates instrumental or masculine sex-typed characteristics. Because androgyny is defined as the addition of instrumental and expressive traits without the effects of sex-typing the multiple regression method partials the expressive-instrumental scale from the androgyny-undifferentiated scale.

For experimental and some correlational studies, subjects are typically classified by a particular method into one of four categories according to their scores on

the I and E scales. However, these methods have disadvantages compared to the multiple regression method, including the loss of information and reduced reliability from categorization. Categorization using the median split method is more suited to experiments which require an equal number of subjects in discrete groups.

Approval of Marital Violence Scale (Appendix A, p. 204). This measure is a hybrid of two others and was constructed in order to capture the benefits of both. One measure is that of marital violence used by Straus et al. (1979) with the national survey sample. Respondents were asked to rate how "good," "necessary," and "normal" a "couple slapping each other" is using the semantic differential response format with seven points between the bipolar adjectives. Since violence approval rates differ by sex of the victim and severity of the violence, as found in the survey for the National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence (Stark & McEvoy, 1970), situations from this latter survey were combined with the Straus et al. format. A situation about the use of self-defense was also included. Rather than a situation involving "shooting," as was used in the National Commission survey, a more common event, "severe bruising,"was used in this study.

As part of scale development for the larger project, factor analysis was performed on the 24 items (Saunders & Size, Note 5, n = 190) using the principal component method with varimax rotation. This method was chosen because no assumptions were made about the number of underlying factors. The major factors were "violence as good," "violence as normal," "violence justified against insults," "violence justified against infidelity," and "self-defense." All but the last factor were used in this study. The internal reliability coefficients (alpha) ranged from .77 to .88 (mean = .85). The three non-overlapping scales of violence as "normal," "justified against insults," and "justified against infidelity" were combined to form a general marital violence approval scale to be used in hypothesis testing. The separate scales were used for exploratory analysis of the data (see Appendix E).

Some evidence of validity was demonstrated because, as predicted, men were more likely than women to approve of violence in response to a partner's unfaithfulness; and, as predicted, men and women did not differ on the other three factors (Saunders & Size, Note 5).

Prior Work. The previous work experience of officers was rated by its level of complexity on orientations toward data, things, and people. This rating was done by

the author with the use of the Dictionary of Occupational Titles (U.S. Gov't., 1965). Information was supplied in response to the question: "What full-time work did you hold before entering police work?" Eight levels of complexity are included in the rating. The orientation of "people" ranges from a low level of complexity, "serving," to a high level, "mentoring" (the D.O.T. levels were reversed to give a high score to high complexity). "Mentoring" means dealing with individuals in terms of their total personality in order to advise, counsel, or guide them. Because the hypotheses deal only with work oriented to people, the "data" and "things" scales were subtracted from the "people" scale. This computation then gave higher scores to those with an exclusive or near-exclusive focus on relating in a complex manner with people.

Social Service Orientation. (Appendix A, p. 205) This is a measure of the extent to which people believe the police should hold traits beneficial in dealing with people. Five qualities noted by Sterling (1972) to characterize a social service orientation were used along with five others which reveal an orientation toward the physical aspects of policing. All 10 traits are from Wetteroth's (1967) Trait Image Scale of 40 items which has been used on large police samples. Only minor changes

were noted in rank orders of the traits between recruitment, end of training, and 18 months on the job (Sterling, 1972), thus providing some evidence of test-retest reliability. Evidence of validity, other than the content validity supplied by Sterling, was not reported. Officers in this study were asked to rank order 5 of the 10 attributes according to which ones they believe a "good officer" should possess. The ranks for the people-oriented characteristics were reversed (to show the higher preference given them) and then added. Thus, the measure was treated as interval rather than ordinal.

Evidence for the validity of this measure is presented in Chapter Four.

Family crisis intervention training. (p. 210) Officers were asked if they had ever had family crisis intervention training. They were also asked what methods were used if they had received such training: roleplaying, discussion, film, or lecture. Roleplaying was taken *a priori* as a sign of more intensive family crisis intervention training than the other methods. More information on this measure is given in Chapter Four.

Criterion Measures

The criterion variables of arrest, informal action, and minimal action were measured using two different

methods. The hypotheses were tested for each method. One method used a self-report of each officer's most recent encounter with a marital violence case. Officers were asked through an open-ended question what they said to the man and to the woman (p. 194). The other measure used responses to two vignettes describing situations that officers are likely to encounter in marital violence cases. Officers were asked to report their likelihood of responding, from 0 to 100% probability, with ten different options including arrest, warning of arrest, referral, and mediation (p. 196).

The open-ended measure had the advantage of being able to elicit responses not considered by the researcher and of giving more explanation to the responses; it had the disadvantage of tapping only a small sample of each officer's behavior. The structured vignette measure had the advantage of allowing greater reliability because of a uniformity of response choices and format; a disadvantage of the vignette measure is that it shows only a tendency to respond. This tendency may or may not be highly correlated with actual responding. The use of two divergent types of measures for the criterion variables strengthens the results when the hypotheses are supported using both types of measures.

The operationalization of the variable "arrest" was fairly straightforward. Officers checked whether or not they arrested the man or woman during their most recent encounter, and, if so, on what charges. It was assumed that officers could recall if someone was arrested and who it was. On the vignette measure, they indicated their probability of arresting the spouse abuser.

The definitions of"informal action" and "minimal action" differed on the two instruments. For the "recent encounter" measure, "informal action" meant the use of referrals to specific agencies, mediation, telling specifically about the police role, and other specific responses; "minimal action" was defined as general or vague responses such as general recommendations or general warnings.

For the vignette measure, "informal action" was defined as the combined, self-reported probabilities of the officer responding with mediation, empathy, warning the man, giving legal and personal options, and discouraging the woman from seeking arrest; "minimal action" was defined as a low probability of the officer responding with arrest, informal action, or the use of specific referrals.

Recent Encounter Measure. Measures of informal action and minimal action were derived from the officers' reports of their verbal responses to the couple during their recent encounter with a marital violence case. Responses within each open-ended answer were separated and written on cards with reference to gender removed. Therefore, officers could give more than one response and up to four responses were coded for each officer/citizen interaction. Seven categories and 37 subcategories of responses were developed by the author from inspection of the cards (p. 212). Two social work graduate students rated the 330 responses. Adequate inter-judge reliability, as reported in Chapter Four, was obtained.

Only a few officers reported using "mediation" and none reported a response fitting the definition of empathy--"showing an understanding of feelings." Therefore, either empathy was not used by officers or the measure did not adequately tap its use. Both the vignette responses of officers, described later, and victim perceptions (Saunders & Size, Note 5) show that officers have a propensity to be empathic in these cases.

Due to a low response rate in many categories believed to represent minimal action, this variable could not be measured as planned. Instead, verbal responses which were general or vague in nature were combined and

used as an indicator of minimal action. These responses were general warnings, general referrals, general recommendations, and general information seeking.

Specific responses were mediation, informing either partner about the police role and about police availability, asking specifically about the violence, recommending the couple separate for the night, giving specific warnings, and making specific referrals. An example of the difference between general and specific responding for the referral category would be as follows: specific--"I suggested she call the shelter for battered women" or "I gave them the mental health center number where they could get help for their marriage"; versus general--"I suggested they see a counselor" or "I advised he get help for drinking problem." Officers who used only general responses spent significantly less time on the call than officers who used only specific responses (see "Instrument Development" section in Chapter Four). About 26% of both the general responders and specific responders also made arrests. "Minimal action," therefore, became defined as the use of only general responses without the use of arrest; "informal action" was defined as the use of only specific responses without the use of arrest.[8] The categorization of responses into

discrete categories produced the independence between the measures needed to test the hypotheses.

Vignette Measures. Cluster analyses were performed on the vignette responses (with factor analyses done for corroboration) to see if arrest and counseling were indeed separate dimensions. The recent encounter responses were not cluster analyzed because many categories contained only a few responses and because dichotomous responses are not well suited for cluster analysis. Along with greater computational simplicity, cluster analysis has some advantages over factor analysis. With cluster analysis and the use of demdograms (diagrams showing the linkages between items and clusters of items), more inclusive groupings of clusters are easily identified and the relationships between clusters can be visualized.

The cluster analysis of the vignette responses produced the independence between five of the six vignette criterion measures needed to test the hypotheses. The results of the cluster and factor analyses and the evidence of the reliability and validity of the measures are presented in Chapter Four.

Situational and Other Variables and Their Measures

Variables likely to influence the police response to spouse assault calls but which were unrelated to the

hypotheses, were used in order to measure their influence in the analysis of data on the most recent encounter. A number of potential situational variables were not used in the analysis because of their low frequency of occurrence. The use of weapons and the location of the assault outside of the home were not used for this reason. Another variable, department policy, was not used because none of the departments had written policies pertaining to spouse abuse. However, as described earlier, some training materials contain implicit policy guidelines and an assumption was made that family crisis intervention training would engender an informal policy of "arrest as a last resort."

The officer's report of the source of the couple's conflict was not part of the questionnaire because officers often do not discover this informaton or may not be able to recall it accurately.

Demographic data. The couple's marital status and a number of background and demographic variables of the officer (education, marital status, etc.) were included as variables for the purpose of exploring the data (p. 210).

Drug use. Officers were asked to report as to whether the man, woman, or both appeared under the influence of alcohol or other drugs (p. 193). A drawback of this measure is that it is nominal rather than

interval, as used in other studies (Bard and Zacker, 1976).

Aggressiveness of man and woman. Two measures, modified from those used in studies by the Police Foundation (Kelling, Pate, Dieckman & Vargo, Note 3), were used to measure the behavior of the man and woman during the police encounter with them. One used a semantic differential format with 6 general characteristics (p. 193) and the other used a checklist of 7 behaviors including crying, shouting, and assaulting the partner or the officer (p. 195).

Evidence for the reliability of the measure is provided in Chapter Four.

Spouse Assault Injury Scale. Police officers were asked to describe the injuries to the man, the woman, and themselves which were suffered in the most recent incident to which they responded. It seemed necessary to develop a new scale because previous scales used the obtaining of medical help as an indicator of injury severity (cf. Parker, 1977) and case studies show that some battered women, out of shame or fear, refuse medical help even for severe injuries.

Nineteen of the injury descriptions representing various degrees of severity were rated on a ten point scale by 20 emergency room nurses (see Appendix C). They were asked for a simple rating or a range of severity.

The average range would indicate the degree of confidence the nurses had in their ratings and hence was a measure of reliability. Two of the injuries were placed in the category "unclassifiable" because the average of ranges was large; another injury was worded more precisely for this reason. Two injuries were placed in the category "permanent damage." The median of the midpoints of the remaining 16 injury ratings were used as a basis for clustering the injuries. The clusters became anchor points for a nine point scale (see p. 216).

Next, injury descriptions from the questionnaires were written on cards with references to gender and occupation removed. Two instructors of emergency room nursing rated the injuries on the nine point scale but did not reach satisfactory inter-rater agreement (specific results are given in Chapter Four). This lower than satisfactory agreement level probably resulted from the low specificity of descriptions. A higher level of specificity was expected because officers are trained in accurate observation and recording. Reliability could probably be improved by asking specific questions about the size and site of injuries. Satisfactory reliability (agreement between raters) was obtained by collapsing the nine categories to four. Injuries were judged "unclassifiable" if any judge rated it as such or if a

judge was further than a scale point away from the other two. If more than one type of injury was incurred by a person, the injuries were separated out for the purpose of rating, then added for analysis. If more than one injury of the same type occurred, such as "multiple bruises," a "1" was added to the rating.

Social desirability response bias. This source of invalidity for many self-report attitude measures was detected using an 18-item version of the Marlow-Crowne Social Desirability Scale (p. 208). It was chosen to measure this variable because it is uncorrelated with psychopathology and has high test-retest and internal reliability (alpha = .88). Several studies support its validity (Crowne & Marlowe, 1964). The sub-set of items used here correlated .95 with the 33-item version using 54 group therapy clients. Therefore the shorter version has nearly identical properties to that of the longer version.

All of the interval-level measures were corrected for this bias prior to data analysis. Correction was achieved first by regressing the unadjusted measures, Y', on the Marlowe-Crowne measure, X as follows: $Y' = a + bX$. The regression coefficient, b, indicates the extent to which each measure has been altered by social desirability response bias. To remove the bias, therefore, each person's Marlowe-Crowne score (MC) is weighted by the

regression coefficient and then subtracted from each unadjusted score. The resulting formula is

$$Y_{adjusted} = Y_{unadjusted} - bMC.$$

Problem Under Investigation

The questions examined in this study were: Do background, personality, attitude, and training variables of police officers relate to the way they respond in marital violence cases? If there is a relationship, what is it? Of particular importance is the question: Is the police tendency to refrain from action in battered women cases related to traditional views of women and negative attitudes toward battered women, or is it more strongly related to a training emphasis on alternatives to arrest?

Based on the review of the literature in Chapter Two, a number of specific hypotheses were formulated. Arrest would be positively and significantly associated with:

1. An instrumental gender identity,
2. A belief in nontraditional female roles,
3. Positive attitudes toward women,
4. Positive attitudes toward battered women,

5. Low intensity family crisis intervention training,
6. Low approval of marital violence.

Informal action would be positively and significantly associated with:

7. An expressive gender identity,
8. Prior work with people,
9. A social service orientation,
10. High intensity of family crisis intervention training.

Minimal action would be positively and significantly associated with:

11. High approval of marital violence,
12. Undifferentiated gender identity,
13. A belief in traditional female roles,
14. Negative attitudes toward women
15. Negative attitudes toward battered women.

Data Analysis

The hypotheses were tested using a *t* test to determine if the simple correlations between the predictor and criterion measures were significantly greater than zero in the predicted direction. Simple rather than partial or multiple correlations were used because the hypotheses pertained to relationships between specific

predictor and specific criterion variables.[6] Multiple regression analyses were used to explore the data for suppression effects and to describe the total amount of variance of particular sets of variables.

At first glance it might seem that the hypotheses would more appropriately be tested using canonical correlation analysis, and its form with discrete criterion variables, discriminant analysis.[7] However, aside from the greater difficulty in interpreting canonical correlation analysis and the lack of relationship-specific statistic tests for it (Thorndike, 1976), canonical correlation reduces to a series of multiple regression analyses when the criterion measures are independent of each other (Cohen & Cohen, 1975). In this study, five of the six criterion measures are independent of each other. They were made independent either through cluster analysis or categorization. Alternate procedures were used to remove the dependence of the sixth criterion measure, the vignette measure of minimal action.

Multiple regression analysis was also ruled out for use in testing the hypotheses for a number of reasons:

1. Potential control variables such as the situational variables were numerous. Entering a predictor variable into the regression equation after the set of control variables would likely "steal" variance from

the predictor variable because of the accidental covariation of the predictor and control variables. This type of analysis was done, however, for exploratory purposes.

2. Not all of the potential control variables were causally prior to the predictor varibles. If a predictor variable influenced the situation, entering the control variables first in the regression equation would remove variance substantively belonging to the predictor variable.

3. The hypotheses specified that <u>each</u> predictor variable would be associated with one or more criterion variable in a <u>particular</u> direction. Multiple regression techniques are more suited for explaining the amount of variance accounted for by a <u>set</u> of related variables irrespective of the direction of associations.

4. The relationships among the predictor variables were unknown prior to the study. Because it is likely that many of the predictor variables will be intercorrelated, the beta weights from the multiple regression equation may be drastically reduced. Such redundancy of the predictor variables would increase the Type II error rate for testing the hypotheses of this study which are highly specific.

For exploratory purposes, multiple regression analyses were used in order to remove the influence of

the situational variables, to assess redundancy and suppression effects of the predictor variables, and to describe the separate and combined influence of sets of variables on the criterion variables. For the analysis of survey data, multiple regression techniques have several advantages over the causal inferences made from chi-square tabular analysis, including the following (Hirschi & Selvin, 1967): (a) Multiple regression techniques indicate the proportion of the variation explained in the criterion variables by all of the predictor variables taken together. With chi-square analysis, overlapping sets of predictor variables may explain the same variation more than once. (b) Multiple regression analysis can use smaller samples because a single measure of association is directly computed, whereas percentage comparisons of chi-square analysis require several cells each with a sufficiently large number of cases.

Multiple regression is suited for situations in which there is more than one predictor variable. Each variable is regressed to find its best fit in predicting the criterion varible and added to the other variable. When groups are dummy coded and tested for differences on an interval scale the method is identical to analysis of variance. This is because the slope of the regression

formula, b, is equal to the between-groups variance and the residual component, or error from the regression line, is equal to the within-groups variance, thus

$$F = \frac{SSb/df}{SSw/df} = \frac{SSreg/df}{SSres/df.}$$

Therefore, analysis of variance is one type of multiple regression analysis which in turn is one form of the general linear model.

