

CONFLICT, REASONING, AND COUPLE'S MARITAL
VIOLENCE: A RE-EXAMINATION OF THE EVIDENCE

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ABSTRACT

Conflict, Reasoning, and Couple's Marital

Violence: A Re-examination of the Evidence (May 1983)

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Murray Straus is the leading researcher in the area of family violence. He conducted a study in 1976 of 2,143 American families. Following the study, Straus and his co-workers wrote the book "Behind Closed Doors" in which they gave the results and important findings from the study.

Straus briefly touches on the subject of couples using reasoning to deal with conflict and reduce violence. He concludes that reasoning increases the positive correlation between conflict and violence. I found this to be incorrect. I discovered that Straus had many problems with the way he came upon this particular finding; he interpreted his data improperly and used an invalid and unreliable scale to measure reasoning.

The data obtained by Straus reveals that the percentage of couples that were ever violent in any manner increases as the use of reasoning increases. In my analysis, I obtained data on the mean average level of violence. I believe this is more accurate.

The variables in Straus's reasoning scale are not reliable in that they could possibly be measuring different events depending on how a person interprets them. I reduced the reasoning scale to one easily understandable variable. This variable measures how often a couple

tries to discuss their problems calmly with one another.

My analysis reveals that the correlation between violence and conflict does not increase as reasoning increases. Also, reasoning actually reduces a couples average level of violence. Therefore, my conclusion is that reasoning out ones' conflicts is a useful tool in diminishing the tendency of family conflicts to cause violence in marriages.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Violence is a major social problem in our society and is very much prevalent within the family. Violence seems to be about as typical of family relationships as love; and it would be quite hard to find an institution or other group in American society in which violence is more of an everyday occurrence than it is within the family. The family is the setting in which most people first experience physical violence, and the setting which establishes the emotional context and meaning of violence.

A major reason why we must understand and deal with family violence is because it appears that the more violence people encounter within their family, the greater likelihood to continue or increase their use of violence. It is a never ending cycle. For example, men who had seen parents physically attack each other are nearly three times more likely to have hit their own wives (Straus, 1981, p.100). Violence begets violence.

Family violence must be carefully studied before we can begin to try and help the people involved. Murray Straus was the principle investigator in the only large-scale national study to date on intra-family violence. It was a nationally representative sample of 2,143 intact American couples. They were asked mainly about violent acts performed in 1975, the year prior to the survey.

Because Straus's work is the only representative national study

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we have, it is extremely important that the conclusions he reached be reliable and accurate. For this reason I carefully re-examined the book entitled "Behind Closed Doors" which Straus wrote following his survey to communicate the results. I became interested in one particular finding in his book. This finding states that there is a positive correlation between conflict and violence, which increases as a couple increases the use of reasoning. I found this difficult to believe; so much so that I conducted a secondary analysis of the 1976 study to find out if I would reach a different interpretation.

I will show that Straus's conclusions are incorrect. His scale measuring the use of reasoning by married couples, and his operationalization of interspousal violence, which I will present in chapter 2, are unsatisfactory. Once these problems are corrected, as I do in chapter 3, I find that reasoning has the effect, as predicted, of diminishing violence within marriages; it does not increase the correlation between conflict and violence. These results are presented in chapter 4.

CHAPTER II

CONCLUSIONS AND METHODS USED BY MURRAY STRAUS

Obviously, I depended on Straus's study and data for much of my accuracy. Straus measured the reliability and validity of his scales. The scale I used was his Conflict Tactics Scale which included subscales of reasoning, conflict, and violence.

Straus measured the internal reliability of the Conflict Tactics Scales (CTS) with two techniques: item analysis and the Alpha coefficient of reliability. For the Husband-to-Wife Violence Index the mean item-total correlation was .87. For the Wife-to-Husband Violence Index, it was .88. The Alpha Coefficients were .83 for Husband-to-Wife Violence Index, and .82 for Wife-to-Husband Violence Index.

He also examined three aspects of validity; concurrent, construct, and content. The concurrent validity for reasoning was low. It was high for physical violence and verbal aggression. The content validity was considered high since the items all had high face validity. For instance, all the variables of the violence scale described acts of actual physical force being used by one family member on another family member.

The construct validity was also considered to be high for several reasons. For example, there was consistency between findings which used the CTS and evidence concerning the "catharsis" theory of aggression control. Also, the CTS found high rates of verbal and physical aggression as did previous in-depth interview studies. The CTS also had consistent findings with previous studies, such as a negative correlation between socioeconomic status and violence.

