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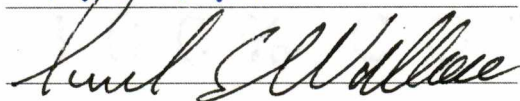
I am submitting herewith a thesis written by Tamela M. Wheeler entitled "Violence in Cohabiting and Married Couples." I have examined the final copy of this thesis for form and content and recommend that it be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts, with a major in Sociology.



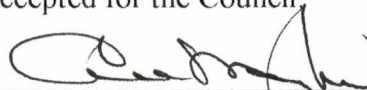
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Interim Vice Provost and
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***VIOLENCE IN
COHABITING AND MARRIED COUPLES***

A Thesis
Presented for the
Master of Arts
Degree
The University of Tennessee, Knoxville

Tamela Marie Wheeler
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DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to the three most important and influential people in my life: my husband David, and our sons, Aaron and Andrew. I have been so fortunate to have a supportive family enabling me to reach for my dreams. They have made their own sacrifices to make my goal of accomplishing a master's degree obtainable. I especially applaud Andy, with his "mischievous little smile"; he came into my life at the beginning of my program and has kept me on "my toes" since. .

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ABSTRACT

This is a study of violence among cohabiting and married couples based on the Wave II data of the National Survey of Families and Households and is a replication of the Stets (1991) study conducted using the Wave I data. It is predicted that cohabiting couples have higher rates of violence in comparison to their married counterparts. It is also predicted that cohabitators will report higher rates of alcohol consumption in addition to suffering from depression more so than the married couples in this data set.

The data for this study come from Wave I, completed in 1988, and Wave II of the National Survey of Families and Households, which was conducted between 1992 and 1994, five years after Wave I. Results show that cohabitators do have higher rates of violence than married couples. In addition, cohabitators exhibit higher rates of alcohol consumption, depression, are younger in age, have less income, and close ties to their family in comparison to their married counterparts. All of these results are consistent with Stets' (1991) analysis and results. Inconsistent with Stets' (1991) results, Wave II cohabiting couples show stronger ties or bond to their partner in comparison to the married couples in this study. In addition, Blacks are not shown in this study to be more likely to cohabit as Stets (1991) found. Logistic regression shows the effect of cohabitation status on couple aggression decreases after control variables are included in the model, but it does not become statistically insignificant. In Stets' (1991) study, the effect of cohabitation status disappeared after controls were introduced.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER		PAGE
I.	INTRODUCTION.....	1
	Statement of the Problem.....	1
	Significance of the Problem.....	1
CHAPTER		
II.	THEORETICAL ORIENTATION.....	10
	Explaining Cohabiting and Marital Aggression: The Role of Social Isolation.....	10
	Hypotheses.....	15
CHAPTER		
III.	METHODS.....	16
	Data and Sample.....	16
CHAPTER		
IV.	RESULTS.....	22
	Sample Characteristics.....	22
	Predicting Violence.....	24
	Seriousness and Directionality of Victimization.....	28
CHAPTER		
V.	CONCLUSIONS AND SUGGESTIONS.....	34
	Depression and Alcohol.....	39
	Problems: Alcohol and Depression and Their Link to Violence.....	40
	Suggestions for Future Research.....	40
	REFERENCES.....	43
	APPENDICES.....	52
	VITA.....	56

LIST OF TABLES

TABLE	PAGE
1. Variables In The Analysis: Means and Standard Deviations.....	23
2. Zero-Order Correlation Matrix of Variables.....	25
3. Logistic Regression Analysis for Aggression.....	27
4. Overall Rate of Injury.....	29
5. Aggressive Couples and Directionality.....	30
6. Status of Union and Rates of Aggression.....	32
7. Trajectories in Violence Against Females and Status of Union.....	33

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Studies of intimate violence against women consistently find that violence is more prevalent among cohabiting couples than couples that are married (Lane and Gwartney-Gibbs, 1985; Stets and Straus, 1989; Yllo and Straus, 1981). Although the association of intimate violence with cohabitation is well established, the reasons why cohabitators are at greater risk of intimate violence have not been determined with certainty. This thesis will investigate this question.

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE PROBLEM

CHARACTERISTICS OF COHABITING AND MARRIED COUPLES

In order to understand why cohabitators display higher rates of domestic violence than married couples, it makes sense to start by comparing the characteristics of cohabiting and married couples. Why couples choose to cohabit instead of marrying is not well understood. What is known is that in the U.S. rates of cohabitation are increasing. Current estimates indicate 50% of married couples cohabited with their partner before marriage, compared to a reported 8% of married couples in the 1960's (Bumpass, 1990). These increases are observed in other industrialized countries such as Great Britain, Canada, and the Netherlands (Hall, 1996; Larrivee and Parent, 1993; Bloom, Bennett, and

Blanc, 1988; Blumstein and Schwartz, 1983; Balakrishnan, Rao, Lapierre-Adamcyk, and Krotki, 1987; Murphy, 1985). Because of the growing incidence of cohabitation, it is important to understand its connection to intimate violence.

Brown and Booth (1996) report that cohabitation between couples typically lasts 0-2 years, ending through marriage or dissolution of the relationship. Bumpass and Sweet (1989) report that approximately 10% of cohabiting relationships last more than 5 years and that more than 10% of cohabiting couples experience the birth of a child. Bumpass and Sweet (1989) further note that 25% of cohabiting couples bring children from previous unions to the cohabiting relationship (Bumpass, Sweet, and Cherlin, 1991).

Some researchers think of cohabitation as an alternative form of marriage (Riche, 1988), while others believe that cohabitation is a relationship that possesses different goals, norms, and behaviors than marriage, allowing for looser bonds and greater individual freedom. (Newcombe, 1987). Cohabitors may be uncertain of long term relationships, desiring to test a relationship before committing to marriage (Willis and Michael, 1988). Bumpass (1990) states that cohabitors do not hold strong family values and are leary of commitment. In a study conducted by Blumstein and Schwartz (1983), it was found that cohabiting couples are less committed to the institution of marriage and more accepting of sexual activity outside the relationship than married couples. Further, in regard to commitment, Bloom, Bennett, and Blanc (1988) report regarding marital dissolution that 18% cohabitors versus 10% non-cohabitors had separated within 10 years of the date of marriage. After 20 years of marriage, the separation rates among cohabitors rise to 34% and to 24% for non-cohabitors. DeMaris and Leslie (1984) in their study

concluded that cohabitators have less commitment to marriage than those who choose to marry without cohabiting first.

Cohabitators possess different attitudes and values than married couples. Clarkberg, Stolzenberg, and Waite (1993), found that individuals who reject the restraints and demands of traditional gender roles are more likely to cohabit. This study also revealed that cohabitators are more egalitarian in relationship behaviors compared to married or single couples. Clarkberg et al. (1993) found that individuals who choose to marry compared to those who choose to cohabit differ in what they conceive as a good relationship. Clarkberg et al. also revealed that cohabiting couples value equality and individual independence within their relationship, while couples who marry value the interdependence within the relationship and exchange of services (Brines and Joyner, 1992; Clarkberg et al., 1993). Cherlin (1992) reports that cohabitators possess an "individualistic ethic" compared to their married or single counterparts.