Although the simple correlation coefficient is customarliy used when both variables are measured at the interval level, it is also an appropriate measure of the strength of the relationship between dichotomous variables, as well as a test of the significance of the relationship (Welkowitz, Ewen & Cohen, 1971). Categorical predictor variables (e.g., marital status, type of training) were dummy coded, one or zero, and used in the correlation and regression equations. When the proportions of the cells are unequal, the resulting phi coefficient has a possible maximum of less than one (Cohen & Cohen, 1975, p. 59).

Because hypotheses were made and because they specified the direction of association (analogous to planned comparisons), hypotheses were tested with a one-tailed test at the .05 level of significance. An exception to this was made when the hypotheses were not independent

and therefore the alpha level was divided among the hypotheses.[8]

CHAPTER FOUR

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

This chapter will present the results of the development of instruments followed by descriptive data, and then the major findings of the study. A final section of the chapter contains findings which cover the relationship between the nonhypothesized predictor variables and the criterion variables and the influence of sets of predictor variables. Results pertaining to officer demographic variables, the differential prediction of two criterion variables, the vignette referral measure, and the separate marital violence approval scales appear in Appendix E.

Instrument Development

A number of instruments were developed or modified as part of the study. Instruments developed for the study include the recent encounter and vignette responses indicative of arrest, informal action, or minimal action,

the Spouse Assault Injury Scale, and the measure of crisis training. Instruments modified for the study include those revealing a social service orientation and the aggressiveness of the man and woman during the officer's recent spouse assault case.

Predictor Measures

Social service orientation. This measure showed one sign of construct validity. As predicted by the hypothesized model, there was a significant, positive correlation between this measure and prior work having a people orientation ($r = .16$, $p < .04$).

Family crisis intervention training. Nearly all of the officers reported some training in family crisis intervention, making the presence or absence of this training impossible to use as a measure. Therefore, the use of roleplaying was used to measure the intensity of training, assuming that roleplaying is more involving than lecture, films, or discussions (p. 210). Lectures and discussions were highly associated with each other as were roleplaying and watching films. Reports from the training officers in the three departments with training officers generally corroborated the officers' reports of training methods they experienced. This measure does

not assess how involved the officers were in their training or whether training goals were met.

Other predictor measures. Three measures which were part of the battery did not show sufficient internal reliability to be used in the analysis. These were subsets of items from the Rokeach Dogmatism and Opinionation Scales (p. 207) and ten items meant to reveal one's attitudes toward marital violence (p.200).

Criterion Measures

Recent encounter measures. As stated previously, the measurement of arrest was fairly straightforward. Officers checked if they arrested someone and who it was.

The major criterion categories of informal action and minimal action were developed from the officers' reports of their verbal responses to the couple. The categorization of the subcategories by two raters produced an agreement level of 83.5%. Adding a third rater raised the level to 95.6% for the agreement between two out of three raters. Using only the major categories, the level of agreement was 91.4% for two raters and 99.4% for three raters.

Although inter-judge reliability was quite high, it appeared that for some categories it was attained artificially through the use of semantic cues. For example, officers frequently stated that they had "advised" persons which could mean, depending on how it was used, to warn, to recommend, to order, or to give information. Raters were given examples of contextual cues to suggest meaning but they may have used these cues too literally, thereby covering the ambiguity of the responses (see Appendix B., "Instructions for Raters"). For example, every time "advised" was followed by "if" they may have placed it in the "warn" category, whereas it may have been ambiguous and hence unclassifiable and unreliable.

There was an indicator of reliability in addition to inter-judge reliability. There was no relationship between how recent the call was and the couple's behavior or injuries. This lack of relationship probably means the officer was actually reporting on the most recent encounter and not the most serious or dramatic one.

Substantiating general responses as valid indicators of minimal action, it was found that officers using only general responses (n = 29) spent an average of 12 minutes less time on the call than officers who used only

specific responses (n = 37) (25.6 vs. 38.1 minutes, t = 2.79, $p < .003$).

Vignette measures. The responses to the two vignettes were cluster analyzed; factor analysis was used as a corroborating procedure and because of its greater familiarity. Figure 4 shows the dendrograms of the cluster analyses of each vignette (hierarchical, group averages method).[10]

The clusters closest to the horizontal axis are strongest (higher r or average r), thus the cluster "referral" is strong and clearcut in both vignettes. The shorter the vertical line joining clusters, the more highly associated they are (thus in Vignette 1, items 9 and 10 are more highly associated with items 5, 7, and 8 than they are with items 3 and 4). The cluster of items 9, 10, 5, 7, and 8 was named "informal action" and is clearly seen in the dendrograms, especially the one depicting Vignette 2. In both vignettes, the "referral" cluster joins the "informal action" cluster before the arrest items. Although the "arrest man" item in Vignette 1 (item 1) was relatively isolated from the other items, in Vignette 2 it was somewhat associated with the arrest woman and warn woman items. Because the hypotheses pertained to arrest of the man rather than arrest of both the man and woman, only the "arrest man"

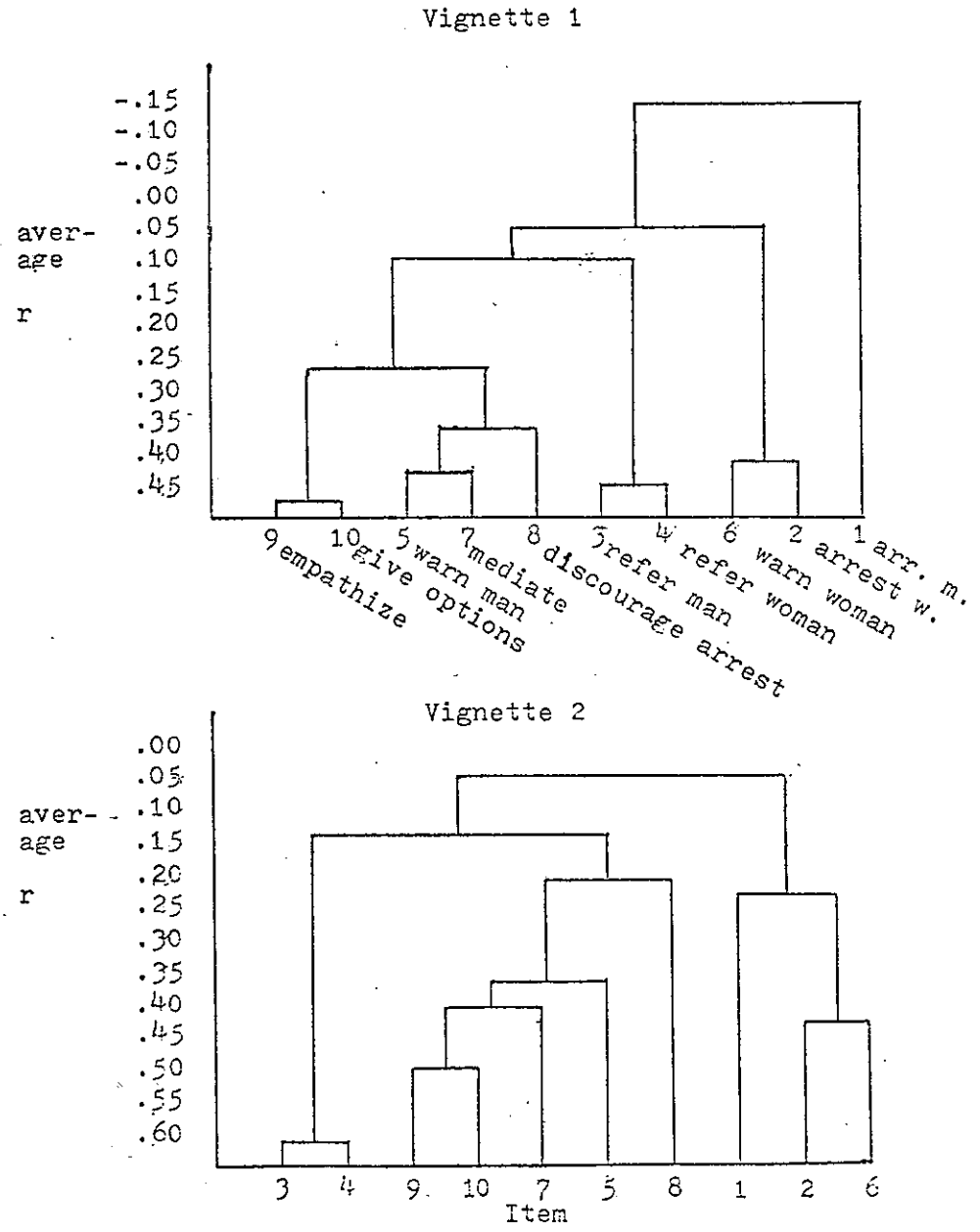


Figure 4. Cluster analysis dendrograms of vignette responses.

items were used.

The responses to the two vignettes were also factor analyzed, a separate analysis for each vignette, with the principal component procedure followed by varimax rotation. Table 2 shows the varimax rotated factor matrices. The results of the factor analyses resemble closely those of the cluster analyses. The results for Vignette 2 are more clearcut than for Vignette 1: Factor I covers the same items as the "informal action" cluster--warning the man, mediating, empathizing, discouraging arrest, and giving options; Factor II covers the referral responses; the "arrest woman" and "warn woman" responses load highest on Factor III; Factor IV is primarily the "arrest man" item and to some extent the "arrest woman" and "give options" items.

The results of the factor analysis for Vignette 1 showed clear factors for "referral" (Factor III) and "warn or arrest woman" (Factor IV). Factor I was bipolar with "arrest man" vs. "warn man," "mediate," and "discourage arrest." On Factor II the highest loadings were for "empathize" and "give options" and to a lesser extent for the "arrest man" and the informal action responses of "warn man" and "mediate."

The cluster analyses, corroborated by the factor analyses, revealed four major groups of items: (a) ar-

Table 2

Varimax Rotated Factor Matrices of the Vignette Items

Vignette 1

Item	Factor I	II	III	IV
1. arrest man	-.706	.424	-.178	-.020
2. arrest woman	-.130	.098	.095	.888
3. refer man	.156	-.095	.817	-.019
4. refer woman	.021	.098	.843	-.033
5. warn man	.616	.379	.205	-.050
6. warn woman	.315	-.039	-.188	.762
7. mediate	.706	.369	.103	.048
8. discourage arrest	.735	.093	-.052	.110
9. empathize	.270	.748	.004	.097
10. give options	.016	.867	-.005	-.010

Vignette 2

Item	Factor I	II	III	IV
1. arrest man	-.088	.037	.107	.908
2. arrest woman	.029	-.087	.678	.479
3. refer man	.087	.903	.089	-.113
4. refer woman	.095	.878	-.093	.152
5. warn man	.667	-.064	.208	-.065
6. warn woman	.212	.066	.881	-.084
7. mediate	.747	.071	.199	-.251
8. discourage arrest	.494	.025	-.362	-.072
9. empathize	.755	.276	.088	.123
10. give options	.676	.109	-.147	.463

rest the man; (b) refer the man and the woman; (c) arrest the woman or warn her of arrest; and (d) "informal actions" of mediating, empathizing, giving options, warning the man, and discouraging arrest. The positive associations among discouraging arrest, mediation, empathy, and warning indicate the complexity of the police response to family violence (cf. Bard & Zacker, 1976). The counseling responses obviously do not operate in isolation from other responses and were therefore combined with their related responses to form the category "informal action." (The correlation matrices upon which the cluster and factor analyses were based are shown in Table A, Appendix D.)

The average of the correlations between corresponding items of the two vignettes was .43 (range of .33 to .78). Criterion-related validity was shown by the point biserial correlations between the vignette responses and the corresponding reports of the most recent encounter, which are likely to be reliable reports of behavior (see above description of that measure) ($\underline{r}$ = .21, $\underline{r}$ = .18, for arrest; $\underline{r}$ = .20, $\underline{r}$ = .28, for referral, all sign.) An indication of concurrent validity is given by the moderate rank order correlation ($\underline{r}'$ = .59, $p < .025$) between the officers' reported tendencies and the perceptions 52 battered women had

of the responses of a different set of officers (Saunders & Size, Note 5). The five items from each vignette signifying informal action formed a scale with an internal reliability (alpha) of .82. The four items indicating a probability of referring the man and woman formed a scale with an internal reliability (alpha) of .70. The vignette measure of minimal action was formed such that minimal action was defined as a low probability of using arrest, informal action, and referral. The scores on "arrest," "informal action" and "referral" were added and multiplied by -1. The resulting dependence of the minimal action measure on the arrest and informal action measure complicated the data analysis. Procedures for coping with or circumventing the interdependence of the measures are described below in the section on major findings.

Situational Measures

Aggressiveness of man and woman. The intercorrelations of items from the behavior checklist and aggressiveness scale revealed a general aggressiveness dimension for the man and for the woman. Correlations were such that verbal and physical aggression were not separate nor were the targets of aggression. For the man, five general characteristics and two specific

behaviors, verbally attacking the police and threatening to assault the police, formed a single aggressiveness scale. This scale had a high degree of internal consistency (alpha coefficient = .84). For the woman, five items from each scale formed an aggressiveness scale which also had a high degree of internal reliability (alpha coefficient = .81).

Spouse Assault Injury Scale. The police officers described in a nonstructured fashion the injuries they observed to the man, woman, and themselves during their recent encounters. As mentioned previously, the inter-rater reliability with the nine point scale was insufficiently high, therefore the categories were collapsed to produce a four point scale. On the nine point scale, raters agreed on 80.1% of the injuries. On the four point scale, two raters agreed on 86.5% of the injuries and two of three raters agreed on 96.8% of the injuries.

Descriptive Data

Since knowledge of certain characteristics of the predictor, criterion, and situational variables in themselves may aid in understanding and interpreting the results, descriptive data and some discussion of these data will be presented prior to the major findings which

address the hypotheses. The distributions and interrelationships of the predictor variables will be presented first, followed by descriptive data on the officers' recent encounter with a spouse abuse case and their responses to the two vignettes.

Predictor Variables

Table 3 shows the means, standard deviations, and intercorrelations of the independent variables. Consistent with the hypothesized model presented on page 76 (Figure 3), support of liberal roles for women is significantly and negatively correlated with the approval of marital violence (r = -.43). This relationship, as found in prior studies cited in Chapter Two, is probably due to the dependence of each of these variables on political ideology, right-wing dogmatism being positively associated with approval of violence and negatively associated with support of liberal roles for women. Also consistent with the model is the positive relationship between attitudes toward women and attitudes toward battered women (r = .52); positive attitudes toward battered women appear to be a reflection of positive attitudes toward women in general.

Contrary to predictions, beliefs about women's roles were not significantly related to attitudes

Table 3

Means, Standard Deviations, and Intercorrelations of Predictor Variables

Variable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	M	SD
1. expr. vs. instr.[a]		-.20	.09	.20	-.02	-.11	.18	.11	-.06	1.18	2.44
2. andro. vs undif.[a]			.07	.12	.11	-.06	.14	-.04	.05	9.65	1.38
3. people work				.14	.11	-.14	.29	.04	-.06	4.27	3.54
4. social service orientation					.03	-.06	.19	.00	.15	12.33	3.29
5. family crisis inter. training						-.07	.15	.05	.13	b	b
6. marital violence approval							-.43	-.18	-.19	5.66	2.57
7. AWS (belief in liberal women's roles)								.07	.05	53.35	11.41
8. positive attitudes toward women									.52	4.54	.57
9. positive attitudes toward battered women										3.92	.56

Note. $n = 110$ for all variables because listwise deletion of missing values was used as for the multiple regression analyses. $r \geq .19$ is significant at .05 level.

[a]The higher the score the higher the value on the first variable. Expressive vs instrumental; androgynous vs undifferentiated.

[b]This is a dichotomous variable coded roleplaying = 1, all others = 0.

toward women or battered women. Perhaps the measures tap different dimensions of attitudes about women or perhaps the two semantic differential measures reflect part of a general attitude toward humanity and not toward women specifically. The latter interpretation is supported by the negative correlations between the semantic differential measures regarding women and the violence approval measure. Authoritarianism, characterized by cynicism toward human nature and approval of violence, may be the common determiner of general attitudes toward women and battered women and marital violence approval.

Not surprisingly, an expressive gender identity was positively and significantly associated with a social service orientation to policing (r = .20). Support of nontraditional female roles was positively and significantly correlated with prior work with people (r = .29), and a social service orientation to policing (r = .19).

As noted earlier, the relationships among the predictor variables were not known prior to the study. The inconsistencies with the hypothesized model support the decision to focus the data analysis on the simple correlations between predictor and criterion variables

rather than on partial correlations (see "Data Analysis" section).

Recent Encounter Data

Relevant descriptive data from the officers' reports of their most recent encounter with a marital violence case are presented in Table 4. About half of the officers had responded to a marital violence case within two weeks prior to the survey. The average time between the call to the police and their arrival was reported to be under four minutes.