It appears that his scales are all reliable enough to depend on, except for the scale of reasoning. This is the scale I will be changing during my study.

Straus was attempting to test the conflict theory when he found his relationship between reasoning, conflict, and violence. He states:

"Conflict theory says that conflict is an inevitable part of life, and that if constructive methods are used to resolve or manage it, then such conflict is beneficial." (Straus, 1981, p.165)

He then goes on to say that if the conflict theory is correct, "couples who use constructive tactics such as negotiation and reasoning to deal with conflict" (Straus, 1981, p.165) would be able to avoid physical violence.

Straus used three scales to test the conflict theory. He used a violence scale, conflict scale, and reasoning scale.

The violence scale had eight variables. These were:

- 1) Threw something at the other
- 2) Pushed, grabbed, or shoved the other
- 3) Slapped the other
- 4) Kicked, bit, or hit with a fist
- 5) Hit or tried to hit with something
- 6) Beat up the other one
- 7) Threatened with a knife or gun
- 8) Used a knife or gun

Each person answering the survey would first answer for himself or herself and then answer for their spouse. Therefore they answered each

✓

question twice. For each variable they could answer from 0-6. "Zero" indicated they had never done this form of violence during the survey year. "One" meant they had done it one time and "two" meant twice. "Three" indicated 3-5 times, "four" indicated 6-10 times, "five" meant 11-20 times and "six" indicated over 20 times. Therefore, since there are eight variables, and each one was answered twice, a couples' score could range from 0-96.

The conflict scale consisted of five items which couples might disagree on. These were:

- 1) Money
- 2) Children
- 3) Sex
- 4) Housekeeping
- 5) Social activities

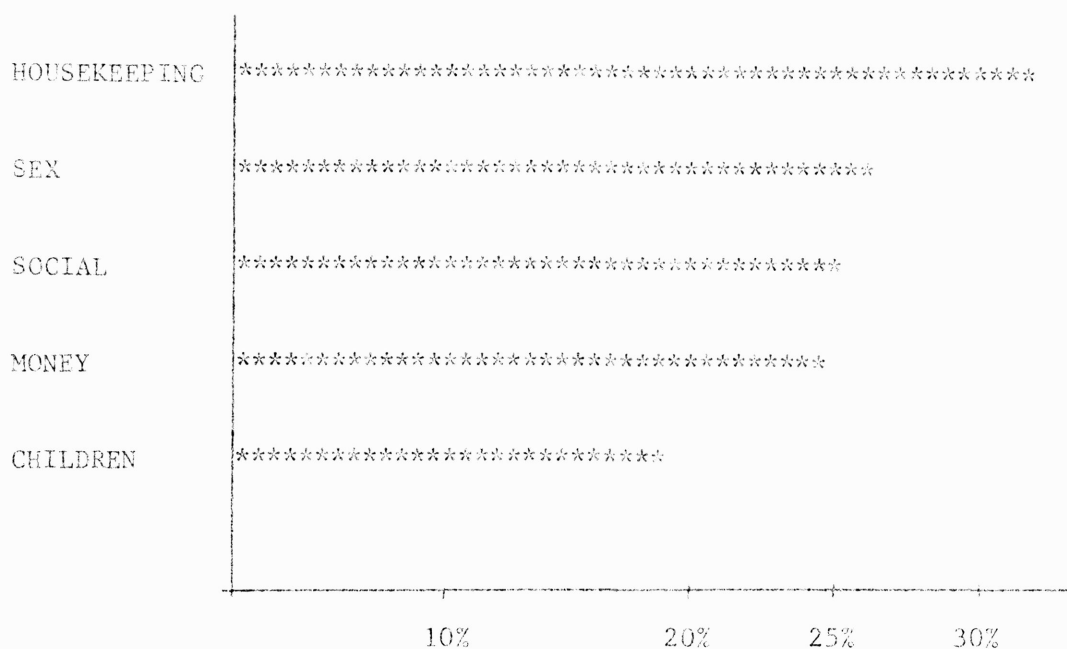
A person could answer from 1-5 on each variable. "One" meant the couple "always agreed" on this issue during the survey year. "Two" meant they "almost always agreed". "Three" meant "usually agree". "Four" corresponded to "sometimes agree" and "five" corresponded to "never agree". A couple without children could score between 1 and 20. A couple with children could score up to 25.

Figure 1 illustrates the patterns of conflict for the couples Straus surveyed.