Research consistently reveals that not only do the members of couples share similar values and belief systems but individuals tend to choose a partner based on achieved characteristics. Schoen and Weinick (1993) conclude that cohabitators are more likely to choose similar partners based on achieved characteristics, such as education, rather than ascribed characteristics, such as race, age, or religion (Forste and Tanfer, 1996). Forste and Tanfer (1996) found that age and religious homogamy influence commitment levels within marriage more so than in a cohabiting relationship. Educational homogamy affects commitment among cohabitators more so than married couples. Forste and Tanfer (1996) also found that when those preferring the cohabiting lifestyle choose a partner who does

not make an equitable match in education or other resources, this would influence the level of commitment in the relationship. If the individuals involved value interdependence and the exchange of resources in a relationship, inequalities in resources or achieved characteristics will have no bearing on commitment levels. These concepts are consistent with exchange theory, which predicts that individuals choose partners generally similar to themselves (Edwards, 1969).

An examination of life-course changes reveals the transition to stable employment may affect how ready and able couples are to formalize their relationships. For example, Raley (1996) states that Blacks may be more likely to cohabit than Whites before a marriage because Black men are more likely to experience periods of unemployment or have unstable jobs. Thus, men with uncertain employment may want to postpone marriage until they have obtained steady employment. Manning and Smock (1996) found that cohabiting unions lead more quickly to marriage for White's than for Blacks, confirming Raley's life-course study results.

Raley (1996) notes there is little difference between the attitudes of Blacks and Whites in regard to cohabitation (Carter, 1993, Sweet, 1989). In regard to women, Bloom, Bennett, and Blanc (1988) report that those who cohabit are younger than those who do not, more likely to have had a premarital conception, and more than twice as likely to have had a premarital birth. However, this study reveals this same group is less likely to have a marital birth. Menken et al, (1981) in a U.S. study, found that for both White and Black women, separation rates decline regularly with increasing age at marriage (Bloom, Bennett, and Blanc, 1988).

RATES OF DOMESTIC VIOLENCE IN COHABITING AND MARRIED COUPLES

Research has shown that cohabiting couples have higher rates of domestic violence in comparison to their dating or married couple counterparts (Lane and Gwartney-Gibbs, 1985; Stets and Straus, 1989; and Yllo and Straus, 1981) yet the causes for this higher likelihood are not completely known. Yllo and Straus (1981) found that the rate of violence in cohabitators goes up to full 50% for those who have been living together for 3-10 years and that the rate drops to zero after 10 years. Their study also revealed that there are lower rates of violence among people over the age of 30 and with persons with high incomes. The downfall to the Yllo and Straus (1981) study is that they did not conduct empirical testing to determine why the rate of violence is appreciably higher for cohabiting couples that have lived together from one to ten years.

Stets and Straus (1989) developed a demographic profile of cohabiting aggressive couples indicating that age, education, occupation, and income are significant factors related both to cohabitation and domestic violence. In addition to their demographic profile, their results showed that with the cohabitators in their study, 35 out of 100 couples experienced physical assault in the past year compared to 20 out of 100 for their married counterparts (Stets and Straus, 1989). Stets and Straus (1989) also found that 18 out of 100 cohabiting couples in their study exhibited bi-directional violence, double the rates of their married counterparts.

Brown and Booth (1996) identified race to be a factor in cohabitation and noted Blacks to be more likely than Whites to cohabit. Lower levels of education were also identified as being an important factor in cohabitation. Stets and Straus (1989) found that

younger couples are more likely to be cohabitators than older couples and that age is negatively associated with domestic violence. With regard to education, Stets and Straus (1989) found that education is negatively associated with husband-to-wife violence. In 1980, Straus et al. found that there is a lower rate of marital violence among white collar than blue collar workers and further found with the Stets and Straus study (1989) that violence is more common in blue collar than in white collar relationships. This study also revealed the assault rates involving either party or both parties increases if the couple has a blue-collar occupational status and cohabits in comparison to their married counterparts.

In addition to the demographic profile identified by Stets and Straus (1989), previous research has also shown that alcohol consumption may be a precipitating factor of intimate violence. The level of alcohol consumption thus may be an important variable in regard to intimate violence. There are several plausible explanations of the relationship between alcohol consumption and intimate violence. Social learning and deviance disavowal theory argue that individuals learn a "script" for violence by observing that individuals are excused for violence if alcohol is involved (Stets and Straus, 1989). In Gelles' study, (1974) he concluded "individuals who wish to carry out a violent act become intoxicated in order to carry out the violent act" (1974:117). While there is much debate about how alcohol affects intimate violence, there is much research citing that there is a relationship between the two variables.

A study by Neff, Holamon, and Davis-Schluter (1995) revealed that quantity of alcohol consumption may serve as a predictor for spousal or couple violence and that gender and race may also be predictors of domestic violence. This study further revealed

that the amount the perpetrator drinks in addition to how often is an important predictor in intimate violence. Two frequently cited works in regard to violence and alcohol are those conducted by Bard and Zacker (1974) and Wolfgang (1958). While Bard and Zacker found little relationship between alcohol and violence, the Wolfgang study revealed that victims of intimate violence frequently reported alcohol use in the household (Straus, 1995).

However, Straus and Gelles ([1990] 1999) point out that studies reveal a wide range of variation in the strength of the alcohol violence relationship. They examined 15 empirical studies and found a 6% - 85% range of estimate of alcohol involvement and its relationship to spousal violence. Six of the fifteen studies (Byles, 1978; Caesar, 1985; Coleman and Straus, 1983; Gelles, 1974; Rosenbaum and O'Leary, 1981; Van Hasselt et al, 1985), all found associations. Hotaling and Sugarman (1986) found that alcohol abuse was one of the risk factors which met the criteria consistently across two-thirds of the studies they reviewed. Straus and Kaufman-Kantor (1990) further found that wife abuse is seven times greater among binge drinking blue-collar individuals.

Since there is a large amount of data showing a relationship between alcohol consumption and intimate violence but no clear indication why there is a relationship, further examination needs to take place looking at how it plays a role and further, why people choose to consume alcohol, leading to the intimate violence. In the Booth and Johnson study (1988) of premarital cohabitation and marital success, it was suggested that cohabitators might have a high propensity for risk taking behavior coupled with problems of substance abuse. In addition, Yamaguchi and Kandel (1985), in an event-history analysis,

show that substance abuse is positively associated with cohabitation. Thus, alcohol may mediate the relationship between marital status and intimate violence.