The officers reported that the women had called the police in just under half of the cases (48.2%), the man had called in about 8% of the cases, and a neighbor had called in about 20% of the cases. In a majority of cases two officers were at the scene. About half of the interventions were the first to this family for this type of incident.

A surprising number of couples were not married (37.5%) and surprisingly few were separated or divorced (2.7%). Some officers did not report on or know the couple's marital status (6.3%). In about a third of the cases (32.7%) the man alone appeared to be under the influence of alcohol or other drugs and in another third of the cases (32.7%) both the man and the woman

Table 4

Descriptive Data from Officers' Most Recent Encounters (MRE) with a Marital Violence Case

Interval Variables	n	Mdn	M	SD
No. of days between encounter & survey	92	16.50	31.14	31.89
Minutes between call to police and their arrival	100	2.97	3.28	1.72
Prior call to same residence for similar problem	106	1.12	2.60	5.14
Officer's time with family (in minutes)	109	29.62	31.54	20.85

Dichotomous Variables	n	%
Before encounter		
Person who called police:		
man	9	8.2
woman	53	48.2
child	5	4.5
other family	4	3.6
neighbor	21	19.1
other	4	3.6
don't know	14	12.7
	110	
Emergency Equipment used:		
none	78	77.2
red lights	18	17.8
siren	5	5.0
	101	

(Continued)

Table 4 (Cont.)

	n	%
No. of officers at scene:		
one	9	8.5
two	66	62.3
three	23	21.7
four	8	7.5
	106	
Observations of encounter		
Alcohol use:		
no one	33	27.2
man	37	32.7
woman	4	3.5
both	37	32.7
other	1	0.9
don't know	1	0.9
	113	
Couple's marital status:		
married	60	53.6
unmarried	42	37.5
separated	3	2.7
unknown	7	6.3
	112	
Man's physical aggression:		
attacked partner	13	11.6
attacked police	13	11.6
attacked both	5	4.5
total aggressive	21	18.7
total no. not aggressive	91	81.2
Woman's physical aggression:		
attacked partner	12	10.6
attacked police	4	3.5
attacked both	3	2.6
total aggressive	13	11.5
total no. not aggressive	100	88.5

(Continued)

Table 4 (Cont.)

	n	%
Injuries to men:		
no. of men injured	32	27.6
types of injuries		
unclassifiable	2	
mild	30	
moderate	26	
moderate-severe	0	
severe	0	
total number of injuries	58	
Injuries to women:		
no. of women injured	54	47.8
types of injuries:		
unclassifiable	7	
mild	32	
moderate	54	
moderate-severe	2	
severe	0	
total number of injuries	95	
Injuries to officers:		
no. of officers injured	10	8.6
type of injury:		
unclassifiable	5	
mild	5	
moderate	10	
moderate-severe	2	
severe	0	
total number of injuries	22	
Outcome of encounter		
Arrests:		
none	79	69.9
man	30	26.5
woman	3	2.7
both	1	0.9
Type of charge:		
disorderly conduct	23	
reckless use of weapon	1	
battery	7	
conduct regardless of life	1	
sexual assault	3	
resisting arrest	5	
other	2	

(Continued)

Table 4 (Cont.)

	n	%
Person taken by officer:		
no one	56	50.4
man	38	34.2
woman	8	7.2
both	9	8.1
	111	
Person left residence on own:		
no one	64	57.7
man	28	25.2
woman	19	17.1
	111	
After Encounter:		
Officers' feelings just after encounter (up to four responses coded per officer):		
frustrated	40	38.8
helpful	29	28.1
concerned	47	45.6
pleased	11	10.7
relaxed	10	9.7
angry	15	14.6
sad	17	16.5
uncertain	14	13.6
other	8	7.8
Officer made follow-up call or visit:		
yes	14	13.6
no	89	86.4

appeared to have been drinking or taking drugs. In a small percentage of cases (3.5%), the woman appeared to be the sole drug user.

During the encounter, 21 of the men and 13 of the women allegedly physically attacked either their partner, the officer, or both. Of the 17 officers attacked, ten suffered injuries. Nearly all of these injuries were in the mild and moderate categories of severity.

Officers observed one or more injuries to 32 of the men (28.3%)and 54 of the women (47.8%). Of the injuries which could be classified, 63.6% of the injuries to women were of moderate severity or above compared to 46.4% of the injuries to the men which were of moderate severity or above. It is difficult to interpret these data accurately because two important sources of information were not available: (a) whether or not the partners had inflicted injuries while defending themselves from attack; and (b) whether or not officers asked specifically about the presence of injuries and pain. The injuries to the women were probably greater in number than the figures indicate because some battering husbands are known to inflict injuries where they will not show and to threaten harm if the woman seeks medical help.

Arrests were made in 34 of the cases: 30 men, three women, and in one case both parties were arrested. Most of the charges were for disorderly conduct (23); seven were for battery, five for resisting arrest, and three for sexual assault. Although a disorderly conduct charge may suggest only an attempted or threatened assault, this was not the case--15 of the 23 incidents leading to a disorderly conduct charge involved injuries. Officers might use the disorderly conduct charge because they think the incident is trivial or because they think conviction is more likely with a lesser charge.

At the resolution of the encounter, about a fourth of the men had left by themselves or were taken by the officer to a place other than jail; about 17% of the women left by themselves and 15% with the aid of an officer. An issue of concern here is the lack of protection provided for the woman whose partner voluntarily leaves the residence while she remains.

The time spent with the couple averaged about one half hour but there was considerable variation in the time. Just after the encounter, officers most commonly reported feeling "concern" (45.6%); the next most common feeling was "frustration" (38.8%), and the next most common "helpful" (28.1%). Only about a tenth of the officers admitted feeling either pleased or relaxed.

Nearly 14% of the officers reported making follow-up phone calls or visits to the family.

Table 5 shows the frequencies of various verbal responses officers reportedly made to the man and woman during the encounter. Aside from general information gathering, the most frequent response to the couple was to recommend separation for the night. Seven of the women were given legal options but only one man and two women were recommended to file charges; three women were told their partner could not be arrested.

Twelve of the women and none of the men were given the recommendation to divorce or permanently separate. Recommendations to seek help were relatively common; however, referrals to specific agencies comprised only about a fifth of these recommendations. The police reported warning 13 men and six women of possible arrest for present or future acts of violence.

Mediation was infrequently described as a response, despite the emphasis on mediation in training. Empathy, showing sensitivity to feelings, was not among the responses reported by officers. Because many officers did choose this response on the structured format of the vignettes, the lack of spontaneous reports of empathy is probably due to the intangible quality of the response

Table 5

Officer Verbal Responses

Category	To Man	To Woman
Information seeking		
general or other	19	13
about nonviolent aspects of present incident	1	1
about violent aspects of present incident	5	2
if needed or desired medical help	1	4
about history of relationship or individuals	1	2
about person's assessment of danger	2	3
about willingness to testify	8	6
about what was wanted	0	4
about willingness to seek help or temporarily separate	0	0
Information giving		
general or other	5	10
about role of police including not taking sides	4	4
about availability and willingness of police to respond	2	11
that partner could not be arrested	0	3
about legal options including how to fill out complaint	0	7
Recommendations for and information on help		
general or other	3	5
from particular type of helper: pastor, counselor, doctor, and legal help except for divorce	11	12
from a specific agency, e.g., county social services, AA, etc.	4	7
for a particular problem, e.g. drinking, temper, etc.	5	4
Recommendations and advice for personal action		
general or other	8	4
calm down, cool off, etc.	6	6
separate for the night, leave for night	24	8

Table 5 (Cont.)

Category	To Man	To Woman
file criminal charges	1	0
file civil charges	0	2
get medical help	0	1
separate, divorce, leave for good, end relationship	0	12
change verbalizations: request not demand, not to argue, etc.	2	3
stop drinking	1	3
general exhortation: to solve own problems, think of the kids, be more involved with partner, stop battering, etc.	5	2
Mediate		
negotiate between parties over immediate problems	5	4
Order (Tell, instruct, etc.; imperative voice) Without Warning		
general or other	3	2
to quiet down, calm down, etc.	8	5
to stop present violence	4	1
to stop future violence	1	0
to leave residence	7	2
to get help	0	0
Warn		
general, vague or other (e.g., "warned not to interfer")	6	6
of arrest for present actions	6	4
with physical threat by officer	1	0
of arrest for future actions	7	2
Not applicable		
general, other officer spoke to this person, person not present, called for medical help	16	10
Missing data	10	15

or the officers' reluctance to spontaneously admit the use of it.

Vignette Descriptive Data

Descriptive data for the responses to each vignette are given in Table 6 (Table A gives the intercorrelations of these items). The most frequent response on both vignettes was "tell woman of her legal and personal options." "Arrest man," "refer man," "refer woman," "warn man of possible arrest," and the counseling responses were all chosen with moderate frequencies on the first vignette (47 to 69% average probability). On the second vignette "warn man" was higher than on the first vignette but"arrest"and"refer man" were lower; at the same time, "warn" and "arrest woman" were given higher response probabilities on the second vignette (these differences were all significant at $p < .05$). In comparing the wording of the vignettes, the difference in average responses between them might be accounted for by differences in injuries, attitude of the man, the woman's behavior ("they continue to argue in your presence"), or by other factors.

Table 7 shows the intercorrelations, means, and standard deviations of the three vignette criterion measures. Because minimal action is defined largely by

Table 6

Means and Standard Deviations of Vignette Responses

Item	n		M	SD
		Vignette 1		
1.	114	arrest man	50.69	40.13
2.	113	arrest woman	1.53	8.96
3.	113	refer man	55.36	41.37
4.	113	refer woman	68.99	38.23
5.	113	warn man	52.21	43.57
6.	113	warn woman	5.50	16.67
7.	113	mediate	47.27	39.73
8.	113	discourage arrest	11.91	24.09
9.	113	empathize	57.10	37.90
10.	113	give options	82.11	30.53
		Vignette 2		
1.	114	arrest man	35.02	34.32
2.	112	arrest woman	10.58	20.87
3.	112	refer man	36.93	43.14
4.	112	refer woman	53.01	44.91
5.	112	warn man	70.69	36.11
6.	112	warn woman	22.06	36.68
7.	113	mediate	62.55	37.51
8.	113	discourage arrest	15.24	26.56
9.	113	empathize	57.15	37.67
10.	113	give options	79.02	33.44

Note. For the complete wording of items, see the questionnaire on page 196.

Table 7

Intercorrelations, Means and Standard Deviations of Vignette Criterion Measures

Measure	1	2	3	M	SD
1. arrest man	1.00	-.07	-.57	52.91	30.47
2. informal action		1.00	-.53	58.21	20.93
3. minimal action			1.00	-167.03	47.88

Note: n = 110.

the other criterion measures, it is highly correlated with them as expected.

Major Findings

Arrest

Table 8 shows the separate, combined and unique contributions of the sets of predictor and situational variables to the variance of the most recent encounter (MRE) arrest response.[11] The predictor variables accounted for about 9% of the variance and the situational variables for nearly 40% of the variance. The situational and predictor variables together accounted for about 44% of the variance in predicting arrest of the man. The demographic variables accounted for about 11% of the variance on the MRE measure of arrest (Table D).

The relationships between each predictor variable and each measure of arrest are shown in Table 9. Only one of the predictor variables, instrumental gender identity, was significantly correlated with arrest of the man in the hypothesized direction for the MRE measure (r = .221). Positive attitudes toward women were negatively associated with arrest of the man during the most recent encounter, a reverse of the hypothesized direction (r = -.17).

Table 8

Separate, Simultaneous, and Hierarchical Multiple Regression Analyses of Sets of Most Recent Encounter Variables

Criterion Variable		Predict. Var.'s Alone	Situational Var.'s Alone	Situational & Predict. Var.'s	Sit. Var.'s Added to Pred. Var.'s	Pred. Var.'s Added to Sit. Var.'s
Arrest	R	.307	.628	.662		
	R^2	.094	.395	.439	.344 increase	.044 increase
	df	9/99	8/100	17/91	8/91	9/91
	F	1.15	8.16**	4.18**	6.99**	.79
Informal Action	R_2	.380	.370	.527		
	R^2	.144	.137	.277	.133 increase	.140 increase
	df	9/99	8/100	17/91	8/91	9/91
	F	1.85	1.99	2.05*	2.09*	1.96
Minimal Action	R	.356	.421	.606		
	R^2	.126	.177	.367	.241 increase	.190 increase
	df	9/99	8/100	17/91	8/91	9/91
	F	1.59	2.69*	3.11**	4.33**	3.03**

Table 9

Simple Correlation Coefficients and Beta Weights of Predictor Variables Related to Arrest

Set	Pred. Var.	Most Recent Encounter: % of variance acc't. for[a]	r	beta at set inclusion[b]	beta, all PV's[c] included	beta after sit. var's.[d] included
1.	andro-undif		.075	.075	.053	.076
2.	expr-instr	.048	-.211*	-.191*	-.166	-.052
3.	AWS		.028	.063	.133	.066
	att. wo.		-.170*	-.157	-.108	-.083
4.	att. ba. wom.		-.140	-.133	-.104	.131
5.	viol. approv.	.038	.025	.001	.006	.015
6.	crisis tr.	.000	-.012	.000	.000	-.006
	Subtotal:	R	.249			
		R^2	.062			
7.	Soc. serv. or.		-.145	-.112	-.112	-.070
	people wrk.	.015	-.122	-.140	-.140	-.140
	Total:	R	.307			
		R^2	.094			

[a] percent of variance accounted for in each of the following sets: gender identity, attitudes, training, and prior work (social service orientation is excluded because it is a different type of attitude than the others).

[b] beta weight when the set in column one is included in the regression equation.

(Continued)

Table 9 (Cont.)

Set	Pred. Var.	VIGNETTE % of var. acc't. for	r	beta at set inclution	beta all PV's included
1.	andro-undif		.029	.029	-.011
2.	expr-instr	.049	-.221*	-.224*	-.256**
3.	AWS		.147	.205*	-.231
	att. wo.		-.062	-.049	.030
4.	att. ba. wom.		-.143	-.198*	-.169
5.	viol. approv.	.055	-.120	-.116	-.107
6.	crisis tr.	.058	-.241*	-.264**	-.251*
	Subtotal: R		.395*		
	R^2		.156*		
7.	soc. serv. or.		-.186*	-.141	-.141
	people wrk.	.033	-.055	-.083	-.083
	Total: R		.427*		
	R^2		.182*		

Note. 1. androgynous-undifferentiated (high score is androgynous)
2. expressive-instrumental (high score is expressive)
3. belief in liberal roles for women; attitudes toward women (pos.)
4. attitudes toward battered women (pos.)
5. violence approval
6. intensive crisis training
7. social service orientation; prior work with people

(Continued)

Table 9 (Cont.)

[c]beta weight after all the predictor variables have been included.

[d]beta weight of variable after the situational variables have been added.

* $p < .05$.

** $p < .01$.

For the vignette (VIN) measure of arrest, the predictor variables explained about 18% of the variance. Demographic variables accounted for about 23% of the variance in this measure of arrest (Table D). As with the MRE measure, an instrumental gender identity was significantly and positively associated with a tendency to arrest the man (r = .221). Intensive training in family crisis intervention was also associated with arrest, and negatively associated, as predicted (r = -.241). The relationship between the vignette measure of arrest and a belief in liberal roles for women became significant only in conjunction with other variables. This was because the simple correlation between the AWS and arrest was suppressed by the gender identity varibles.

In summary, situational variables were much more strongly predictive of the MRE arrest response than demographic, training, attitude or personality variables of the officers. The predictor variables and the officer demographic variables were about equally strong in predicting the MRE and VIN arrest responses. One hypothesis out of the six related to this criterion variable received complete support: The use of arrest was associated with an instrumental mode of responding. Partial support was given to the hypothesis that family

crisis intervention training would be negatively related to arrest. Conditional support was given to the hypothesis that support of nontraditional roles for women is positively associated with a tendency to arrest the man.

Informal Action

Table 8 shows that the predictor and situational variables each contributed about 14% to the variance in explaining the MRE informal actions. The officer demographic variables accounted for about 11% of the variance in predicting the MRE informal actions (Table D).

On the vignette measures, the predictor variables explained nearly 30% of the variance compared with about 20% for the demographic variables.

Table 10 presents the data for the specific relationships between the predictor variables and each criterion measure of informal action. On the recent encounter measure, as predicted, informal action was positively and significantly associated with people-oriented work before police work, a social service orientation, and family crisis intervention training. The prior work variable maintained its relationship with informal action when controlling for the situational

Table 10

Simple Correlation Coefficients and Beta Weights of Predictor Variables Related to Informal Action

Set	Pred. Var.	% of variance acc't. for[a]	Most Recent Encounter r	beta at set inclusion[b]	beta, all PV's included[c]	beta after sit. var's. included[d]
1.	andro-undif		-.054	-.054	.199	-.192*
2.	expr-instr	.034	-.162*	-.180*	-.249**	.056
3.	people wrk	.025	.161*	.165*	.149	.170*
	soc. serv. or.		.193*	.124	.140	.073
4.	crisis tr.	.035	.188*	.136	.142	.145
Subtotal:	R		.315			
	R^2		.099			
5.	AWS		.015	-.042	-.092	.129
	att. wo.		.171*	.181*	.200*	.144
6.	viol. appr.		-.102	-.123	-.123	-.197
	att. ba. wo.	.045	.093	-.066	-.066	.090
Total:	R		.379			
	R^2		.144			

(Continued)

Table 10 (Cont.)

Set	Pred. Var.	Vignette: % of var. acc. for[a]	Vignette: r	Vignette: beta at set inclusion[b]	Vignette: beta, all PV's included[c]
1.	andro-undif		.177*	.177*	.177*
2.	expr-instr	.073	.228*	.275**	.204*
3.	people work	.025	.157*	.116	.044
	soc. serv. or.		.032	-.067	-.111
4.	crisis tr.	.007	.087	.061	.007
Subtotal:	R		.343*		
	R^2		.118*		
5.	AWS		.447***	.400***	.366***
	att. wo.		.189*	.148*	.113
6.	viol. appr.		-.294***	-.080	-.080
	att. ba. wo.	.246	.119	.043	.043
Total:	R		.536**		
	R^2		.287**		

[a] percent of variance accounted for by predictor variable or variables (set).

[b] beta weight when the set is included in the equation. (Continued)

Table 10 (Cont.)

[c]beta weight after all the predictor variables have been included

[d]beta weight of variable after the situational variables have been added.

*p<.05.
**p<.01.
***p<.001.

variables (beta = .170). An expressive gender identity was significantly associated with informal action but in the direction opposite to that hypothesized (r = -.162).

For the vignette measure, an expressive gender identity was significantly and positively correlated with informal action as predicted (r = .228). This relationship held with the addition of the other predictor variables (beta = .204). Prior work emphasizing relations with people was also positively associated to a statistically significant level with a tendency to use informal action (r = .157). Training in family crisis intervention and a social service orientation were not significantly related to the vignette measure of informal action.

In summary, one of the four hypotheses pertaining to informal action was fully supported: A background in people-oriented work was associated with informal action. Partial support was found for the hypotheses that a social service orientation and that family crisis intervention training would be related to informal action. The finding regarding the association between expressive traits and informal action was contradictory.

Minimal Action

Minimal action was most strongly predicted by the situational variables on the MRE (17.7% of the variance, Table 8). The predictor variables accounted for about 13% of the variance in explaining minimal action on this measure. However, the set of predictor variables was able to add significantly to the variance supplied by the situational variables (an increase of 19% of the variance.

On the vignette measure, about 21% of the variance in the minimal action variable was explained by the predictor variables. About an equal amount of the variance was explained by the demographic variables (19.8%).

Table 11 shows the simple correlations between the predictor and criterion variables for both of the minimal action measures. As hypothesized, minimal action was positively and significantly associated with support of traditional female roles and violence approval. Similar relationships were found for the vignette measure.

As with the arrest MRE measure, the association with the semantic differential measure of attitudes toward women was in the opposite direction to that hypothesized. Only on the vignette measure did undifferentiated gender identity show a positive and significant relationship with minimal action. For this measure,

Table 11

Simple Correlation Coefficients and Beta Weights of Predictor Variables Related to Minimal Action

Set	Pred. Var.	% of variance acc't. for[a]	r	beta at set inclusion[b]	beta, all PV's included[c]	beta after sit. vars. included
			Most Recent Encounter			
1.	expr-instr		.018	.018	.064	-.084
2.	andro-undif	.003	.048	.053	.112	.084
3.	AWS		-.162*	-.170*	-.036	-.314***
	att. wo.		-.186*	.202*	.206*	.137
4.	att. ba. wom.		.066	-.016	.035	.085
5.	viol. approv.	.079	.177*	.178*	.178*	.286**
Subtotal:	R		.300			
	R^2		.090			
6.	soc. serv. or.		-.056	-.040	-.046	.188
	people work	.020	-.141	-.109	-.093	-.215*
7.	crisis tr.	.029	-.172*	-.157	-.157	-.167*
Total:	R		.355			
	R^2		.126			

(Continued)

Table 11 (Cont.)

Set	Pred. Var.	Vignette: % of var. acc. for[a]	Vignette: r	Vignette: beta at set inclusion[b]	Vignette: beta, all PV's included[c]
1.	expr-instr		-.022	-.022	.019
2.	andro-undif	.042	-.168*	-.180*	-.127
3.	AWS		-.390***	-.373***	-.316**
	att. wo.		-.125	-.109	-.112
4.	att. ba. wom.		-.038	.065	.057
5.	viol. approv.	.187	.308***	.166*	.158
Subtotal:	R		.448*		
	R^2		.201**		
6.	soc. serv. or.		.041	.119	.119
	people work	.019	-.137	-.026	-.025
7.	crisis tr.	.006	-.080	-.011	-.011
Total:	R		.463**		
	R^2		.241**		

[a]percent of variance accounted for by predictor variable or variables (set).

(Continued)

Table 11 (Cont.)

[b]beta weight when the set is included in the equation.

[c]beta weight after all the predictor variables have been included.

[d]beta weight of variable after the situational variables have been added.

*p<.05.
**p<.01.
***p<.001.

the beta with the sex-typing dimension included was used in order to remove sex-typing from the androgyny measure (beta = -.180). Attitudes toward women and battered women were not significantly related with the vignette minimal action measure.

When interpreting the results involving the vignette measure of minimal action, it is important to remember its dependence on the arrest and informal action measures (r = -.57 and -.53, respectively). The differentiation between particular criterion variables (Appendix E) will take this dependency into account. Because most of the hypotheses are not independent, an alpha level below .004 will be used to reject the null hypotheses. This does not apply to the hypothesis regarding undifferentiated gender identity because this gender identity was predicted to relate to minimal action/total action and no other criterion variable.

Therefore, full support was found for two of the five hypotheses pertaining to minimal action: Approval of marital violence and support of traditional women's roles were associated with minimal action. Partial support was found for the prediction of a correlation between minimal action and an undifferentiated gender identity. General attitudes toward women and battered women were not associated with minimal action.

Supplementary Findings

Other Predictor Variables

The relationships of predictor variables other than the hypothesized relationships were inspected for exploratory purposes (these data are given below the subtotal lines in Tables 9 through 11).

A social service orientation to police work was negatively and significantly correlated with the vignette arrest response. Prior work with people was not significantly related with arrest.

Both measures of informal action were positively and significantly related with general, positive attitudes toward women. In addition, support for nontraditional women's roles was more highly predictive of the vignette informal action response than of the other criterion measures (about 20% of the variance). This relationship explains the relatively high correlation between the AWS and the vignette minimal action response. For the vignette measure, but not the MRE measure, informal action was also significantly predicted by a lower level of marital violence approval ($r = -.294$).

Minimal action was not significantly associated with a social service orientation (Table 11). The

MRE measure of minimal action, but not the vignette measure, was negatively associated with family crisis intervention training.

The Influence of Variable Sets

A more general method of analyzing the data is to describe the influence on the criterion variables of the major sets of variables--demographic, situational, and predictor--and of the subsets of predictor variables--personality, attitude, training, and prior work. The amount of variance explained by the major sets of variables was given in the section "Major Findings," but will be summarized here.

Demographic variables were about as strong in predicting the three types of police behavior as the combination of personality, attitude, training, and prior work variables. Situational variables were stronger than the other variables in predicting arrest, but personality and attitudes also influenced to some extent the arrest decision and the tendency to arrest.

More of the variance on the vignette measures was accounted for compared to the variance accounted for on the MRE measures. This difference is probably the result of methodological differences, to be discussed later.

Tables 9, 10, and 11 show the amount of variance contributed to the criterion variables by the subsets of the predictor variables. Training, attitude, and personality variables contributed about equally in explaining the tendency (vignette measure) to arrest the spouse abuser. Attitude variables were more strongly predictive of informal action and minimal action than of arrest (MRE measure). Attitude variables were stronger predictors of all actions than training, personality, and prior work. The strength of the attitude variables set compared to the other sets is due partly to the larger number of attitude variables in the attitude variable set.

Discussion of Findings

Of the 15 hypotheses of the study, four were completely supported and five were partially supported by the results. Table 12 summarizes the status of each hypothesis.

Full support was found for the hypothesis that arrest is associated with an instrumental gender identity. For the relationship between gender identity and informal action, one type of dependent measure was associated with instrumentality and one type with

Table 12

Summary of Findings

Hypothesized Relationship	Status of Finding
Arrest associated with:	
a. instrumental gender identity	supported
b. belief in nontraditional women's roles	partially and conditionally supported
c. positive attitudes toward women	not supported
d. positive attitudes toward battered women	not supported
e. low approval of marital violence	not supported
f. lack of family crisis intervention training	partially supported
Informal Action associated with:	
a. expressive gender identity	contradictory
b. prior work with people	supported
c. social service orientation	partially supported
d. family crisis intervention training	partially supported
Minimal Action associated with:	
a. undifferentiated gender identity	partially supported
b. belief in traditional women's roles	supported
c. negative attitudes toward women	partially supported
d. negative attitudes toward battered women	not supported
e. approval of marital violence	supported

expressiveness, thus giving conflicting findings. The data partially supported the hypothesis that an undifferentiated gender identity, a sign of low self-esteem, would be associated with minimal action.

As predicted, a belief in traditional roles for women was associated with minimal action. The hypothesis that a belief in nontraditional roles for women would be associated with arrest received only partial and conditional support. A belief in nontraditional women's roles predicted a tendency to arrest (vignette measure) after holding constant the effects of gender identity or prior work.

A belief in nontraditional women's roles was more strongly associated with the vignette measure of informal action than the measure of arrest or minimal action. Thus the association between minimal action and traditonal views of roles for women arose from the negative association between informal action and a traditional view of women's roles.

The hypotheses that officers' general positive attitudes toward women and battered women would be positively associated with arrest of the man and negatively associated with minimal action did not find support in the data. In fact, the reverse of the hypothesized direction was found for the association between

general attitudes toward women and one type of criterion measure. Unexpectedly, general positive attitudes toward women were associated with the officers' use of informal action.

An approval of marital violence was associated with both measures of minimal action, as hypothesized. A low approval of marital violence was not, however, associated with the arrest option, as had been hypothesized. Rather, a low approval of marital violence was associated with the vignette measure of informal action.

The hypothesis stating a positive relationship between officers' prior work with people and the use of informal action, including mediation and counseling, was fully supported by the results. A relationship was also found between a social service orientation to police work and officers' use of informal action, but for only one type of criterion measure. A supplementary finding was that a tendency to use arrest (vignette measure) was negatively associated with a social service orientation.

Intensive family crisis intervention training, as indicated by the use of roleplaying, was hypothesized to be positively associated with informal action and negatively associated with arrest. These two hypotheses were only partially supported by the results.

This study indicates that officers' discretionary behavior during recent encounters with spouse abuse cases was based largely on a professional perspective rather than personal bias, because situational factors were stronger predictors of each response category than the attitudes of the officers. Nonetheless, attitudes did play some part in predicting officers' self-reported behavior, especially general responses indicative of minimal action. Moreover, officer attitudes and personality may actually influence the situation, in particular the man's aggressiveness. Thus attitudes and personality may indirectly influence the use of arrest. The observations of Toch (1969) and much of the police training material on conflict management stress the way forceful actions by officers can escalate interactions to a violent level.

Officers' attitudes were most strongly related to their tendency to use informal action or minimal action as measured by responses to the two vignettes. Attitudes were stronger predictors of the tendency to use informal action or minimal action than personality, prior work, or training variables. Part of the strength of the attitude variables compared to the other sets of variables is due to their sheer number.

Sexist attitudes, as measured by the AWS, were predictive of a decision to use minimal action and a tendency to use minimal action, thereby suggesting that a traditional view of women's roles induces somewhat of a "hands-off" approach in officers when woman battering occurs. Nonsexist attitudes were more strongly associated with a tendency to use informal action than a tendency to arrest, but nonsexist attitudes were not significant predictors of the use of arrest or informal action during the recent encounter. More weight is therefore given to the position that officers who tend to use counseling, mediation, and other informal actions, rather than arrest, have nonsexist views. However, the relationship between sexism and a tendency to arrest is complex. A support of nontraditional women's roles was somewhat predictive of a tendency to arrest when controlling for the influence of either personality or prior work. Instrumentality is positively associated with arrest but negatively associated with a belief in nontraditional women's roles, thus it suppresses the relationship between beliefs about women's roles and arrest. This is an example of cooperative suppression. Prior work also acts to suppress the AWS-arrest relationship. Prior work with people is not correlated with arrest but is positively correlated

with a belief in nontraditional women's roles, thus producing classical suppression.

Sexist attitudes and approval of marital violence were related, probably due to their common reliance on the larger concept of conservative dogmatism. Therefore, these variables are somewhat redundant. When one of the variables is significantly related to a criterion variable, the other one is also. Support is thus given to the position that an approval of marital violence is predictive of officers' taking a "hands-off" approach in woman battering cases, but there is no support for the position that a lack of marital violence approval leads to arrest. It should be noted that the variable "approval of marital violence" measured the approval of violence against men as well as women. The subscale "violence justified against infidelity" had higher correlations with minimal action and with a belief in nontraditional women's roles than the other measures of violence approval (see Appendix E). This measure of violence approval probably indicates a view of women as property more than the other measures of violence approval, thus explaining its greater redundancy with the measure of sexist attitudes.

Because of the redundancy of the sexism and violence approval measures, the beta weights of these

two variables became lower than their respective correlation coefficients when the variables were entered simultaneously into a regression equation (See Tables 9-11).

The semantic differential measures of attitudes toward battered women and toward women were not correlated with other predictor variables or with the criterion variables as expected. Because the semantic differential measure of "men" correlated strongly with "women" (r = .68) and "battered women" (r = .46) for this sample of officers (Saunders & Size, Note 5), these measures probably tap the larger concept of "humanity." Therefore, the variable "negative attitudes toward women" measured here may be interpreted as a cynical attitude toward people, a sign of authoritarianism. Rather than positive attitudes toward women being positively predictive of informal action and negatively predictive of arrest, an alternative interpretation is that positive attitudes toward people, or non-authoritarianism, is predictive of informal action. Authoritarianism would then be predictive of arrest, an interpretation consistent with the hypothesized model. Perhaps a more appropriate measure of attitudes toward women here would be the attitudes toward women

relative to the attitudes toward men (i.e., the difference between the measures).

The influence of training did not seem to be especially strong compared to the variables of personality, prior work, and attitudes. However, intensive training in family crisis intervention differentiated between arrest and informal action as predicted. That crisis training was associated with informal action was not surprising because most training done up to the time of the survey stressed the use of mediation; arrest was seen as the last resort. The police training material which views family violence as a symptom of faulty conflict resolution is contrasted with more recent training manuals with views of woman battering as a crime and as a personal and social problem in itself (IACP, 1977). A parallel distinction has arisen in the counseling literature with an ensuing controversy between those who take a family systems perspective (Harper, Note 11) and those who take the social problem perspective (Walker, 1979).

It is difficult to know if there are ideological bases to the family systems perspective. Examples of sexism have been pointed out in the family therapy literature (Hare-Mustin, 1978) and the police conflict

management material (Fields, 1978) but the sexism does not appear to be pervasive. However, Klapper and Kaplan (cited in Hare-Mustin), after reviewing family therapy literature for sex-role stereotyping, point out that, "Someone being trained as a family therapist would have to maintain stern vigilance in order not to be caught up in the oftentimes subtle reinforcement of behavior patterns which are so debasing and humiliating to women" (p. 184). Rather than being part of an ideology, a family systems perspective which equalizes power and blame in the family may arise from a failure to integrate a feminist perspective with a family systems perspective. Current training in family therapy may induce counselors to view all problems as family problems while ignoring the individual and social origins of the problems. In addition, the training may lead counselors to explicitly or implicitly assume equal power among family members and to equate traditional sex role patterns with normalcy and health. Integration takes place when the family system is seen as part of a social system which oppresses women. Family counseling, therefore, need not be equated with absolute neutrality toward the behavior of family members (cf. Haley, 1973).

The results regarding gender identity give some support to the theory which views masculinity and femi-

ninity as not necessarily opposite dimensions and which states that behavior can be predicted by gender identity as distinct from one's sex. The predictive power was clearest in the positive relationship between instrumentality (masculine sex-typed) and arrest. That instrumentality was also positively associated with the recent encounter measure of informal action might be caused by the concrete nature of referrals and warnings which largely comprised this measure of informal action. The positive correlation between an undifferentiated gender identity and the vignette minimal action measure indicates officers with low self-esteem are reluctant to take formal or informal action in battered women cases. The results, therefore, also support the more general typology of officers developed by Muir (1977).