Social networks, social bonds, and social isolation are all variables that have been considered as causes of intimate violence in couples. Past research has shown that bonding or positive relationships with social networks affect intimate relationships. Lackey and Williams (1995) found that the development of strong attachments to social networks and intimate partners played an integral role in the cessation of partner violence across generations. Waite (2000) states that in the United States cohabitators often are not institutionally supported. Further, family, society, and social institutions, such as organized religion offer little support. Waite (2000) also states that it is difficult for extended family to invest in the cohabiting relationship because of the risk of the relationship ending, and because cohabitators (especially males) place a lower value on marriage in addition to possessing values, goals, and beliefs not consistent with their married counterparts. Cohabitators also have liberal views of sex roles, experience less attachment to parents and extended family and are less likely to participate in organized religion (Waite, 2000).

Waite (2000) further notes that cohabitators with no plans to marry are twice as likely to perpetrate violence versus engaged cohabiting or married couples and that cohabiting males arrested for incidents of minor violence, perpetrate more serious violence after their arrest. In contrast, married males, who socially risk more by being labeled an abuser due to the arrest, are more likely to be deterred from further abuse after arrest (Waite 2000). Chase-Lansdale, Cherlin, and McRae (1995) found that rates of

cohabitation increase if the cohabitators' parents divorced before they were the age of 16 years. Possibly, because the parents divorced, there is a higher level of acceptance of cohabitation among family members, particularly the cohabitators' parents (Thornton, 1991). However, Booth, and Johnson (1988) state that if cohabitators decide to marry, they may do so due to external pressures from parents.

CHAPTER II

THEORETICAL ORIENTATION

EXPLAINING COHABITING AND MARITAL AGGRESSION:

THE ROLE OF SOCIAL ISOLATION

One of the major studies examining rates of intimate violence between cohabiting and married couples was conducted in 1991 by Stets. She used Wave I of the National Survey of Families and Households (NSFH) to identify possible variables explaining the higher rates of intimate violence among cohabiting couples versus their married counterparts. A subsample of the main sample served as a basis for the Stets' analysis. The subsample consisted of currently married and cohabiting respondents who had complete data on the variables used in her study. An important strength of the Stets' study is that it is based on a larger sample of cohabiting and married people, compared to previous research looking at cohabiting and married couples (Stets, 1991).

The Stets sample in 1991 consists of approximately 500 cohabiting and 5,000 married individuals compared to the Yllo and Straus study (1981), which consisted of 35 cohabiting and 2,000 married individuals. Because of the increase in sample size, Stets believes more confidence can be placed in the results of her analysis (Stets, 1991). In addition, the research design for the Wave I data of the NSFH captured dimensions of social isolation that was not examined in previous studies (Stets, 1991).

Stets was particularly interested in the role of social isolation through formal, informal, and intimate ties and how these ties affect intimate violence. For the Stets' (1991) study and for the purpose of this study, formal ties are participation in formal organizations, such as political groups, professional societies, or church functions. Informal ties are defined as the frequency socializing with relatives, friends, or coworkers. Intimate ties involves relations with one's partner or spouse and the level of commitment to the significant other (Stets, 1991). In addition to the demographic profile that Stets and Straus identified in an earlier study (1989), she expanded her study further by identifying the role of alcohol consumption and depression and their impact upon the perpetration of intimate violence.

Stets hypothesized that social isolation or lack of societal integration may affect the functional nature of social relations in two different ways: it may influence the degree of social support and the extent of social control (House, Umberson, and Landis, 1988). According to Stets (1991), the lack of social support, the lack of social control, or the combination of the two may increase the likelihood of intimate violence among cohabiting couples. Stets defined social support as the "flow between people of emotional, instrumental, or informational aid" (House, 1981; Thoits, 1982). Research has shown that without social support, emotional problems, such as psychological issues, may arise in individuals who do not receive social support (Hughes and Gove, 1981; Lin, Dean, and Ensel, 1986). Social support serves as a "buffer" relieving stress and enabling individuals to better cope with the problems they experience (Cohen and McKay, 1984; Gore, 1981). This buffering process works in one of two ways: it prevents individuals from appraising a

situation as being stressful or by inhibiting maladjustive responses (Stets, 1991). Whenever support intervenes the end result is that aggression is less likely to occur because there is no basis for it (stress has not been interpreted) or an alternative, normative response has taken place (Stets, 1991).

Stets stated that social control takes place in society when individuals are integrated into that society. Social control operates indirectly through internalization of norms of conventional behavior, and directly by other persons' sanctions or interventions (Umberson, 1987). Integration serves as a normative function instead of a social function (Umberson, 1987). Without this integration, behavioral problems arise. Examples of behavioral problems that may arise are issues with alcohol consumption (Umberson, 1987) or problems with delinquency (Hirschi, 1969). Stets wanted to look at three different layers of integration and see how each may serve as a mechanism for social control, thus reducing aggression (Stets, 1991). The three layers examined by Stets (1991) are as follows: 1) participation in formal organizations such as political groups, professional societies, or church groups; 2) participation in informal organizations such as frequency of socializing with relatives, friends, and/or co-workers; and 3) relations with one's partner or spouse, involving one's level of commitment to a significant other (Stets, 1991). According to Stets (1991), these three layers operate to reflect indirectly the process of social control. Membership in all three of these layers would involve the internalization of social norms and the consequence of social sanctions should non-conformity take place (Stets, 1991).

Stets (1991) hypothesized that depression results from a lack of social support and alcohol abuse results from a lack of social control. Because depression and alcohol problems have both been linked to physical aggression (Stets and Straus, 1990; Leonard and Jacob, 1988; and Kantor and Straus, 1987), Stets hypothesized that social isolation may explain the relationship between alcohol problems, depression, and aggression (Stets, 1991).

Stets' study reveals results consistent with past studies in regard to demographic variables showing that younger people are more likely to cohabit than older people (Stets, 1991). Also consistent with past research is the finding that cohabitators are more likely to be Black (Glick and Spanier, 1980; Spanier, 1983). Stets (1991) further identified a pattern revealing that cohabitators are more likely to display periods of depression and problems with alcohol, which was again consistent with previous research conducted (Newcomb and Bentler, 1980; Smith and Straus, 1988). The results of Stets' study reveals that those who cohabit (14%) are more likely to have aggression in their relationship than couples who are married (5%).

When looking at the results for social isolation, Stets found to her surprise that cohabitators are more likely to have close social ties to family than married persons. However, her data shows that they are less likely to be tied to social groups and to their partner, all consistent with previous research. Stets theorized that family and friends of cohabitators may not impose norms and they may receive enough support from kin and friends to account for their social integration (1991).

The results of the Stets' (1991) study are important because they propose research

questions that could be further examined in regard to dimensions of an intimate relationship, such as commitment, and violence. Due to the current limited research on cohabiting and married couples, additional research is needed to further aid in the identification of factors influencing the high incidence of violence among cohabiting couples. Thus, this study replicated the Stets (1991) study by using the Wave II data of the NSFH, examining demographic factors in addition to episodes of depression and alcohol consumption and the role of social isolation.