Among all of the criterion measures, gender identity did not have as much of an effect on the average as attitudes, but it had more of an effect than training or prior work experience. Therefore, gender identity and officer personality in general need to be taken into account when discussing the police response to family violence. Bannon (1975) contended that officers are over-socialized into the masculine role. Two studies did not find evidence to support this contention (Murrell, 1979; Saunders & Size, Note 5). Officers in this study

who were more instrumental or masculine sex-typed were not more likely to approve of marital violence, as Bannon's comments had implied. Instrumental or masculine sex-typed officers were, however, more likely to have traditional views of women's roles. As reported above, instrumentality was a better predictor of arrest than was beliefs about women's roles.

Officers' orientation to police work and their prior work experience explained to some degree which officers chose to use informal actions during their recent encounter with a spouse assault case. It is difficult to know from the methods used whether attitude and personality dimensions determined certain types of education and prior work or whether certain types of education and prior work shape officer attitude and personality dimensions. It is likely that the process is reciprocal: Attitudes and personality influence the selection of education and employment and are further shaped in the same direction by them. One recent study of police officers, however, indicated that dogmatism was reduced by education, and not that nondogmatics were selecting more education (Roberg, 1979).

The present study suggested that training in family crisis intervention techniques was predictive of the tendency to make referrals but not the tendency to use

other informal actions such as counseling and mediation (see Appendix E). Although referral, counseling, and mediation are all emphasized in crisis training, it seems that referral skills might be better retained because of their concreteness. Also, it appears that crisis training must be combined with particular attitudes or prior work in order for counseling and mediation responses to result. As a summary of the findings of the study, Figure 5 shows the revised model of the police response to battered women. The lines indicate that a significant correlation was found between the variables and the plus or minus sign indicates the direction of the correlation. Double lines mean that the predictor variable was associated with both types of criterion measures.

Some discussion of the methods of this study might also prove useful. The vignette measures show some evidence of validity and more of the variance was explained on them than on the recent encounter measures. The ability of vignette measures to control situational variables also gives them an advantage. The smaller amount of variance explained on the MRE measure is probably due to the restricted range problem of dichotomous variables.

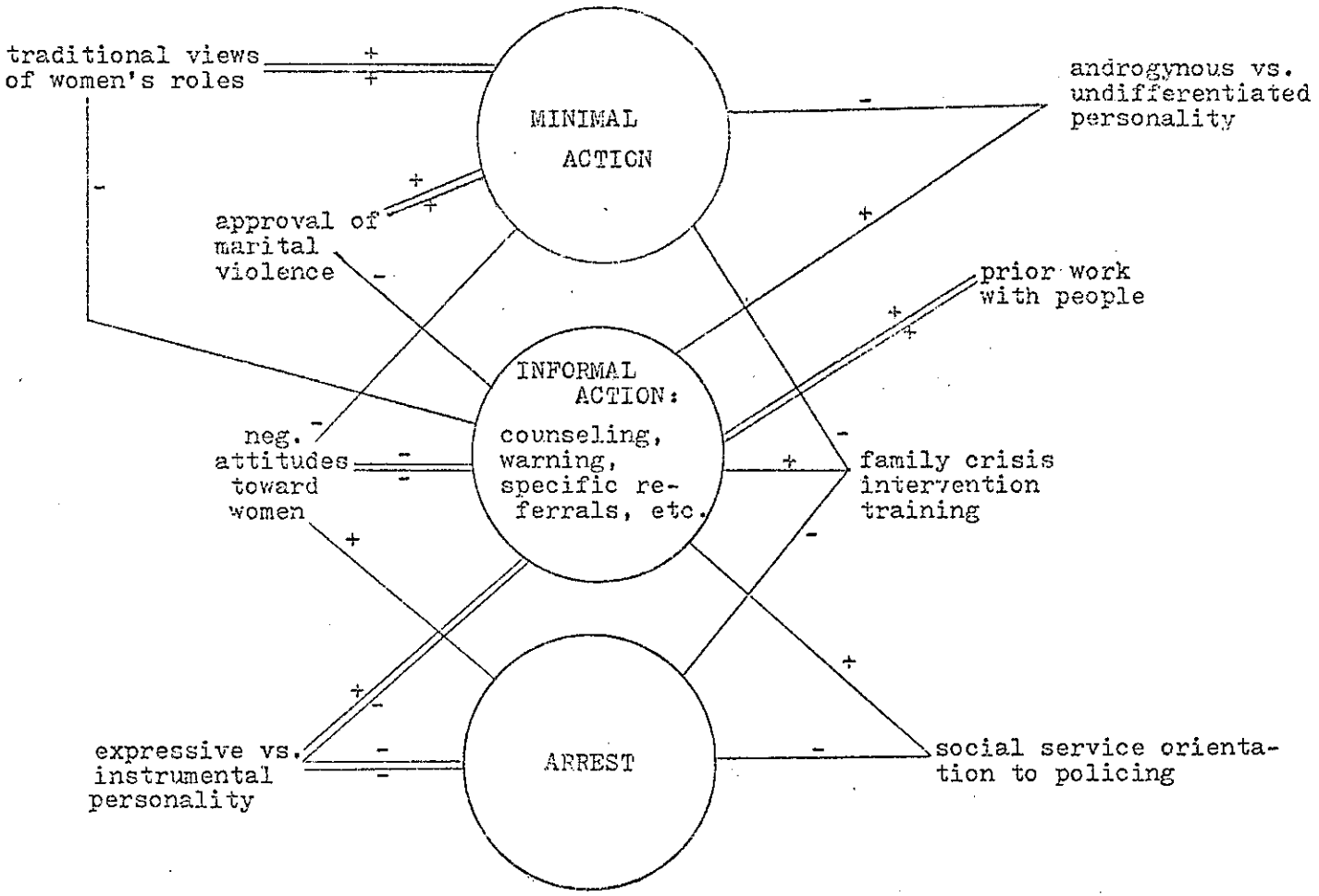


Figure 5. Revised model of the police response to battered women (relationships between predictor variables are not shown; lines show significant r's and signs show direction of r; double lines indicate significant r with both criterion measures).

The questionable validity of the semantic differential attitude measures used in this study can probably be circimvented with the use of scales with specific content items. The development of such a scale was attempted in this study, but the number of items was insufficient for adequate internal reliability for use in the study.

Although the correlation coefficients were generally low, they were within the range expected for a study using self-reports of behavior, attitudes, and personality.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Summary

Violence between family members has come to be recognized as a problem of equal or greater magnitude than that of violence between strangers on the street. The violence of parents against children, and most recently the violence between married or dating couples, have received widespread attention. Although men are sometimes subject to violence by women, there are some sound reasons to focus on violence by men against women, as this study does.

Myths about woman battering, such as the belief that it is restricted to the lower class or to a particular ethnic group, are being exposed. Because those in a position to help battered women may hold some of the same myths about the problem as society at large, they may help to maintain the problem. The attitudes and other characteristics of police officers which may

predict their response to battered women were chosen for study because about half of the assaulted women call the police for help, yet the police have been criticized for their approach to the problem.

One criticism is that training police officers in family crisis intervention techniques may minimize the seriousness of the problem and deny victims adequate protection. The police may view the violence as the result of a faulty relationship rather than as a serious crime. More recent police manuals recommend that spouse assault be treated as other assaults once the parties are calmed. In general, counseling approaches to marital violence are similiarly split between a family systems view and an individual problem view (Harper, Note 11; Walker, 1979). Ironically, counseling and mediation methods designed to increase officers' sensitivity to family members, link them with other services, and find creative alternatives to arrest may be counterproductive. Thus far, a number of projects training officers in crisis intervention and conflict resolution methods have not conclusively demonstrated an ability to reduce the incidence of family assaults (Wylie et al., 1976).

Another criticism is that officers are hostile or indifferent toward victims of spouse assault. Apathetic or negative attitudes toward battered women and subsequent

negative actions may arise from negative attitudes toward all victims or all women, or from a general approval of marital violence. There seems to be a general propensity to derogate innocent victims. When the victim is a married woman, there is a lesser tendency to respond or think the assault is serious than if the woman is not married (Shotlund & Straw, 1976). Men may be especially reluctant to intervene when women are being attacked (Borofsky et al., 1971).

A study of police officers' attitudes toward sexual assault, a crime which overlaps with woman battering, showed that they more closely resembled citizens and rapists than rape crisis counselors as regards negative attitudes toward the victims (Feild, 1978). Compared to battered women and advocates for battered women, one survey found officers to have more negative attitudes toward battered women and to hold them more responsible for the violence (Saunders & Size, Note 5). Class action suits have been filed against some police departments for alleged discrimination against victims, i.e., alleged failure to aid victims because they were married to their assailants.

Anecdotal evidence collected before and during this survey suggests that the attitudes of officers may parallel the tenets of the major theories about spouse

abuse. For example, some officers believed that the problem resulted from sexism, others viewed alcoholism as the major cause, and still others believed that if the woman did not change her marriage or leave it she must be masochistic. No systematically gathered evidence existed prior to this study regarding officers' implicit theories about the problem. More importantly, there was no information on the link between officer attitudes and officer behavior.

Officers may refuse to become involved in marital violence cases for reasons other than training or attitudes. They have been told that the cases are dangerous to them, they learn that the situations can be emotionally draining, they may feel that the calls are low status "social work," or they may believe that all family matters are private matters. Thus an officer's general view of the police role may influence how he or she responds to the problem of marital violence.

There is some speculation that a pro-arrest policy in these cases will encourage a simplistic, traditional, and authoritarian response to the problem (Bard & Connally, 1978). A pro-arrest policy may also lead to violence as the arrest is made and to hardships for the entire family. However, in one nonrepresentative survey, 64% of the battered women viewed arrest as the best way to

deal with the problem, compared with 4% of the police officers and 38% of the advocates for battered women (Saunders & Size, Note 5). The victims appear to want the police to take a pragmatic rather than a counseling approach. In four surveys, between 27 and 50% of the victims rated the police as helpful; a small percentage of the battered women rated the police as "hostile" (Carlson, 1977; Fojtik, 1977; Roy, 1977; Saunders & Size, Note 5).

Although the police options in these cases are often viewed as either arrest or nonarrest, there are at least three major options. These options are arrest, informal actions, such as mediation and warning of arrest, and minimal action. Minimal action means a low amount of officer investment, such as giving a vague warning or a nonspecific referral.

Some general characteristics of officers may help explain their response to battered women. Their training in family crisis intervention may direct them toward the use of informal actions and away from arrest. Their tendency to be pragmatic and authoritarian (right-wing dogmatic) (Sterling & Watson, 1967) may lead them to take a legalistic, arrest approach, but at the same time their authoritarian nature may lead them to view women as subordinate or to view marital violence as normal,

and thus may lead them to a minimal action approach.

Although there is evidence against the stereotype of police officers as instrumental or masculine sex-typed (Murrell & Lester, 1979; Saunders & Size, Note 5), those who tend to be instrumental might arrest more often than other officers. There may be a correlation between other gender or personality types and officers' responses to spouse assault calls, perhaps in accord with a typology of general police personalities with types of the "professional," the "enforcer," the "reciprocator," and the "avoider."

A review of the literature on the anecdotal and survey information on police attitudes toward victims, especially female victims, and on general police characteristics, led therefore to a complex, multi-factor hypothetical model to explain various officer responses to marital violence. Some predictor variables, such as authoritarianism, were hypothesized to pull the officer in different directions. Others, such as training, were hypothesized to differentiate between two behavioral responses. Several attitude dimensions, prior work, and gender identity were also hypothesized to be associated with particular police actions in particular ways, forming 15 hypotheses in all.

The study collected questionnaire responses from 116 police officers selected nonrandomly from 10 police departments in Wisconsin. Those who participated in the study are probably more sympathetic to the problem of family violence than those who did not volunteer to participate. Questionnaires were self-administered during off-duty time and officers were paid a five dollar incentive. Most of the officers were on regular patrol and had had recent contact with a marital violence case. In addition to the nine prediction variables, selected demographic data were also obtained on each officer, such as age, education, and marital status. The criterion variables of arrest, informal action, and minimal action were measured in two separate ways. During the officers' most recent encounter with a case of woman battering, "arrest" meant the arrest of the man for any charge, "informal action" meant the use of certain specific actions, and "minimal action" was defined as the use of certain general actions. Another way of measuring the dependent variables was based on the cluster analysis of 10 responses to two vignettes describing what officers might encounter in battered women cases. "Arrest" meant the probability of arresting the man; "informal action" meant a high probability of warning the man of arrest, counseling the parties, giving the woman her options, and

discouraging arrest; and "minimal action" meant a low probability of using arrest, informal action, and referral.

Officers also reported on situational factors present during their recent encounter with a marital violence case, such as the couple's marital status and each person's level of aggressiveness.

The hypotheses were tested using simple correlation coefficients. Multiple regression analyses were used to explore the data for descriptive comparisons and for suppression effects and to control situational variables.

The results showed that the sets of police variables--demographic, training, personality, attitude, and prior work--and the situational variables were fairly weak predictors of officers' use of informal action and minimal action. Situational variables were strong predictors of arrest and officer variables were weak predictors of arrest. Although attitude variables were not strongly related to any recent encounter actions, they did have some relationship, especially with minimal action. Therefore, officers showed that their discretionary behavior, especially the use of arrest, was based largely on a professional stance, but the influence of their attitudes, especially on minimal action, showed that personal bias was operating to some extent.

Each type of predictor variable--personality, attitude, training, and prior work--showed a significant relationship with at least one of the criterion measures, thereby demonstrating the utility of a multi-factor model.

There was little support for the position that the decision to refrain from arresting a woman batterer results from sexist attitudes. Rather, sexist attitudes were predictive of a tendency to refrain from action in general and in particular from informal action, including counseling and warning of arrest.

An approval of marital violence was correlated with sexist attitudes and had associations parallel to those for sexist attitudes. There was no support for the hypothesis that general attitudes toward battered women would be associated with officer responses.

Intensive training in family crisis intervention was negatively associated with a tendency to use arrest and positively associated with a tendency to use counseling and related actions. Officers' prior work with people and a social service orientation to policing were associated with the use of informal action. Therefore, general role orientations seem to play a part in determining officer behavior in these situations. Personality variables also had some effect; instrumental officers

were more likely than other officers to use arrest or to tend to use arrest, as predicted.

Nine of the fifteen hypotheses were either fully or partially supported by the results.

Conclusions

The major conclusions of the study can be summarized as follows:

1. Because of the limitations of the study (described below) and the paucity of theoretical work in the area, generalizations from the findings are not warranted. Generalizations must await the corroboration of the findings with further research.

2. Several types of factors probably need to be used to explain the police response to woman battering, including the situational factors and officer background, personality, attitude, and training factors.

3. Officers acted largely from a professional base, but their attitudes had some effect on their discretionary behavior, especially on minimal action.

4. Nonsexist attitudes were more strongly associated with the tendency to use counseling, warning of arrest, and giving of options than they were with the tendency to use arrest.

5. There was some evidence that training in family crisis intervention is positively associated with informal action, such as counseling, and negatively associated with the use of arrest.

Limitations

The above conclusions need to be viewed with caution because of the limitations of the study. Although attempts were made to enhance the representativeness of the sample, officers were selected nonrandomly, thus restricting the generalizability of the findings. The design was nonexperimental and even a multiple regression approach cannot remove all extraneous influences. Self-report data can be more easily biased than observational data and efforts in this study to correct for social desirability response bias may not have been adequate. Some of the measures developed for this study had satisfactory reliability but questionable validity. Other variables, such as that for training, could probably have been measured in a way to gain more information. The criterion measures had serious drawbacks. Officers reported on only one actual encounter with a marital violence case and the responses to the vignettes, while showing some evidence of validity, can only be said to indicate a tendency to respond.

Implications for Research

The limitations of this study imply some of the needs of future research. This study could be replicated using a large representative sample of officers. Systematic observations of officers in the field would probably enhance the reliability of the criterion measures (cf. Kelling et al., Note 11). Training officers in self-observation or observing them under structured, simulated conditions might also give more reliable information than that provided by officers' responses to open-ended questions, as in this study. Other studies have debriefed officers with structured interviews or questionnaires following encounters with citizens (cf. Bard & Zacker, 1976).

The recent encounter measure of minimal action, signified by general types of responses to the couple, showed evidence of validity because officers who gave only general responses spent significantly less time with the couples than officers who gave specific responses (informal action). These indicators of minimal action and informal action need to be validated on another officer sample.

Further study may confirm the criterion-related validity of the vignette measure, thereby making it an efficient substitute for field observations of officers.