In Stets' demographic profile, she only examined age, race, and education. This study expanded on the demographic profile identified in the 1991 study by also looking at levels of income. Also to extend Stets' work an examination of directionality of the violence in the couple was conducted. Because Stets looked only at the presence or absence of violence in the couple, this researcher believes that investigating which partner is committing the violence and who is committing the most serious violence will add to the base of Stets' work. Additionally, a comparison of cohabiting and married status in Wave I and Wave II reveals whether the couple is still cohabiting, is now married, or if the relationship dissolved. All of these results contribute to the current knowledge base, providing the research community additional results and aiding in the revelation of why cohabiting couples display more serious incidents of violence. In addition to the factors discussed revealing different rates of violence in cohabiting and married couples, it is the opinion of this researcher that social isolation does play a role in intimate violence and that cohabitators have little investment or commitment in their intimate relationship with no social sanctions serving as a deterrence of intimate violence.

HYPOTHESES

Based on the foregoing theoretical and empirical considerations, I hypothesize: persons in a cohabiting relationship will have higher rates of intimate violence; persons in a cohabiting relationship will exhibit higher rates of depression and alcohol consumption; and persons in cohabiting relationships will exhibit weaker social ties to their partner in comparison to their married counterparts. These relationships are expected to exist independent of other possible factors contributing to intimate violence. Other factors include age, sex, educational attainment, income, and race.

This study focused on four main research questions:

1. Does the model developed by Stets for Wave I of the NSFH explain the impact of cohabitation on domestic violence in Wave II for overall violence?
2. Does educational attainment or economic status affect rates of intimate violence?
3. What is the directionality of violence in couples?
4. Does change in relationship status that is moving from cohabiting to married, have any affect on the likelihood of domestic violence?
5. Is relationship status related to continuity in violence? That is, are violent cohabitators more likely to continue their violence than violent married couples?

CHAPTER III

METHODS

DATA AND SAMPLE

The data for this study come from Wave I and Wave II of the National Survey of Families and Households (NSFH). Wave I of the NSFH included interviews with a probability sample of 13,007 respondents (Sweet et al, 1988). The main sample consisted of 9,643 households with oversampling of minority groups and a variety of family arrangements such as single-parent families, stepfamilies, and cohabitators. One adult per household, who was randomly selected as the primary respondent, was interviewed an average of 1.75 hours. Additional shorter interviews were conducted with the primary respondent's spouse or partner. The response rate was 74% for the primary respondents (main sample). Researchers collected a considerable amount of data analyzing the causes and consequences of changes in the American family and the household structure (Bumpass, 1988). Data were collected on:

- A. Past and current living arrangements
- B. Specific life experiences
- C. Analysis of earlier patterns of behavior in relation to present states
- D. Information on marital and parenting relationships
- E. Kin relationships
- F. SES

G. Psychological issues

In Wave II, all surviving members of the original sample were re-interviewed (N = 10,005) (Bumpass, 1996). Interviews were also conducted with the primary respondents spouse or co-habitor (N = 5,500). As in Wave I, the interviews covered a variety of topics. This study is based on the Wave II respondents who are either married or cohabiting at the time of the Wave II interview and Wave I respondents who are still in the same relationship in Wave II.

DEPENDENT VARIABLES

Because domestic violence can involve either males abusing females, or females abusing males, or both, there are three dichotomous dependent variables. In the NSFH, domestic violence is measured by several items. The first item asks how often in the past year did arguments between the couple resulted in the respondent "becoming physically violent" with the partner. A second item asks how often the respondent's partner exhibited this behavior to the respondent during arguments. The response categories range from 0 to 4 or more times. Partners were asked identical questions. The three dichotomous dependent variables are named (1) *male aggression*, (2) *female aggression*, and (3) *couple aggression*. Male aggression is coded 1 if the male reports that he hit the female or the female reports that the male hit her; female aggression is coded 1 if the female reports that she hit the male or the male reports that the female hit him; and couple aggression is coded 1 if either or both partners report hitting each other. Further identified are those aggressive acts resulting in injury with no injury coded 0 and injuries

requiring medical assistance coded 1. Trajectories in violence are measured by identifying aggression against women by coding 0 for those women reporting violence in both waves; a coding of 1 for those respondents reporting no violence in Wave I but violence present in Wave II; a coding of 2 for those respondents reporting violence in Wave I but desisting in Wave II; and a coding of 3 for those respondents reporting no violence in either wave.

INDEPENDENT VARIABLES

Following Stets' (1991) study, the independent variables include relationship status (married or cohabiting). A cohabitor is an individual living with another as a couple in a household without being married (Stets, 1991). *Cohabitation* is coded 0 and those *married* are coded 1. *Status of union* is coded 1 for married in both waves; 5 for cohabited in Wave I but married in Wave II; 9 for cohabited in Wave I and Wave II; and 14 for those couples where there were numerous changes in their relationship the time period between Wave I and Wave II. For example, they may have been married, separated, cohabiting, then married again.

Indirect measures of social control are operationalized through three layers of integration. These three layers are as follows.

Ties to groups and organizations are measured by asking respondents how often they (1) participate in service clubs, fraternal, or political groups; (2) participate in sports, hobbies, garden organizations or discussion groups; (3) participate in church affiliated groups; (4) participate in school related groups; (5) participate in community youth

groups; (6) participate in team sports/youth athletic clubs. Response categories are coded 0-4 with responses ranging from never, several times a year, once a month and several times a week. A higher score indicates greater participation with groups and organizations and increased social integration.

Ties to family and friends are operationalized by asking respondents how often they spend a social evening (1) with relatives, (2) with a neighbor, (3) with people you work with, (4) with friends who live outside your neighborhood, (5) by going to a bar or a tavern, and (6) by participating in a group-recreational activity (such as bowling, golf). Response categories range from never, several times a year, about once a month, about once a week, or several times a week (coded 0-4) respectively. A higher score would indicate greater participation in informal networks.

Tie or bond to one's spouse or partner is measured by a single item asking respondents what are the chances that they would eventually separate from their spouse/partner with a response category as very low, low, about even, high, very high (coded 1-5). As in the Stets' study, a high score in this category is indicative of closer ties to spouse or partner and a smaller chance of separation or dissolution of the relationship and a stronger strength of bond between the couple.

Twelve items are used to construct a *depression index*. The questions dealing with depression or mental health status ask respondents how often in the past week they (1) felt bothered by things that don't normally bother you, (2) not felt like eating/poor appetite, (3) felt they could not shake the blues, (4) had difficulty keeping their mind on things, (5) felt depressed, (6) felt that everything they did was an effort, (7) felt fearful, (8)

slept restlessly, (9) talked less than usual, (10), felt lonely, (11) felt sad, and (12) felt they could not get going. Response categories range from zero to 7 days (coded 0-7). Higher scores will reveal greater depression.

Alcohol use is measured by a single item asking respondents the number of days they had 5/more drinks on one occasion in the past 30 days. In the Wave I study, alcohol use was measured by a single item asking respondents if they had a problem with alcohol, coded 0 for no problem and 1 for a problem. In the Wave II study, there were 6 questions asked to determine if the respondent or their partner had a problem with drinking. The single item used for this study was coded as 1 for those reporting 5/more drinks on 4 or more occasions in a 30-day period and 0 otherwise. Guidelines used to develop this variable were based on recent alcohol research. In the 1990 National Alcohol Survey (NAS), only current drinkers reporting consumption of five or more drinks at one time on any occasion in their lifetime were asked a set of alcohol dependence and drinking-problems questions (Midanik and Clark, 1995). In a study conducted by Room et al. (1995) of a representative sample of Canadian drinkers, it was found that persons drinking five or more drinks at least occasionally were more likely to have been involved in an assaultive incident, particularly assault by another drinker.

CONTROL VARIABLES

To replicate and extend the Stets' study, control variables are: 1) *age*; 2) *race* (White or Black); 3) *education*; 4) *socioeconomic status*; and 5) *status of union* from Wave I to Wave II. *Age* is the age of the respondent in years. *Race* is coded 0 for Blacks

and 1 for Whites. The *education* of the respondent is expressed in years. *Socioeconomic status* is the household income to needs ratio of the respondent. Past research (Yllo and Straus, 1981; Stets and Straus, 1989) has shown that couples who commit intimate violence possess a demographic profile. This profile reveals that aggressive couples are youthful; possess minimal education; and fall into a lower socioeconomic status. According to past research, couples who exhibit aggression are reportedly in a cohabiting relationship and a larger number of those in a cohabiting relationship have been Black. (Yllo and Straus, 1981; Stets and Straus, 1989), thus there will be an examination of race and status of union. An examination of these control variables will aid in presenting a truer picture of aggressive couples and demographic characteristics.

CHAPTER IV

RESULTS

SAMPLE CHARACTERISTICS

Two samples are used in the analysis. First, to investigate whether the model developed by Stets with the addition of educational attainment and economic status applies to Wave II of the NSFH, the entire sample of married and cohabiting couples in Wave II was used. Second, to investigate whether change in relationship status effects the likelihood of domestic violence and whether violent cohabitators are more likely to continue their violence than violent married couples, a sub-sample of couples who were married or cohabiting at Wave I and are still together at Wave II was used.

Table 1 presents the means and standard deviations for the variables used in the analysis for cohabiting and married couples in Wave II. There is one additional variable not included in the Stets (1991) study, which is *income*. As in Stets' results, a few of the variables show no significant differences. An example of this is the *education* variable, with a mean of 12.52 for cohabitators and 13.00 for married.

Unlike Stets (1991) and previous research, (Glick and Spanier, 1980; Spanier, 1983), the analysis of the Wave II data does *not* show that Blacks are more likely than Whites to be cohabitators. However, consistent with Stets' (1991) Wave II results reveal that cohabitators are younger than those who are married, also consistent with past research.

As in the Stets' results, analysis of the Wave II data reveals that those who are

TABLE 1 VARIABLES IN THE ANALYSIS: MEANS AND STANDARD DEVIATIONS

Variable	Cohabiting Mean (SD) n	Married Mean (SD) n	t	p
Inflicting Aggression	1.485 (.3560) 478	.0580 (.2338) 5638	7.741	.000
Age	36.90 (10.24) 528	44.86 (18.91) 5743	-9.539	.000
Race	.8595 (.3479) 484	.8792 (.3259) 5298	-1.265	.206
Education	12.61 (2.46) 524	13.00 (2.90) 5731	-3.006	.003
Ties to groups and organizations	3.178 (5.326) 528	3.331 (4.915) 5743	-.679	.497
Ties to family and friends	12.61 (9.512) 528	11.91 (8.985) 5743	1.714	.087
Ties to spouse or partner	11.41 (1.920) 528	10.77 (1.799) 5743	7.717	.000
Depression	19.49 (22.75) 528	15.00 (20.50) 5743	4.767	.000
Alcohol problem	1.212 (.3267) 528	.0510 (.2201) 5743	6.684	.000
**Income n (Not included in Stats analysis)	4.199 (3.871) 527	4.794 (4.202) 5690	-3.130	.002

married appear to have closer *ties to groups and organizations* (formal social networks).

Also consistent with the Stets' Wave I analysis, Wave II results reveal that *ties to family* (informal social networks) are higher among cohabitators compared to their married counterparts. As previously noted, Stets found this to be an unanticipated result. However, unlike Stets' analysis of the Wave I data, *tie or bond to spouse or partner* is slightly increased among cohabitators in comparison to their married counterparts. Stets (1991) showed a mean of 3.017 for cohabitators and 3.625 for married in her analysis of Wave I.

Consistent with the Stets' study, cohabitators report higher incidence of depression than married couples. Analysis of the *alcohol* variable replicates the results that Stets (1991) found. Cohabitators show significantly higher rates of alcohol consumption than their married counterparts with a mean of 1.212 for cohabitators and .0510 for married.

Of utmost importance to this study is the rate of physical *aggression* in cohabiting and married couples. The analysis of this data reveal that 14.8% of those cohabiting report "becoming physically violent with their partner" compared to 5.8% married couples. Not only are these results consistent with Stets' (1991) analysis and previous research, (Stets and Straus, 1989; Yllo and Straus, 1981) analysis of the Wave II data reveal higher means than the Wave I data.

PREDICTING VIOLENCE

Table 2 presents bivariate correlations between the independent and dependent variables. Aggression and cohabiting status are correlated with age and education.

TABLE 2

ZERO-ORDER CORRELATION MATRIX OF VARIABLES

Variable	AGG	CS	AGE	RACE	EDUC	GROU	FRIE	SPOU	DEP	ALC	INC
AGG	1.00										
CS	-.099**	1.00									
AGE	-.123**	.120**	1.00								
RACE	-.006	.017	.019	1.00							
EDUC	-.020	.038**	-.129**	-.001	1.00						
GROU	-.015	.009	.061**	-.036**	.027*	1.00					
FRIE	-.018	-.022	.123**	-.033*	-.101**	.755 **	1.00				
SPOU	.143**	-.097**	-.029*	-.017	-.061**	.280**	.265**	1.00			
DEP	.078**	-.060**	.024	-.031*	-.186**	.242**	.264**	.333**	1.00		
ALC	.093**	-.084**	-.061**	-.005	-.031*	-.025*	.027*	.030*	.000	1.00	
INCO	-.062**	.040**	.041**	.020	.368**	.004	-.034**	-.056**	-.130**	-.025	1.00

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed)

* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed)

Where: AGG=Aggression in Couple, CS=Cohabiting Status, AGE=Age of respondent, RACE=Race of respondent, EDUC=Education of respondent, GROU=Ties to groups, FRIE=Ties to family and friends, SPOU=Tie to spouse or partner, DEP=Depression in respondent, ALC=Alcohol problem, INCO=Income level of respondent

Aggression is significantly correlated with cohabitation status, age, ties to spouse, depression, alcohol abuse, and income. Race is correlated with ties to groups, family and friends, and depression. Stets (1991) stated in Wave I, the results of marital status and aggression was spurious because the "demographic characteristics (age, race, and education) exert an influence on both marital status and aggression." As in the Stets (1991) study, the correlations between each of the different layers of social integration show some significance. Stets (1991) believed that each of the social integration variables were separate dimensions. Also consistent with the Stets (1991) analysis are the correlations of depression and alcohol.