Along with greater efficiency, vignette measures provide greater control over situational variables than field encounter data. The impact of situational variables on officers' responses can be measured experimentally with vignettes by altering one element in the vignette and randomly assigning officers to a vignette condition.

A basic question yet to be answered is what approach by the police, if any, will lower the rate of spouse assaults. This question can be answered with a longitudinal survey design or an experimental design. More specific information is also needed on what each family member perceives as helpful. Attitudes of officers (as well as other occupations and citizens) can be measured along specific dimensions such as beliefs about the responsibility of the victim in causing the violence, about the normalcy of the attacker, etc. Such attitude scales could be similar to those recently developed to measure attitudes toward sexual assault (e.g., Feild, 1978; King, Rotter, Calhoun & Selby, 1978). The limitations of the semantic differential technique as a measure of general attitudes (noted in Chapter Three and Four) indicate the need for measures of specific attitude dimensions.

The effects of the couple's marital status and drinking behavior were reported elsewhere (Saunders & Size, Note 5), but other situational variables might

include the race or social status of the couple. An experiment comparing different training content and methods could further assess the impact of training on the attitudes and behavior of officers.

Implications for Training and Policy

The present study has some implications for the recruitment and training of officers and for the development of policies. These implications will be strengthened if the results are corroborated with more rigorous or at least complementary research methods. Officers recruited with previous experience working with people can be expected to use informal action more than other officers and might provide a more sensitive response to family members.

Should arrest be discovered as the most effective way of reducing assaults, it would seem desirous for officers to role-play arrest responses in addition to the crisis counseling responses. It seems especially important in these cases to combine the use of authority and confrontation with empathy. The man's feelings of anger, fear, and hurt can be validated while rejecting his violence with the use of verbal confrontation, warning of arrest, or arrest.

The training materials and the counseling theories on which they are based need to be inspected for sexist and other biases. Because attitudes about women's roles were found to be related to the extent of action taken in spouse abuse cases, didactic material and experiential counsciousness-raising exercises about sex roles might enhance officer sensitivity to female victims. Films, listening to battered women who are not in crisis, and consciousness-raising exercises specific to woman battering can help officers better understand the plight of battered women. This understanding is important because many officers state that they become frustrated when victims do not follow through on recommendations or take legal action. Officers' good intentions can turn to victim-blaming when they are not aware of the forces preventing the women from taking action. Officers can learn that even if a family member does not follow their recommendations, they have not wasted their time if they have shown concern for family members, made referrals to specific agencies, and given a clear message to the abuser that his behavior is illegal and inappropriate.

The literature does not directly address differing officer personalities as factors predictive of their response to battered women. This study indicates that personality, in the form of gender type, influences

officers' actions in spouse assault cases. Trainers may use this knowledge in order to develop teaching methods which reach different personality types.

Training goals for officers need to be derived from a clear statement of policy. Policy guidelines were lacking in all of the departments in this study, yet the wide variance in officers' responses to standard vignette situations suggests the need for such guidelines. Warren Breslin (1978),a Chicago police officer who helped develop discretionary guidelines on spouse assault calls, states:

> Police administrators rightfully insist that discretion is a necessary ingredient of effective law enforcement, yet it is clandestinely being exercised under informal policy and practices. Standards must be articulated not only to guide police officers in the exercise of their discretion, but also to inform the public and courts of law enforcement needs and principles. . . . Administrative enunciation of discretionary standards has been recommended by the President's Commission, American Bar Association, and International Association of Chiefs of Police. Recent scrutiny of police activities in domestic confrontations has prompted the urgency for such standards. (p. 299)

Several departments have recently developed policies which treat woman battering as a serious crime rather than as a "domestic conflict" (New York, Chicago, Oakland, Atlanta, New Haven). Departments do not need

to take cues for policy development from the practices of the prosecutor's office or courts because these components of the justice system may need revisions in their own policies or practices (IACP, 1977). Once policies are made and training goals are set, revisions may be needed based on research findings which indicate the most effective police response to battered women and the factors facilitating this response.

APPENDIX A

Questionnaire

Cover Letter

Dear Officer:

We are working on a project of the Wisconsin Council on Criminal Justice with the aim of finding out more about violence in the home and about the police response to this violence. We hope to develop recommendations which will help alleviate this complex and frustrating problem. Your opinions are important in finding out more about the problem because you have immediate contact with family crises.

Your participation in the project is voluntary and consists of completing the attached questionnaire. Since the questionnaire is lengthy we are willing to pay you $5.00 for your efforts, providing that you complete the questionnaire on off-duty time. Your answers will be kept anonymous and no one in your department will see your questionnaire or answers. Neither your name nor your department name will be revealed. Do not put your name on the questionnaire. The code number on the first page will be used if we need to send the five dollars directly to you.

You will be asked a variety of questions about violence between spouses and opinions you have about men, women, yourself and the police role. Every question is important even though some of the questions may seem unrelated to the overall purpose of the study.

Your cooperation will be very much appreciated.

Dan Saunders and Pat Size

Code No.

1. Instructions

Please describe the most recent incident to which you responded in which there was violence between a husband and wife or boyfriend and girlfriend. Take "violence" here to mean the actual or attempted infliction of injury onto the partner. This would include slaps and throwing objects but not purely verbal fights. In other words, describe the most recent incident you responded to even if it was very ordinary and not serious.

a. Today's date _____ b. Date of the incident _____

c. How long, from the time you received the call, did it take for you to arrive at the scene of the incident? ____min.

d.. What was the signal 10 code from the dispatcher? ___

e. Who called the police? man __ woman __ child __ other family member __ neighbor __ other _____ don't know __

f. What emergency equipment did you use in responding to this incident? none __ red lights __ siren __ horn __ other (specify) _____

g. Number of officers at the scene _____

h. Had you or other law enforcement officers been to this same residence for a similar incident in the past year? Yes__ No__ If yes, approximately how often? _____

i. Describe briefly the scene upon your arrival:

_____

_____

_____

j. What do you think the woman expected from you?

_____

_____

k. Describe the injuries of the man, if any:

_____

_____

_____

l. Describe the injuries of the woman, if any:

_____

_____

_____

m. Did any person at the scene appear to be under the influence of alcohol or other drugs? Man __ Woman __ Other person (specify) _____

_____

n. Describe briefly what you said to the man, if anything. Include your advice, recommendations, warnings, efforts to mediate or counsel, etc. Use some quotes, if possible.

_____

_____

_____

o. Describe briefly what you said to the woman, if anything. Again, include your advice, recommendations, warnings, efforts to mediate or counsel, etc. Use some quotes if possible.

_____

_____

_____

p. We would like you to describe how each person acted in your encounter with him or her. Below is a list of word opposites, "kind-cruel", "nervous-calm", etc.

As an example, if you think a person acts very kind in a situation you would mark an "X" on line 1 as shown. If you think a person acts neither calm nor nervous in a situation you would place an "X" on line 4 as shown. On the third pair of word opposites, if you think a person acts fairly gently you would place an "X" on line 6, as shown.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
kind	X							cruel
nervous				X				calm
rough						X		gentle

During your encounter with the man, would you say he was:

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Man was not present __
kind								cruel
nervous								calm
rough								gentle
considerate								inconsiderate
aggressive								passive
angry								pleased

During your encounter with the woman, would you say she was:

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Woman not present __
kind								cruel
nervous								calm
rough								gentle
considerate								inconsiderate
aggressive								passive
angry								pleased

p. At any time during your visit did the man do any of the following:
Cry __ Shout __ Threaten to hit his partner __
Verbally attack his partner __ Physically attack his partner__
Verbally attack you or another officer __
Threaten to physically attack you or another officer __
Physically attack you or another officer __

q. At any time during your visit did the woman do any of the following:
Cry __ Shout __ Verbally attack her partner __
Threaten to physically attack her partner __
Physically attack her partner __
Verbally attack you or another officer __
Threaten to physically attack you or another officer __
Physically attack you or another officer __

r. Describe injuries sustained by you or other officers, if any:
_____
_____

While you were there, did you threaten to use, or actually use, physical force on anyone? No __ Yes __
If yes, was it on the man or woman? Man __ Woman __
What type of physical force did you actually use?
kick __ strike with your hands __ use handcuffs __
grab __ restrain or roughly handle __
others _____

t. Anyone arrested? Yes __ No __ If yes, who? Man__ Woman__ Both__ What charges? _____

u. Was man or woman taken anywhere by you? Yes __ No __
If yes, who? Man __ Woman __ Both __ Where taken?_____

v. Did either person leave the premises <u>without</u> a ride from you? Yes __ No __ If yes, who? Man __ Woman __ Both __

w. Condition family was in when you left: _____
_____

x. Please give the reasons for the action you took, whether it was counseling, mediation, referral, warning or other action.
_____
_____
_____

y. What was the approximate length of time you spent with the family? _____

z. During this encounter or shortly afterward did you feel: (Check as many as apply) frustrated__ pleased__ relaxed__ helpful__ concerned__ angry__ sad__ uncertain__
other (specify)_____

aa. After this visit, did you make a follow-up phone call or visit to check on the condition of the family? Yes __ No __

Vignette 1

2. Instructions.

Below are some descriptions of disturbances between couples. Please read each description, imagine you are in the scene, and then indicate the action you would be likely to take if it was an actual disturbance.

---

a. You arrive at the scene of a family disturbance, the third such call to this family in about two months. The woman has a broken nose and numerous cuts and bruises on her face and arms. She is crying and says between her sobs, "He came home drunk and started accusing me of spending too much money on myself. When I said I wouldn't discuss it when he was drunk, he started hitting me."

Immediately the husband says she is lying and tells you angrily: "Our fights are none of your business. She deserved what she got and she knows it too."

Based on this limited information, indicate how likely it is that you would respond with arrest or other action in this situation. Place a mark on the line to show the probability of your response from 0% to 100% likelihood.

Arrest man on charge of:_____	Don't know___	0% 10% 20% 30% 40% 50% 60% 70% 80% 90% 100%
Arrest woman on charge of:_____	Don't know___	0% 10% 20% 30% 40% 50% 60% 70% 80% 90% 100%
Refer man to: _____ _____	Don't know___	0% 10% 20% 30% 40% 50% 60% 70% 80% 90% 100%
Refer woman to: _____ _____	Don't know___	0% 10% 20% 30% 40% 50% 60% 70% 80% 90% 100%
Warn man of possible arrest	Don't know___	0% 10% 20% 30% 40% 50% 60% 70% 80% 90% 100%
Warn woman of possible arrest	Don't know___	0% 10% 20% 30% 40% 50% 60% 70% 80% 90% 100%
Help couple solve immediate problem by mediating between them	Don't know___	0% 10% 20% 30% 40% 50% 60% 70% 80% 90% 100%
Discourage woman from seeking arrest	Don't know___	0% 10% 20% 30% 40% 50% 60% 70% 80% 90% 100%
Show that I understood each person's feelings of hurt, anger, or fear	Don't know___	0% 10% 20% 30% 40% 50% 60% 70% 80% 90% 100%
Tell woman of her legal and personal options	Don't know___	0% 10% 20% 30% 40% 50% 60% 70% 80% 90% 100%

Vignette 2

b. You are dispatched to the scene of a domestic disturbance. The woman who comes to the door tells you that her husband has been beating her and she wants him removed. She has apparently been crying and has a black eye and bruises on her arms and neck. They continue to argue with each other in your presence.

Based on this limited information, indicate how likely it is that you would respond with arrest or other action in this situation. Place a mark on the line to show the probability of your response from 0% to 100% likelihood.

Arrest man on charge of:_____	Don't know___	0% 10% 20% 30% 40% 50% 60% 70% 80% 90% 100%
Arrest woman on charge of:_____	Don't know___	0% 10% 20% 30% 40% 50% 60% 70% 80% 90% 100%
Refer man to: _____	Don't know___	0% 10% 20% 30% 40% 50% 60% 70% 80% 90% 100%
Refer woman to:; _____	Don't know___	0% 10% 20% 30% 40% 50% 60% 70% 80% 90% 100%
Warn man of possible arrest	Don't know___	0% 10% 20% 30% 40% 50% 60% 70% 80% 90% 100%
Warn woman of possible arrest	Don't know	0% 10% 20% 30% 40% 50% 60% 70% 80% 90% 100%
Help couple solve immediate problem-mediating between them	Don't know___	0% 10% 20% 30% 40% 50% 60% 70% 80% 90% 100%
Discourage woman from seeking arrest	Don't know___	0% 10% 20% 30% 40% 50% 60% 70% 80% 90% 100%
Show that I understood each person's feelings of hurt, anger or fear	Don't know___	0% 10% 20% 30% 40% 50% 60% 70% 80% 90% 100%
Tell woman of her legal and personal options	Don't know___	0% 10% 20% 30% 40% 50% 60% 70% 80% 90% 100%

Attitudes Toward Women Scale

(Spence & Helmreich, 1973)

Instructions.

The statements listed below describe attitudes toward the role of women in society that different people have. There are no right or wrong answers, only opinions. You are asked to express your feeling about each statement by indicating whether you agree strongly (AS), agree mildly (AM), disagree mildly (DM), or disagree strongly (DS). Please indicate your opinion by blackening the circle beneath AS, AM, DM, or DS next to each item.

AGREE STRONGLY	AGREE MILDLY	DISAGREE MILDLY	DISAGREE STRONGLY		
AS O	AM O	DM O	DS O	1.	Swearing and obscenity are more repulsive in the speech of a woman than of a man.
AS O	AM O	DM O	DS O	2.	Women should take increasing responsibility for leadership in solving intellectual and social problems of the day.
AS O	AM O	DM O	DS O	3.	Both husband and wife should be allowed the same grounds for divorce.
AS O	AM O	DM O	DS O	4.	Telling dirty jokes should be mostly a masculine prerogative.
AS O	AM O	DM O	DS O	5.	Intoxication among women is worse than intoxication among men.
AS O	AM O	DM O	DS O	6.	Under modern economic conditions with women being active outside the home, men should share in household tasks such as washing the dishes and doing the laundry.
AS O	AM O	DM O	DS O	7.	It is insulting to women to have the "obey" clause remain in the marriage service.
AS O	AM O	DM O	DS O	8.	There should be a strict merit system in job appointment and promotion without regard to sex.
AS O	AM O	DM O	DS O	9.	A woman should be as free as a man to propose marriage.
AS O	AM O	DM O	DS O	10. O	Women should worry less about their rights and more about becoming good wives and mothers.
AS O	AM O	DM O	DS O	11.	Women earning as much as their dates should bear equally the expense when they go out together.
AS O	AM O	DM O	DS O	12.	Women should assume their rightful place in business and all the professions along with men.

AS 0	AM 0	DM 0	DS 0	13.	A woman should not expect to go to exactly the same places or to have quite the same freedom of action as a man.
AS 0	AM 0	DM 0	DS 0	14.	Sons in a family should be given more encouragement to go to college than daughters.
AS 0	AM 0	DM 0	DS 0	15.	It is ridiculous for a woman to run a locomotive and for a man to darn socks.
AS 0	AM 0	DM 0	DS 0	16.	In general, the father should have greater authority than the mother in the bringing up of children.
AS 0	AM 0	DM 0	DS 0	17.	Women should be encouraged not to become sexually intimate with anyone before marriage, even their fiances.
AS 0	AM 0	DM 0	DS 0	18.	The husband should not be favored by law over the wife in the disposal of family property or income.
AS 0	AM 0	DM 0	DS 0	19.	Women should be concerned with their duties of childbearing and house tending rather than with desires for professional and business careers.
AS 0	AM 0	DM 0	DS 0	20.	The intellectual leadership of a community should be largely in the hands of men.
AS 0	AM 0	DM 0	DS 0	21.	Economic and social freedom is worth far more to women than acceptance of the ideal of femininity which has been set up by men.
AS 0	AM 0	DM 0	DS 0	22.	On the average, women should be regarded as less capable of contributing to economic production than are men.
AS 0	AM 0	DM 0	DS 0	23.	There are many jobs in which men should be given preference over women in being hired or promoted.
AS 0	AM 0	DM 0	DS 0	24.	Women should be given equal opportunity with men for apprenticeship in the various trades.
AS 0	AM 0	DM 0	DS 0	25.	The modern girl is entitled to the same freedom from regulation and control that is given to the modern boy.

Attitudes Toward Marital Violence
(Saunders, unpublished)

Instructions

Below are a number of statements about family violence which some people agree with and others disagree with. Please indicate how much you agree or disagree with each statement.