Because the dependent variables are dichotomous, logistic regression is used to analyze any effects involving the independent variables and the control variables. The first model tested cohabiting status and rate of aggression. For model two, the control variables were added. At model three, the social process variables. Model 4 shows the independent and control variables and cohabiting status. Many variables are significantly related to aggression as indicated in Table 3.

Model 1 shows that aggression is significantly related to cohabitation status, with cohabitators having higher rates than married couples. The co-efficient for cohabitation status is -1.760. In Model 2, the socio-demographic controls are added and the size of the effect of cohabitation status is reduced by about two-thirds to -.589. Age, education, and income all have significant negative effects on aggression, but race does not. In Model 3, the social support, depression, and alcohol items are included. Three have significant

TABLE 3

LOGISTIC REGRESSION ANALYSIS FOR AGGRESSION				
Variables	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
	Beta Co-efficients	Beta Co-efficients	Beta Co-efficients	Beta Co-efficients
Constant	-1.008	1.248	-4.258	-1.489
Cohabiting status	-1.760**	-.589**	-.790**	-.420**
Age		-.065**		-.066**
Race		-.015		.026*
Education		-.049**		-.033*
Income		-.042**		-.034*
Ties to Groups/Organ.			-.002	.006
Ties to Family/Friends			-.025*	-.024*
Ties to Spouse or Partner			.213**	.215**
Depression			.009	.009
Alcohol			1.102**	.957**
-2 LL	2,673.5	2,492.4	2,543.4	2,382.3
Model Chi-Square	39.161	220.2	169.2	330.3
Block Chi-Square	39.161	181.0	169.2	161.1
N	6,271			
*p<.05				
**p<.01				

effects--ties to family/friends, tie to spouse or partner, and alcohol. As in Model 2, the effect of cohabitation status is reduced from Model 1, but it is still significant. Finally, Model 4 includes all of the variables. The size of the co-efficient for cohabitation status is reduced to $-.420$, less than one-quarter of its size in Model 1, but it is still significantly related to aggression. This indicates that there is something else about cohabitation status that affects aggression independent of social support, depression, alcohol, socio-economic, and demographic characteristics. However, social support is important as indicated by the significant co-efficients for ties to family and friends and tie to spouse. Alcohol is also important, with couples who appear to have a problem with drinking being significantly more likely to be violent. Surprisingly, depression is not related to aggression. Overall the results are in the same direction as those reported by Stets, but unlike that study, cohabitation status still has a significant effect on aggression after all controls are entered.

SERIOUSNESS AND DIRECTIONALITY OF VICTIMIZATION

Table 4 shows the rate of overall injury of cohabiting and married couples, with injury being defined as injuries requiring medical assistance. Cohabiting couples report an injury rate of 8.4% while married couples report an injury rate of 2.2%. Consistent with past research, not only do cohabitators exhibit higher rates of aggression, they also have higher rates of injury that may result in the need of medical assistance. Cohabitators in this study are also more likely to report extent of injury.

TABLE 4

OVERALL RATE OF INJURY				
	Cohabiting		Married	
	N	%	N	%
No injuries	439	91.6%	5517	97.8%
Injuries requiring medical assistance	40	8.4%	123	2.2%
TOTAL	479	100%	5640	100%

Directionality of aggression was examined through analysis of aggressive couples only. Identified were 71 aggressive cohabiting couples and 325 aggressive married couples. Table 5 shows that bi-directional violence is more common among cohabiting couples with 77.5% reporting this type of violence in their relationship. Among married couples, female violence is more common with 18.5% reporting this type of violence in their relationship compared to 7% of females in cohabiting relationships. Females in cohabiting relationships may not initiate violence due to risk and inequality in the relationship compared to married women who are bound in marriage and may risk less by initiating violence. Further, women in cohabiting relationships may be more apt to strike back in self-defense during an assault, accounting for the high rate of bi-directional aggression in cohabiting couples.

TABLE 5

AGGRESSIVE COUPLES AND DIRECTIONALITY				
	Cohabiting		Married	
	N	%	N	%
Male Aggression	11	15.5%	65	20%
Female Aggression	5	7.0%	60	18.5%
Bidirectional Aggression	55	77.5%	200	61.5%
TOTAL	71	100%	325	100%

In addressing whether relationship status, that is moving from cohabiting to married, had any affect on the likelihood of domestic violence, analysis of those respondents who cohabited in both waves, reveal that only 4.6% of married couples who were married in both waves exhibit aggression in their relationship. Of the cohabitators in Wave I who were now married in Wave II, the figure increases to 10% when reporting aggression in their relationship. What is of great importance for this table is the rate of aggression between the last two categories. Cohabitators who were living together in Wave I and are still cohabiting in Wave II reveal a significant increase in aggression of their relationship reporting 16.3%. The final category addresses the aggression found among a particular group of couples in the sample in which numerous changes took place in their relationship between Waves I and II. They are identified as married to cohabitor or cohabitor married to cohabitor and report 22%. Consistent with past research, cohabiting couples show higher rates of aggression in their relationship. Table 6 shows the results of this analysis.

Of most importance for this thesis is the determination of whether there is continuity in violence among couples in Wave I and Wave II. Table 7 shows the trajectories in violence for aggression against women. Aggression against women was analyzed for this table due to society's concern about aggression against women and simply because in most intimate violence cases, women are hurt more often and most severely. Of particular note, those couples cohabiting in Wave I and Wave II, 7.2% of the couples maintained violence within both waves, while 8.1% reported initiation of violence

TABLE 6

STATUS OF UNION						
AND RATES OF AGGRESSION						
		Still Married	Cohabs now Married	Cohabitors still Together	Married to Cohab or Cohab Marry to Cohab	Total
Violence in Couple	NO	4277	144	77	7	4505
	YES	204 (4.6%)	16 (10%)	15 (16.3%)	2 (22%)	237
TOTAL		4481	160	92	9	4742

TABLE 7

**TRAJECTORIES IN VIOLENCE
AGAINST FEMALES AND STATUS OF UNION**

	Still Married	Cohabs now Married	Cohabitors still Together	Married to Cohab Cohab Married to Cohab	TOTAL
Violence in Waves I and II	59 1.3%	5 3.0%	8 7.2%	-----	72 1.5%
Wave I no violence	113	11	9	2	135
Wave II Violence	2.5%	6.5%	8.1%	20.0%	2.8%
Wave I violence	172	11	14	2	199
Wave II no violence	3.8%	6.5%	12.6%	20.0%	4.1%
No violence in Waves I and II	4181 92.4%	142 84.0%	80 72.1%	6 60.0%	4409 91.6%
TOTAL	4525	169	111	10	4815
% within status	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

in Wave II. Further, 12.6% report violence desistance between Wave I and Wave II data collection.

Overall, the results show that the longer a couple cohabits, the greater the likelihood of violence, and violence is more likely to be maintained over time among cohabiting as opposed to married couples.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSIONS AND SUGGESTIONS

This thesis was a study of rates of intimate violence among cohabiting and married couples and was a replication of a study conducted by Stets (1991) in which the role of social isolation was examined. Stets (1991) looked at the role of social isolation (lack of integration) and the role of social control in her study because in past studies, the roles of these two factors had not been empirically tested; their roles had merely been the subject of speculation (Yllo and Straus, 1981). Most of the findings in this study are consistent with Stets' (1991) results. These findings include higher rates of intimate violence, including serious violence, among cohabitators versus their married counterparts. In addition, cohabiting couples appear to be younger in age, have less education, exhibit higher rates of depression and alcohol consumption than married couples. Also consistent with Stets' (1991) study is the finding that cohabiting couples have closer ties to family and friends but lower ties to groups and organizations than their married counterparts.

Inconsistent with Stets' (1991) study is the finding that there appear to be no differences between Blacks and Whites in regard to rates of cohabitation for Wave II. Stets found in her study that Blacks are more likely to cohabit than Whites, a finding consistent with past research. An explanation of this finding may be that because cohabiting relationships tend to last 0-2 years, as past research has shown, it is possible that many of those relationships involving Blacks have dissolved by Wave II. Quite possibly, some of those Black cohabiting relationships from Wave I may have resulted in

married relationships for Wave II. Also inconsistent with the Wave I (1991) study are the tie to spouse or partner for Wave II. The rates appear to be higher among cohabiting couples than married couples. Stets (1991) showed the opposite.

As previously noted, this thesis expanded on the Stets' study by also looking at differences in income between cohabiting and married couples and found that cohabitators fall into lower socioeconomic levels than their married counterparts. In addition, this study identified rates of male, female, and bi-directional aggression. Also examined were rates of injury resulting in the injured party seeking medical assistance, most commonly the female being the injured party.

Of utmost importance, this study examined the change in relationship status between Waves I and II with rates of overall aggression in addition to trajectories in violence against females. The findings reveal that change in status does affect rates of violence and there is greater continuity of violence among cohabitators than their married counterparts.

The importance of this study is two-fold. The first being that it is important to replicate studies in an effort to show consistency or inconsistency of previous research. The second reason is because no other study besides Stets' (1991) study has looked at the role of social isolation and intimate violence empirically in addition to the roles of alcohol and depression. Her study is unique. Most other studies have speculated about the role of social processes.

A number of sociological theories that bear upon explaining intimate violence may help us understand the results that were found in this study. Three specific theories to be

discussed are Exchange Theory, Social Conflict Theory, and Social Learning Theory.

Exchange theory states that "people hit and abuse other family members because they can" (Viano, 1992). Gelles (1983) summarizes exchange theory by stating that members of the family resort to violence to obtain their goals for as long as the gain outweighs the cost. The American tradition permits a great deal of privacy in regard to intimate relationships and society's refusal to intervene effectively makes it "inexpensive" to be violent within the family (Viano, 1992). The results of this study clearly shows that cohabiting couples report higher rates of intimate violence in addition to reporting low social ties to groups and organizations. These results are a clear indication that the social costs of intimate violence among cohabitators may be low. Due to the little or non-involvement in formal organizations such as church or political groups holding the cohabitor accountable for violence in an intimate relationship, there is little social control. As previously mentioned, Waite (2000) states there are different social sanctions for cohabiting and married couples in regard to committing intimate violence. Married men seem to suffer from social sanctions by being labeled a "wife beater", while cohabiting men suffer little or no social sanctions. Waite (2000) also notes that desistance of violence appears to occur after a married male is arrested. Escalation of violence seems to appear after a cohabiting male is arrested and then returns home (Waite, 2000).

Social conflict theory states that social bonds are vital to social community as well as individuals and conflict is analyzed through threatened or broken bonds (Viano, 1992). Retzinger (1991) has recently advanced social conflict theory by integrating findings from various approaches in regard to large-scale conflicts, marital disputes, or communication

processes. Retzinger (1991) states that the emotion of shame plays a vital role in the structuring and process of bonding, thus in conflict also. The theory of escalation is integrated explaining that conflict occurs when alienation and shame is evoked but not acknowledged (Viano, 1992). Due to cohabitators having less social ties and bonds with community, as indicated again by their low ties to groups and organizations, alienation from community results under the guise of anger, rage, and violence. In addition, the results of the overall continuity in violence among cohabiting couples in this study adds to the argument that due to broken bonds with social community, an allowance of continuity in violence is made.

Social learning theorists argue that aggression and violence are learned, appearing within a social context. O'Leary (1988) states that family violence can be precipitated by a combination of contextual and situational factors. The first combination may include individual, couple, and societal characteristics creating environments in which violence takes place. O'Leary (1988) cites examples as violence in the family of origin, stress, and an aggressive personality. Due to past research that has shown that family violence is intergenerational (Widom, 1989), close ties to family in this study and Stets' study may be indicative of a family of origin that is not only accepting, but learned. A specific contextual situation might then exist, such as problems with alcohol or drug abuse, financial problems, problems within the relationship, thus leading to family violence (Viano, 1992). Due to less education and less income among cohabitators than married couples in this study, opportunities for good jobs leading to financial stability may be small, thus paving a way for violence due to financial strains. In addition, this study shows

that cohabitators have higher rates of alcohol consumption in addition to problems with depression, thus providing a contextual situation for violence to exist within the relationship. Further, in regard to social learning, many individuals may have been raised in a family where problems with alcohol persists, thus leading to violence. These individuals may have learned that behavior associated with alcohol consumption is excused, thus any violence occurring during the consumption of alcohol or while one is intoxicated may be excused.

Not all sociological theory focuses on aggression as a “negative.” Simmel (1955) asserts “that the expression of hostility in conflict serves positive functions insofar as it permits the maintenance of relationships under conditions of stress, thus preventing group dissolution through the withdrawal of hostile participants” (Coser, 1964). In other words, it serves as a regulatory system, “eliminating the accumulation of blocked and balked hostile dispositions by allowing their free behavioral expression” (Coser, 1964). Basically, conflict is a part of life and relationships and the closer the relationship, the more likely there will be some sort of conflict. Coser (1964) however, asserts the closer the relationship between intimates, the greater the affective investment, resulting in a suppression of hostile feelings on the intimate partner. Nonetheless, when conflict is expressed through aggressive behavior resulting in the harm of an individual, it becomes a social concern.

DEPRESSION AND ALCOHOL

Much research has been conducted to show that the frequency and intensity of social interactions among individuals are associated with their psychological makeup (Lin, 1986). Brown et al. (1975; 1978) in their analysis of the social origins of depression, focused on intimacy as a major dimension of support. In addition, past research has shown that men and women suffer from depression for different reasons and react in different ways. In a study conducted by Lin, Dean, and Ensel (1986), their results show that females were significantly more depressed than the males in their study and that married couples suffered less from depression than individuals who were unmarried. This study supports this research by revealing that cohabiting couples do suffer more from depression than married couples. In addition to these findings, Lin, Dean, and Ensel (1986) state that life events and social class are all related to depression. The results in this study also show results that depression is correlated significantly with level of income.