1. Women experience pain and no pleasure when struck by their husbands or boyfriends.

Agree Strongly	Agree Mildly	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Disagree Mildly	Disagree Strongly
0	0	0	0	0

2. When police officers respond to fights between couples they are not really dealing with crime or crime prevention.

AS	AM	Neither	DM	DS
0	0	0	0	0

3. Women who are hit, shoved, or kicked by their husbands or boyfriends usually bring this violence on themselves.

AS	AM	Neither	DM	DS
0	0	0	0	0

4. The best way to deal with marital violence is to arrest the offending party.

AS	AM	Neither	DM	DS
0	0	0	0	0

5. Poor communication is the primary cause of violence between men and women.

AS	AM	Neither	DM	D
0	0	0	0	0

6. It is not the role of law enforcement to intervene in any kind of personal dispute.

AS	AM	Neither	DM	DS
0	0	0	0	0

7. Women could avoid being hit by their husbands or boyfriends if they knew when to stop talking.

AS	AM	Neither	DM	DS
0	0	0	0	0

8. If children are involved, a marriage should be saved even if the couple is sometimes violent.

AS	AM	Neither	DM	DS
0	0	0	0	0

Semantic Differential

Instructions.

Each underlined word below is the name of a set of individuals: "Men", "Police Officers', etc. Below each of these words is a list of 15 opposing pairs of words which are commonly used to describe people. Between each pair of words is a scale numbered 1 through 7.

Place an "X" on the line which indicates your rating of the people on each pair of descriptive words. In the example below, you might feel that taxicab drivers are very pleasant people. In this case you would put an "X" on line 1, as shown. On the second pair of words, clean and dirty, you might feel that cab drivers are really neither clean nor dirty. They are, in a sense, in the middle on this quality. Therefore you put an "X" on line 4, as shown. On the third pair of words, you might think that taxicab drivers are fairly unskilled people. You would then put an "X" in box 6, as shown.

Work rapidly! Your first impressions are desired here.

TAXI-CAB DRIVERS

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
pleasant	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	unpleasant
clean	—	—	—	X	—	—	—	dirty
skilled	—	—	—	—	—	X	—	unskilled

MEN

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
educated	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	uneducated
dependable	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	undependable
sick	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	healthy
intelligent	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	unintelligent
dishonest	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	honest
law-abiding	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	law-violating
lazy	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	hardworking
violent	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	nonviolent
predictable	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	unpredictable
safe	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	dangerous
sane	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	insane
sincere	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	insincere
weak	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	strong
warm	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	cold
foolish	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	wise

WOMEN

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
educated	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	uneducated
dependable	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	undependable
sick	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	healthy
intelligent	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	unintelligent
dishonest	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	honest
law-abiding	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	law-violating
lazy	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	hardworking
violent	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	nonviolent
predictable	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	unpredictable
safe	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	dangerous
sane	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	insane
sincere	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	insincere
weak	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	strong
warm	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	cold
foolish	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	wise

POLICE OFFICERS

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
educated	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	uneducated
dependable	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	undependable
sick	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	healthy
intelligent	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	unintelligent
dishonest	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	honest
law-abiding	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	law-violating
lazy	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	hardworking
violent	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	nonviolent
predictable	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	unpredictable
safe	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	dangerous
sane	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	insane
sincere	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	insincere
weak	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	strong
warm	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	cold
foolish	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	wise

BATTERED WOMEN

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
educated	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	uneducated
dependable	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	undependable
sick	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	healthy
intelligent	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	unintelligent
dishonest	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	honest
law-abiding	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	law-violating
lazy	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	hardworking
violent	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	nonviolent
predictable	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	unpredictable
safe	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	dangerous
sane	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	insane
sincere	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	insincere
weak	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	strong
warm	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	cold
foolish	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	wise

WIFE-BEATERS

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
educated	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	uneducated
dependable	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	undependable
sick	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	healthy
intelligent	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	unintelligent
dishonest	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	honest
law-abiding	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	law-violating
lazy	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	hardworking
violent	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	nonviolent
predictable	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	unpredictable
safe	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	dangerous
sane	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	insane
sincere	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	insincere
weak	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	strong
warm	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	cold
foolish	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	wise

Approval of Marital Violence

In the next section a scene is offered for description rather than a group of people. Please rate the behavior from 1 to 7 on how good, normal, or necessary you view it.

1. Husband slapping his wife's face if she insults him.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
unnecessary	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	necessary
not normal	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	normal
good	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	bad

2. Husband severely bruising his wife if she insults him.

unnecessary	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	necessary
not normal	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	normal
good	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	bad

3. Husband severely bruising his wife if she was unfaithful.

unnecessary	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	necessary
not normal	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	normal
good	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	bad

4. Husband severely bruising his wife if she first hits him.

unnecessary	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	necessary
not normal	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	normal
good	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	bad

- -

5. Wife slapping her husband's face if he insults her.

unnecessary	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	necessary
not normal	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	normal
good	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	bad

6. Wife severely bruising her husband if he insults her.

unnecessary	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	necessary
not normal	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	normal
good	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	bad

7. Wife severely bruising her husband if he was unfaithful.

unnecessary	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	necessary
not normal	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	normal
good	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	bad

8. Wife severely bruising her husband if he first hits her.

unnecessary	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	necessary
not normal	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	normal
good	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	bad

Normal: 2,5,8,11,14,17,20,23; Good: 3,6,9,15,18,21; Self-defense: 10,11,12,22,23,24; Infidelity: 7,9,19,21; Insults: 1,4,13,16.

Beliefs About The Inaction Of Battered Women

Instructions

Listed below are a number of possible explanations for why battered women remain in abusive relationships. Please check the three which you believe best explain why battered women stay in abusive relationships.

___ love for the man
___ stigma of divorce
___ enjoys pain
___ economically dependent on man
___ believe the children need their father
___ desire to stay in role of wife
___ no place else to go
___ feels sorry for her husband
___ fear of greater violence from him
___ hope that marriage will improve
___ enjoys intense emotional experience
___ the violence is not severe
___ lacks self-confidence
___ other _____

Social Service Orientation

Instructions

Read over the following list completely. Select 5 qualities out of the 10 which you believe to be essential to a good police officer. Indicate the order of importance by placing a number (1-5) in the space next to the quality selected. #1 is most important, #2 is next most important, etc.

alertness ___	courtesy ___	patience ___
appearance ___	efficient ___	physical strength ___
courage ___	emotional maturity ___	
compassion ___	even tempered ___	

Instructions

Indicate to what extent you agree with the following statements by filling in the appropriate circles.

1. If I spend more than the average amount of time on a domestic violence case, I run the risk of being ridiculed by other officers.

Agree Strongly	Agree Mildly	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Disagree Mildly	Disagree Strongly
0	0	0	0	0

2. I feel comfortable talking with women who have been assaulted by their husbands or boyfriends.

Agree Strongly	Agree Mildly	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Disagree Mildly	Disagree Strongly
0	0	0	0	0

Bem Sex Role Inventory

Instructions

Below are a number of personality characteristics. We would like you to use those characteristics in order to describe yourself. That is, we would like you to indicate on a scale from 1 to 7, how true of you these characteristics are. Please do not leave any characteristics unmarked.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
NEVER OR ALMOST NEVER TRUE	USUALLY NOT TRUE	SOMETIMES BUT INFREQUENTLY TRUE	OCCASIONALLY TRUE	OFTEN TRUE	USUALLY TRUE	ALWAYS OR ALMOST ALWAYS TRUE

For example, if you feel it is sometimes by infrequently true that you are "sly", never or almost never true that you are "malicious", always or almost always true that you are "irresponsible", and often true that you are "carefree", then you would rate these characteristics as follows:

sly 3 malicious 1 irresponsible 7 carefree 5

happy ___

sensitive to needs of others ___

forceful ___

cautious ___

truthful ___

understanding ___

assertive ___

reliable ___

sympathetic ___

anxious ___

acts as leader ___

sincere ___

tender ___

dominant ___

solemn ___

gentle ___

strong personality ___

moody ___

guilt-ridden ___

self-confident ___

Rokeach Dogmatism Scale: items 1,3,5,7

Rokeach Opinionation Scale: items 2,4,6,8

Instructions

The following statements are about a number of important social and personal questions. The best answer is your personal opinion. You may find yourself agreeing strongly with some of the statements, disagreeing just as strongly with others, and perhaps uncertain about others; whether you agree or disagree with any statement you can be sure that many people feel the same as you do. Mark each statement in the left margin according to how much you agree or disagree with it. Write +1,+2,+3, or -1,-2,-3, depending on how you feel in each case.

+1: I AGREE A LITTLE	-1: I DISAGREE A LITTLE
+2: I AGREE ON THE WHOLE	-2: I DISAGREE ON THE WHOLE
+3: I AGREE VERY MUCH	-3: I DISAGREE VERY MUCH

___1. In all of history there have probably been just a handful of really great thinkers.

___2. Plain common sense tells you that prejudice can be removed by education, not legislation.

___3. There are a number of people I have come to hate because of the things they stand for.

___4. History clearly shows that it is the private enterprise system which is at the root of depressions and wars.

___5. It is only when a person becomes devoted to an ideal or cause that life becomes meaningful.

___6. It's usually the trouble-makers who talk about government ownership of public utilities.

___7. To compromise with our political opponents is dangerous because it usually leads to the betrayal of our own side.

___8. It is very foolish to advocate government support of religion.

___9. The best police officer is one who knows when to depart from standard operating procedures in order to get the job done.

___10. The best police officers are those who do what they are told to do by their supervisors.

Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability Scale
Personal Reaction Inventory

Instructions

Listed below are a number of statements concerning personal attitudes and traits. Read each item and decide whether the statement is true or false as it pertains to you personally. Circle either "T" or "F" to indicate true or false.

1. I never hesitate to go out of my way to help someone in trouble. T F
2. I sometimes feel resentful when I don't get my own way. T F
3. I like to gossip at times. T F
4. I'm always willing to admit it when I make a mistake. T F
5. There have been times when I felt like rebelling against people in authority even though I knew they were right. T F
6. There have been occasions when I took advantage of someone. T F
7. I sometimes try to get even rather than forgive and forget. T F
8. When I don't know something I don't at all mind admitting it. T F
9. I am always courteous, even to people who are disagreeable. T F
10. If I could get into a movie without paying and be sure I was not seen, I would probably do it. T F
11. I have never deliberately said something that hurt someone's feelings.
12. It is sometimes hard for me to go on with my work if I am not encouraged. T F
13. Before voting I thoroughly investigate the qualifications of all the candidates. T F
14. There have been times when I was quite jealous of the good fortune of others. T F
15. At times I have really insisted on having my own way. T F
16. I would never think of letting someone else be punished for my wrongdoings. T F
17. On occasion I have had doubts about my ability to succeed in life. T F
18. I am sometimes irritated by people who ask favors of me. T F

Exposure to the Problem of Battered Women

In what ways have you been exposed to the problem of battered women? (Check as many as apply)

newspaper article(s) ___
film(s) ___
magazine article(s) ___
radio program(s) ___
training manual ___
inservice training ___
public talk(s) ___
co-workers ___
friends ___
relatives ___
other _____
other _____

General Questions About Family Violence

What community services do you believe need to be developed or improved to better aid the victims of marital violence?

_____
_____
_____

What community services do you believe need to be developed or improved to better change the behavior of the offender in marital violence cases?

_____
_____
_____

In what ways can police departments improve their response in meeting the needs of the victim and offender in cases of marital violence?

_____
_____
_____
_____

Do you have any other comments or observations about the problem of marital violence?

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

This information will be used to examine the relationship between your personal background and your opinions and responses as a police officer. Some of the questions you may find personal in nature. If you think they are too personal, do not answer them.

Age:___ Sex: M F Marital status: single __ married __
separated __ divorced __ widowed __

No. of children ___ Ethnic origin: White __ Black __
Mexican-American __ Indian __
Oriental __ Other _____

High school graduate: Yes __ No __ Equivalency certificate __
College (check years completed - convert courses or credits into equivalent of academic years and check nearest one):
Less than 1 __ 1 __ 2 __ 3 __ 4 __ 5 __ 6 __

Major field(s) in college _____.

What degree(s) held _____.

What full-time work did you hold before entering police work:
_____.

What was the religion in the family in which you grew up?
Jewish __ Catholic __ Protestant __ None __
Other (specify) _____.
Do you consider yourself today as: Very religious __
Somewhat religious __ Not religious at all __

Total years of police experience ___. Present rank:_____.

Spouse's occupation: _____.
Spouse's income, if any: _____.

Spouse a high school graduate? Yes __ No __
Spouse's years of college: Less than 1__ / 1__ 2__ 3__ 4__ 5__ 6__

Month and year of last inservice training on domestic violence:____

What types of training in domestic violence intervention have you had? lecture __ discussion __ roleplaying __ film __
other _____

Was there physical violence between your parents?
Never __ Very seldom __ Occasionally __ Often __ Very often __

When you were a child, were you hit by a brother or sister?
Never __ Very seldom __ Occasionally __ Often __ Very often __

When you were a child, were you physically punished by a parent?
Never __ Very seldom __ Occasionally __ Often __ Very often __

What kind of physical punishments?
Mild (occasional slaps, etc.) __
Moderate (spankings, etc.) __
Extremely severe (beatings, etc.) __

APPENDIX B

Police Verbal Response Categories: Instructions for Raters

1. Read the categories carefully. Note that there are seven major categories. Within each major category are subcategories. Become familiar with the components, examples, and common phrases of the major categories.

Common phrases of the major category Order include "I told . . . .", "Instructed to . . . ." Recommendations are often introduced with "Asked . . . .", or "Requested . . . ." The word "advised" is frequently used but ambiguous, making it difficult to judge. For example, "Advised of . . ." may but not necessarily indicate giving information; "Advised to . . ." may indicate recommending or requesting; "Advised if . . ." may indicate a warning.

2. The first rating step involves only the major categories. Do not look at the backs of the cards as they may have someone else's ratings which may bias your ratings. After judging the response, place it in the appropriate category on the board. After all cards are placed on the board, take each pile and decide again whether you think each card properly belongs in that category. If you change your mind about a category place it in it's proper stack.

3. The next rating step involves the subcategories. Take one major category at a time beginning with Information Seeking. Lay out the cards in piles according to their subcategories. Those responses which are general or not found in the subcategories are to be placed in the first subcategory of each major category.

After dividing one entire major category turn each card over and record the category code in the upper right hand corner. Repeat this procedure for each of the major categories.

POLICE VERBAL RESPONSES
Category List

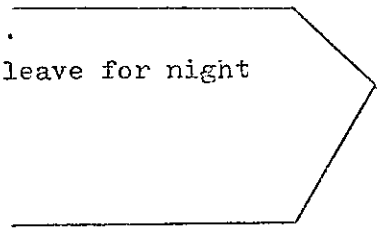
Code

10 Information Seeking, general or other
11 about nonviolent aspects of present incident
12 " violent " " " "
13 about history of relationship or individuals
14 if needed or desired medical help
15 about person's assessment of danger
16 about willingness to testify
17 about willingness to seek help or temporarily separate.

20 Information Giving about Police Role & Legal Matters, general or other
21 about role of police, including not taking sides
22 about availability and willingness of police to respond
23 that partner could not be arrested
24 about legal options including how to fill out complaint

30 Recommendations for and Information on Help, general or other
31 from particular type of helper: pastor, counselor, doctor, and legal help except for divorce
32 from a specific agency (Referral), e.g. county social services, AA, etc.
33 for a particular problem, e.g. drinking, temper, etc.

40 Recommendations and Advice for Personal Action, general or other
41 calm down, cool off, etc.
42 separate for the night, leave for night
43 file criminal charges
44 " civil complaint
45 get medical help



46 separate, leave for good, end relationship, seek lawyer for divorce

47 change verbalizations: request not demand, not to argue, etc.

48 stop drinking

49 general exhortation: to solve own problems, think of the kids, be responsible, be more involved with partner, stop battering, battering does not solve problems, etc.

Future Action

50 Mediate: general, negotiate between parties over immediate problem

60 Order (Tell, Instruct, Etc.; imperative voice e.g. "Quiet down) Witnout Warning

61 to quiet down, calm down, etc.

62 to stop present violence

63 to stop future violence

64 to leave residence

65 to get help

70 Warn, general, vague, other (e.g. "Warned not to interfer)

71 of arrest for present actions

72 of arrest for future actions

73 with physical threat by officer

80 Not Applicable, general

81 other officer spoke to this person

82 person not present

83 called for medical help

99 Missing Data

APPENDIX C

Scale Development Instructions

for Nurses

Dear Nurse:

We would like a few minutes of your time to help develop an injury rating scale. The scale will be used to rate injuries to men, women, and police officers in domestic violence situations. This is part of a research project supported by the Wisconsin Council on Criminal Justice and sponsored by the Dane Co. Advocates for Battered Women.

Instructions

1. We would like you to use a ten point scale to rate 19 separate injuries. Let "1" on the scale represent an injury that is "not serious at all" and a "10" represent an injury that is "extremely serious". Since some of the injuries are very general and do not mention the site of injury, you may want to indicate a possible range of severity rather than a single number between one and ten. For example, you may want to give the severity of one injury as ranging from 3-5 and another injury as simply 5.