In regard to alcohol, it is reported that alcohol-use disorders have been associated with depression (Grant and Hartford, 1995). The self-medication hypothesis (Khantzian, 1985), is a theory rooted in psychodynamic theory and supported by evidence from neurobiological changes associated with alcohol use. Alcohol consumption is used as an attempt to alter undesirable mood states (Khantzian, 1985). In a study conducted by Stewart and Chambers (2000), identified were three distinct motives for people's alcohol consumption behavior. One of the motives of particular interest for this study is coping motives, which are used to decrease negative internal states, such as depression. Further, in a study conducted by Norstrom, (2000), there was indication that the "cumulated

evidence from experimental studies indicates that alcohol intoxication per se does not necessarily induce aggressive behavior, but that such a response is instigated by the additional factor of provocation and frustration (Gustafson, 1986; Taylor and Chermack, 1993). In the case of intimate violence it is of utmost importance to discover what factors are involved in provoking heavy alcohol consumption leading to aggression and “when” depression factors into the picture; before or after the consumption of alcohol and exactly who is suffering from depression. The results of this study reveal that cohabitators exhibit high rates of alcohol consumption in addition to suffering from depression more so than their married counterparts. However, it is believed by this researcher and as shown earlier by Straus (1990) that it is the female in the cohabiting relationship that may be suffering from depression and PTSD as a result of the abuse in the relationship. This idea is further documented through the results of the logistic regression analysis revealing in Model 3 that depression is not related to aggression.

PROBLEMS: ALCOHOL AND DEPRESSION AND THEIR LINK TO VIOLENCE

While there have been numerous studies citing the link between alcohol, depression, and violence, there is no clear indication as to why this occurs. Quite possibly, the dynamics of these three variables are so intertwined that further study is needed.

SUGGESTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

Future research regarding rates of intimate violence and the roles of social isolation, depression, and alcohol should include a more detailed look at gender

differences in regard to alcohol consumption and rates of depression, in addition to differing gender views of social support. For example, males and females may consume alcohol for different reasons. They are certainly capable of consuming different amounts due to body weight and size. Theoretically, males can drink more due to increased body weight and size. In addition, clearer definitions of binge drinking, social drinking, and heavy drinking need to be developed for this data set.

Males and females may suffer from depression in different ways and for different reasons. The difficulty in determining the role of depression and alcohol is the determination of which comes first; the alcohol or the depression and exactly who is suffering from depression. Do individuals drink because they are depressed and use alcohol as a buffer? Do individuals become depressed as a result of drinking too much? Are the females in this study the individuals suffering most from depression and for what reasons? If so, possibly the victimization is causal agent of depression.

In addition, it is theorized that males and females perceive social support in different ways. In other words, to whom do females turn to for support? To whom do males turn to for support? Further examination is needed to look at gender differences in perception of social support.

Finally, it is theorized by this researcher that the result of the close ties to family and friends among cohabiting couples may be the result of close ties to friends and co-workers who exhibit frequent drinking behavior with the male cohabitor, thus resulting in the high rate of alcohol consumption found in cohabiting couples. Further analysis is needed to determine if this is true. In addition, since this study found higher rates of close

tie to partner in cohabiting relationships, which is a finding not consistent with Stets, further analysis is needed to determine the differences in the results of the two variables.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

SOCIAL CONTROL QUESTIONS

Ties to groups and organizations

How often do you: (1) participate in service clubs, fraternal, or political groups?; (2) participate in sports, hobby, garden organizations, or discussion groups?; (3) participate in church affiliated groups?; (4) participate in school related groups?; (5) participate in community youth groups?; (6) participate in team sports or youth athletic clubs?

Ties to family and friends

How often do you spend a social evening: (1) with friends?; (2) with a neighbor?; (3) with people you work with?; (4) with friends who live outside your neighborhood?; (5) by going to a bar or a tavern?; or (6) by participating in a group recreational activity (such as bowling, golf)?

Tie or bond to one's spouse or partner

(1) What are the chances that you will eventually separate from your spouse or partner?

APPENDIX B

DEPRESSION AND ALCOHOL QUESTIONS

Depression Index

How often in the past week have you: (1) felt bothered by things that don't normally bother you?; (2) not felt like eating or had a poor appetite?; (3) felt like you could not shake the blues?; (4) had difficulty keeping your mind on things?; (5) felt depressed?; (6) felt that everything you did was an effort?; (7) felt fearful?; (8) slept restlessly?; (9) talked less than usual?; (10) felt lonely?; (11) felt sad?; or (12) felt you could not get going?

Measurement of Alcohol Problem

How many days have you had 5 or more drinks on one occasion in the past 30 days?

APPENDIX C

AGGRESSION QUESTIONS

Physical Aggression: Male Aggression, Female Aggression, and Couple Aggression

Measured by asking the respondent:

“How often in the past year did arguments result in the respondent becoming physically violent with partner, resulting in acts such as pushing, shoving, slapping, or hitting?”

Measured by asking the respondent's partner:

“How often in the past year did arguments result in the respondent's partner becoming physically violent with respondent, resulting in acts such as pushing, shoving, slapping, or hitting?”

VITA

Tamela Wheeler was born in Knoxville, Tennessee on May 4, 1962 where she has been a resident of the East Tennessee area her entire life. She attended schools in the public system of Knox County, Tennessee and graduated with honors from South-Young High School in 1980. After working for a year, she began attending the University of Tennessee, Knoxville, majoring in Psychology. Three years later, she married, started a family, and returned to school in 1989. While working full time to fund her education and while raising a family, she completed her degree in 1993 with a Bachelor of Arts in Psychology. She began her master's coursework by taking classes in the Counseling Education and Psychology Department at the University of Tennessee in 1996 and entered the Master of Arts program in the Department of Sociology in August 1998 at the University of Tennessee. Her major area of concentration remains in criminology. In addition to her interests in the research aspects of intimate violence, other criminological interests include life-course theory and research, social disorganization/neighborhood context, feminist criminology, and critical criminology.

Professionally, she has worked as a Prevention Specialist with the Sexual Assault Crisis Center, working in the Knox County school system delivering child sexual abuse prevention programs to students. She has also worked for the Community Alternatives to Prison Program and as a social worker for the Major Crimes Division (Domestic Violence Unit) of the Knox County Sheriff's Department. While with the Major Crimes Division,

she served on the East Tennessee Victims Rights Task Force. With the exception of her last semester of coursework and thesis hours, in which she received a graduate assistantship through the Arts and Sciences Department, she funded her entire master's program while working full time and raising a family. She is presently an Adult Education Instructor and Career Specialist with Pellissippi State Technical Community College, serving individuals that reside within the Empowerment Zone. She serves on the Adult Education Advisory Board at Pellissippi State Technical Community College.

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