2. Before rating the injuries, read the entire list of injuries to get an idea of their scope and nature.

3. Rate the severity or range of severity of each of these injuries. Remember a "1" means "not serious at all" and "10" means "extremely serious". Please do not discuss ratings with others. Thank you for your help.

scratch_____

fractured forearm_____

sprain_____

hemmorage_____

deaf in one ear_____

swelling_____

red mark_____

fractured nose_____

chronic knee pain_____

laceration_____

small bruise_____

1st degree burn_____

concussion without loss of consciousness_____

large bruise_____

concussion with loss of consciousness_____

2nd degree burn_____

major wound_____

headache_____

small amount of bleeding_____

SPOUSE ASSAULT INJURY SCALE

Instructions for Raters

1. Read carefully the scale and note the injuries associated with each category.

2. Place each card in one of the piles on the board according to the category you think it belongs to. Do not look at the backs of the cards as they may contain other ratings which could bias your answers.

   If some of the injuries are too general to rate you can place them in the "unclassifiable" category.

3. After all the cards are placed on the board, take each pile and decide again whether you think each card properly belongs in that category. If you change your mind about a category place it in it's proper stack.

4. Finally, turn the card over and record the number of the category in pencil in the (middle, upper, lower, right hand corner) of each card.

SPOUSE ASSAULT INJURY SCALE

Major Category	Minor Category	
5	U	unclassifiable: descriptions of actions, sexual assault, concussion without loss of consciousness, headache, soreness
	P	permanent damage: diminished intellectual, sensory, or motor functioning, e.g. deaf in one ear, chronic knee disability
4	9	major wound concussion with loss of consiousness large amount of bleeding
	8	
	7	
3	6	fractured forearm 2nd degree burn
	5	fractured nose
2	4	sprain laceration large bruise
	3	small amount of bleeding
1	2	1st degree burn small bruise (or size unspecified) red mark, swelling
	1	scratch

APPENDIX D

Table A

Intercorrelations of Items of Vignette 1 and Vignette 2

Item	Vignette 1								
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1. arrest man									
2. arrest woman	.05								
3. refer man	-.26	.02							
4. refer woman	-.17	-.01	.45						
5. warn man	-.30	-.04	.22	.20					
6. warn woman	-.12	.42	-.10	-.13	.16				
7. mediate	-.35	.03	.22	.12	.43	.16			
8. discourage arrest	-.31	.05	.17	.06	.30	.22	.42		
9. empathize	.04	.14	.03	.07	.28	.06	.36	.27	
10. give options	.19	.08	-.11	.04	.35	.08	.30	.04	.47

	Vignette 2								
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1. arrest man									
2. arrest woman	.42								
3. refer man	-.04	-.02							
4. refer woman	.10	-.07	.62						
5. warn man	-.08	-.02	-.02	.10					
6. warn woman	.04	.43	.15	-.01	.31				
7. mediate	-.19	.06	.20	.06	.36	.27			
8. discourage arrest	-.08	-.04	.14	.04	.11	-.14	.29		
9. empathize	.03	.13	.28	.28	.39	.19	.49	.26	
10. give options	.23	.04	.09	.23	.35	.06	.33	.16	.50

Note. $n = 113$; $r \geq .16$ is significant.

APPENDIX E

Other Findings

This appendix contains additional findings of the study. Results are briefly presented on the effects of the separate Marital Violence Approval Scales, the differential prediction of police behavior, the vignette measure of referral, and the officer demographic variables. Some discussion of the results is also included.

Marital Violence Approval Scales. While the major hypotheses were tested using a combination of the Approval of Marital Violence Scales, the interpretation of results might be enhanced by an inspection of the correlations between the separate scales and the dependent measures. Table E shows these simple correlations. The only consistent, significant finding over both types of dependent measures, is the correlation between minimal action and a belief that violence is justified against infidelity. A belief that violence is justified against infidelity was significantly and negatively associated with the vignette measures of informal action and referral. A belief that violence against insults is justified in marriage and a belief in the normalcy of marital violence were positively predictive of the vignette measure of minimal action (however, it should be noted that the "infidelity" and "insult" scales are not independent of

Table B

Simple Correlations Between Violence Approval Scales and Criterion Variables

Scale	MRE			VIN			
	Arrest	Informal Action	Minimal Action	Arrest	Informal Action	Minimal Action	Referral
Marital violence as *good*	-.070	-.073	-.036	-.138	-.078	.129	-.019
Marital violence as *normal*	.069	-.084	.044	-.113	-.144	.219**	-.095
Marital violence justified against *insults*	.077	-.046	.070	.047	-.250**	.175*	-.104
Marital violence justified against *infidelity*	-.053	-.117	.214**	-.092	-.260**	.285***	-.164*

*p .05.

**p .01.

***p .001.

the normalcy scale). The scale "marital violence as good" was not significantly associated with any of the dependent measures.

Differential Prediction of Two Criterion Variables. The major focus of this study was the relationship between each predictor variable and three types of police behavior taken separately; a slightly more general focus is the way the predictor variables differentially predict between two of the three police behaviors. Six of the nine predictor variables were hypothesized to be simultaneously associated in opposite directions with two of the three types of police behavior. The strength of the separate relationships may be nonsignificant by themselves but together they may become significant. Therefore, when correlation coefficients were in opposite directions the difference between them was tested. The MRE criterion measures, being independent of each other, could be differentiated using a test which used the z statistic. The vignette criterion measures, on the other hand, lacking independence from one another, required a dependent t statistic to take into account the dependency of the measures.

Relationships pertaining to the hypothesized model (Figure 3, p.76) are underlined in Table C. Four of the six hypothesized differences were statistically sig-

Table C

Differentiation Between Two Criterion Variables by the Predictor Variables Using Simple Correlations

Predict. Var.	Arrest vs Minimal Action				Arrest vs Informal Action			
	MRE		VIN		MRE		VIN	
	r	p	r	p	r	p	r	p
andro-undif			.029		.075			
			-.022	.136	-.054	.172		
expr-instr	-.211						-.221	
	.048	.028*					.228	.006**
AWS	.028		.147					
	-.162	.083	-.390	.007*				
att. wo.	-.170				-.170		-.062	
	.186	[a].004**			.171	.006**	.189	.065
att. ba. wom.	-.140				-.140		-.143	
	.066	[a].066			.093	.045*	.119	.032*
viol. approv.			-.120		.025			
			.308	.005**	.102	.181		
soc. serv. or.					-.145		-.186	
					.193	.040*	.032	.065
crisis tr.					-.012		-.241	
					.188	.120	.087	.041*
people work					-.122		-.055	
					.161	.019*	.157	.112

(continued)

Table C (cont.)

Predictor Variables	Informal Action vs Minimal Action			
	MRE		VIN	
	r	p	r	p
andro- undif	-.054 .048	.227	.177 -.168	.022*
expr- instr	-.162 .018	.095	.228 -.022	.065
AWS	.015 -.162	.132	.447 -.390	.000***
att. wo.			.189 -.125	.030*
att. ba. wom.			.119 -.038	.185
viol. approv.	-.102 .177	.020*	-.294 .308	.000***
soc. serv. or.	.193 -.056	.036*		
crisis tr.	.188 -.172	.009**	.087 -.080	.166
people work	.161 -.141	.014*	.157 -.137	.065

Note. Values are shown only for those correlations which were of opposite sign, i.e. those which could be differentiated.
Underlined values pertain to hypotheses.
Each upper r refers to the upper criterion variable on top of the table; lower r refers to lower criterion variable.

[a]Reverse of hypothesized direction.

nificant, but these significant differences were only for the vignette measures of officer responses. All of these differences had at least one predictor which was significantly related as hypothesized, and were described in the section on major findings.

Beliefs about women's roles discriminated between arrest and minimal action as did the approval of marital violence scale. Instrumental or masculine sex-typing was positively predictive of arrest and negatively predictive of informal actions. Intensive family crisis intervention training also discriminated between the arrest and informal action responses.

As noted earlier, a puzzling finding was the reversal of expected findings regarding general attitudes toward women: positive attitudes predicted non-arrest and minimal action on the MRE measure. For both types of criterion measures, general attitudes toward women and battered women differentiated arrest from informal actions, with positive attitudes predicting informal actions. There was only one other relationship consistently significant across the two types of criterion measures. Violence approval was positively associated with minimal action and negatively associated with informal actions. The simple correlation of this minimal action measure is artificially high due to its de-

pendence on the informal action measure. However, partialling informal action from minimal action produced a correlation of .187 between minimal action and violence approval. The largest single association also produced the largest differentiation and was not hypothesized. Beliefs about women's roles successfully differentiated between the vignette measures of informal actions and minimal action, even after removing the redundancy in in the criterion measures (the correlation between minimal action and the AWS, partialling for informal action, was .202). Support of nontraditional women's roles was positively associated with informal action and negatively associated with minimal action.

Overall, the predictor measures were least able to make differentiations between the arrest and minimal action response (four of the 18 possible differentiations were significant) compared to the arrest-informal action distinction and the informal action-minimal action distinction.

Vignette Measure of Referral. The vignette measure of referral, although a measure of a tendency to make specific referrals, was not treated as an informal action due to the results of the factor analysis. Therefore the results for this criterion variable will be reported separately. The vignette referral measure

correlated slightly ($r = .141$) with the vignette informal action measure and had two associations in common with it. Prior work with people and a lack of violence approval were associated with the vignette referral measure. Unlike the informal action measure, however, intensive crisis training was significantly associated with the tendency to refer the man and the woman. Also, unlike the vignette informal action measure, this measure of referral was not significantly related to attitudes toward women or to gender identity.

Demographic Variables. The relationship between the demographic variables and the criterion variables were also inspected for exploratory purposes. Table D shows the simple correlations between some officer demographic variables and the three criterion variables.

For the vignette measures only, officer marital status was significantly related with officer responses. Being married was positively associated with arrest and informal action responses and negatively associated with the minimal action response. Older, less educated officers were more likely to respond with minimal action during the most recent encounter. Officers who majored in the social sciences or humanities were significantly more likely to respond with informal action than minimal action on both types of dependent measures. Years of

Table D

Simple Correlations Between Demographic Variables and Criterion Variables

	Arrest		Informal Action		Minimal Action	
	MRE	VIN	MRE	VIN	MRE	VIN
Married	.150	.299**	-.056	.211*	-.020	-.256**
Single	-.137	-.264**	.094	-.304***	-.027	.233**
Age	-.078	.108	-.099	-.103	.267**	-.001
Educ.	.068	-.034	.163	.021	-.294**	-.108
Soc. sci. & hum. maj.	.005	.084	.108	.087	-.148	-.308**
Pol. sci. maj.	.143	-.096	.010	.111	-.080	.097
Bus. sci. & eng. maj.	.017	.055	-.154	-.147	-.132	.053
Inc.	.037	.382***	-.091	-.017	.204*	.188*
Yrs. police work	.006	.215*	-.112	-.098	.296*	-.049
R	.388	.485	.329	.451	.394	.445
R^2	.144	.235	.108	.204	.155	.198
F[a]	1.41	3.04**	1.20	2.54*	1.82	2.44*

Note. Correlations were not computed for sex and separated marital status because too few officers were in these categories.

[a]df = 9/99 for all R^2's.

police work and amount of income, correlated with each other and with age, were positively and significantly associated, like age, with the MRE measure of minimal action.

The finding that married officers were less likely to take minimal action than the other two responses can be explained by the mediating role of the variable tapping beliefs about women's roles. A belief in traditional womens roles was predictive of minimal action but also negatively associated with being married.

As found in previous studies, age was positively correlated with a support of traditional roles for women. Age was also associated with a belief that violence is justified against insults. The more education, the more likely it was officers would be against violence in response to insults, and also that they would be androgynous and instrumental. Thus attitudes and personality variables appear to mediate between some demographic variables and behavioral responses in marital violence cases.

APPENDIX F

Table E

Some Characteristics of the Sample

	n	%
Marital status		
single	18	15.7
married	91	79.1
separated	1	0.9
divorced	5	4.3
widowed	0	0.0
Ethnicity		
black	0	0.0
Mexican American	2	1.8
white	109	97.3
Asian	0	0.0
Religion		
Protestant	50	43.1
Catholic	63	54.8
Jewish	0	0.0
other	2	1.7
none	0	0.0
College degree		
none	73	63.5
BA, BS	19	16.4
MA, MS	0	0.0
associate	22	19.0
technical	1	0.9
	M	SD
Years of schooling		
	14.0	1.5

Footnotes

1. When the word "predict" is used in this study, it does not necessarily mean "forecast". Kerlinger (1973) points out that: "The word 'prediction' is usually associated with the future. This is unfortunate because, in science, prediction does not necessarily mean 'forecast' . . . . One 'predicts' from an independent variable to a dependent variable. One 'predicts' the existence or nonexistence of a relation; one even 'predicts' something that happened in the past!" (p. 459).

2. The police had responded five or more times to the addresses of about half of the homicide victims or suspects in the two years preceding the homicide. This may not mean, however, that the police are in a position to predict homicide. The reasons are: (a) there were also five or more calls to addresses of the aggravated assault victims; (b) information was not given on the number of calls made to homes in which aggravated assault or homicide did not occur; (c) even if a clear relationship between assault and homicide is found, it will be very difficult to predict homicide. It will be difficult because it is difficult to predict any rare event, as in the difficulty in predicting suicide among suicide attempters. Wife beating is a relatively common event; there are an estimated 1.8 million victims each year (Straus et al., 1979). Spouse homicide, on the other hand, claims under 3,000 persons each year (FBI, Uniform Crime Reports, 1975).

3. Many references on wife abuse and police training claim that FBI statistics show a large proportion of officers are killed or injured when responding to domes-

tic disputes (e.g. Langley & Levy, 1977, p. 165). However, the FBI category referred to is "disputes", not "domestic disputes" and includes "man with gun, bar fights, etc". (FBI, 1975, p. 225). These latter categories are likely to produce many of the injuries and deaths to officers. Little can actually be said about the dangerousness of domestic calls to officers. Only a few officers were injured in the 998 family crisis calls of the Oakland Police Department; in the untrained group of Bard's (1975) study, three officers were injured out of 549 calls. However, in this study, as will be seen, about ten percent of the officers were injured during their recent encounter with a spouse assault case.

4. As of the writing of this dissertation, the effects of the policy changes in New York City are unknown because the changes were instituted only a few months ago.

5. Converting the Chang and Zastrow data to a seven point scale the means were as follows: "police officers" 5.29, 5.59; "women" 4.69, 5.02, Saunders & Size and Chang & Zastrow, respectively. The Chang and Zastrow study did not report the standard deviations. For the Saunders and Size study the standard deviations were quite small: .61 for "women" and .62 for "police officers".

6. There was one exception to the use of simple correlations in hypothesis testing. Hypotheses pertaining to the relationship between androgyny and police behavior used multiple regression analysis. The hypotheses were tested using the partial standardized regression coefficient with the two gender identity dimensions entered into the equation (for rationale see section on "Predictor Measures").

7. In cancnical correlation analysis a number of independent and a number of dependent variables are simultaneously related to each other, analogous to two simultaneous factor analyses. One or more canonical variates, joining the two sets of variables and orthogonal to each other, are found. The relationship between the paired variates is expressed as the canonical correlation. The redundancy of the sets of independent and dependent measures is expressed by the redundancy coefficient. Discriminant analysis refers to the situation in which the variables designated as criterion variables in canonical analysis are dichotomous and dummy coded as one or zero.

8. Excluding the hypotheses regarding gender identity, the remaining 12 hypotheses were divided into the .05 alpha level with a resulting alpha per dependent hypothesis of .0042.

9. To purify the measure, an alternative categorization would have been to exclude those who arrested and who were also general responders or specific responders. However, it seemed that the arrest option, being definite, concrete, and drastic, would have largely overshadowed the effects of the other types of responses.

10. Correlation coefficients were used in forming the clusters instead of a distance measure (McKennel, 1977). The first cluster is formed by finding the highest inter-item correlation. In the case of Vignette 1, "empathize" and "give options" has the highest correlation, r = .47. Next, if the average of the correlations between another item and the first two selected is higher than any remain-

ing joint correlation, then this item joins the cluster; otherwise a new cluster is formed. In the case of the first vignette, "refer man" and "refer woman" formed the next cluster. Clusters are joined when the average of all possible correlations between the two clusters is greater than the remaining inter-item and inter-cluster correlations. Thus in Vignette 1 "referral (items 3 & 4) joined with "informal action" (items 9, 10, 5, 7, & 8) because the average correlations between these clusters exceeded that between the other cluster (6 & 2) or item 1 and referral and informal action clusters.

11. The eight situational variables entered into the multiple regression equations were as follows: couple married, couple unmarried, man used drugs, both used drugs, man aggressive, woman aggressive, woman's injuries, officer's injuries.

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