To measure the use of reasoning, Straus included three variables for his scale. These were:

- 1) Discussed issue calmly
- 2) Got information to back up your side of things
- 3) Brought in or tried to bring in someone to help settle things

Figure 1. Conflict About Five Aspects of
Family Life (Straus, 1981, p.157)



Each person answered for themselves and then for their spouse. Each variable could be answered with 0-6. "Zero" meant they never did this during the survey year (1975). "One" meant once and "two" meant twice during the survey year. "Three" meant 3-5 times, "four" meant 6-10 times, "five" meant 11-20 times and "six" meant over 20 times during the survey year. Since each item was answered twice, the score for a couple could range from 0-36. Straus defined his reasoning scale as measuring "the use of rational discussion, argument, and reasoning" (Straus, 1979, p.77).

Straus divided his reasoning and conflict scales into four different levels. These were rare, low, medium, and high. The way he obtained these categories was by first finding the mean of each of

these scales. If a couple scored greater than one standard deviation below the mean, then they were in the "rare" category. "Low" meant that they scored below average but not more than one standard deviation. A score no more than one standard deviation above the mean was called "medium". "High" meant they scored more than one standard deviation above the mean.

The mean for his reasoning scale was 12.037, and the standard deviation was 6.802, so that the following cutting points resulted:

Rare= Score of less than 5

Low= Score from 5-11

Medium= Score from 12-18

High= Score greater than 18

The mean for his conflict scale was 11.239, and the standard deviation was 3.628. In turn, this meant the following categories:

Rare= Score of less than 9

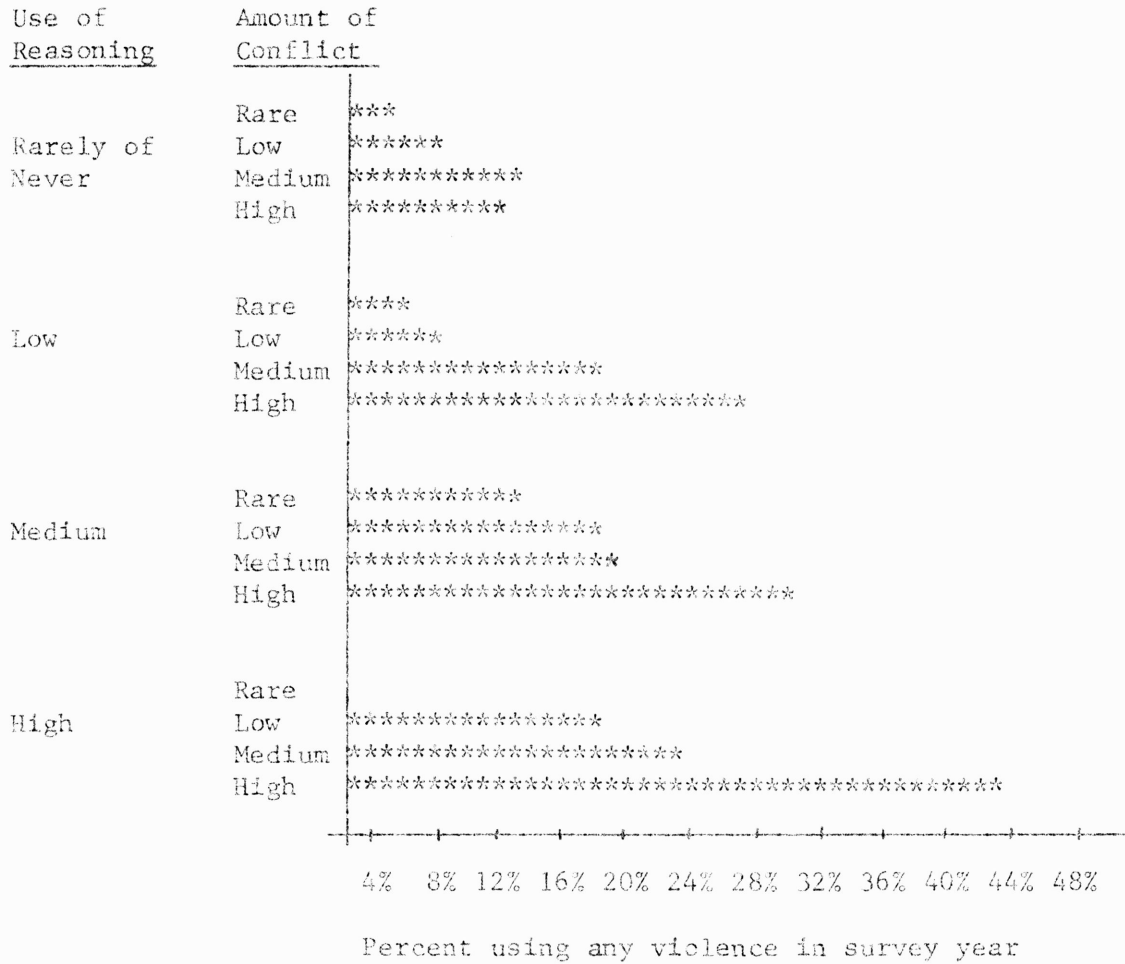
Low= Score from 9-11

Medium= Score from 12-15

High= Score greater than 15

After obtaining all these scores, he plotted the results on a graph as in figure 2. Note, however, that he measured violence by finding the percentage of couples in each category that ever had any form of violence during the survey year. His chart shows that the conflict theory is not supported. Indeed, it shows that as the level of reasoning goes up, the correlation between conflict and violence increases. As he summed it up,

Figure 2. Per Cent of Couples Violent in Survey Year by Amount of Conflict and Use of Reasoning (Straus, 1981, p. 165)



"These results are exactly the opposite of what was predicted on the basis of the conflict theory. According to conflict theory, couples who bring their problems into the open, and who use reasoning and negotiation to settle those conflicts, should be the ones who do not have to resort to violence, either as a desperate measure to call attention to a grievance, or as a means of resolving the conflict. These are the couples

represented by the bottom bar in the chart, the 'high' reasoning and 'high' conflict couples. But instead of having the lowest rate of violence, these are the most violent couples in the sample."(Straus, 1981, p.166)

He continues:

"So we find irrespective of whether the couple uses reasoning and negotiation, the more conflict in a marriage, the more violence."(Straus, 1981, p. 166)

CHAPTER III

CRITICISMS AND CHANGES TO BE MADE TO
MURRAY STRAUS'S STUDY

There are some problems with Straus's conclusions. First, the chart in which Straus illustrates his finding on reasoning (Fig. 2) is measuring the percent of couples using any violence during the survey year. There are several things wrong about this. It puts, for example, someone who slaps their spouse one time in the same category as someone who slaps, stabs, and beats their spouse up. Moreover, it does not show us if violence actually increases within a particular relationship.

The second problem is that, as stated before, Straus concludes by saying "irrespective of whether the couple uses reasoning and negotiation, the more conflict in a marriage the more violence" (pg. 166). However, his chart does not show this. It shows that as reasoning goes up the percentage of couples using any violence goes up. In other words, the number of couples using any violence may be going up, but there is no proof that the level of violence within the marriage goes up as reasoning increases. His conclusion is not consistent with the chart.

The third problem I found with his study was the reasoning and negotiation scale. One of his variables in the scale is "got information to back up your side of things". This could cause problems in that it says nothing about how this "information" is presented to one's partner. One could just as easily present their information in a heated argument as in a calm discussion. A high

score on this variable could therefore be indicating the couple argues a lot rather than they use reasoning a lot. Moreover, another one of the variables Straus uses is "brought in someone to help settle things". There are problems inherent in this. The first problem lies in the word "someone". Who is this "someone"? Perhaps it is a counselor. If so, the counselor could possibly help them deal with their problem. However, given the unfortunate bias in our society against the use of psychologically trained professionals, a family counselor is often a last resort. Couples that go to them for help are often the ones that cannot seem to settle their problems on their own. They are the couples that may have tried everything else, perhaps even violence, to work their problem out. If this is the case, then a couple that says they have brought in someone to help settle things are also very likely to have had some form of violence. This could be the cause of the positive correlation between reasoning and violence. Another interpretation of "someone" could be a friend of one of the partners. This friend, being closer to one of the spouses, will probably be biased in his or her involvement, which would surely not help the situation. It may just make the other partner more angry or upset; the friend's presence evidences the disappearance of a sense of family privacy so much cherished in our society. Another problem with this variable comes with the word "settle". There are many ways a couple tries to settle things. Some people believe violence is the best way to settle things. Others believe storming out of the house is the best way; this is not measuring reasoning or negotiation. In any event, my point is that this variable is confusing and can be

interpreted in numerous ways. It could possibly be measuring a form of reasoning for some couples, but it just as well may be measuring other events for other couples. Therefore, I do not believe it should have been used in the reasoning scale.

Straus's reasoning scale showed to be inaccurate when he tested in a student survey. He surveyed some students and gave the same survey to the parents of the students. The survey contained the conflict tactics scale. His results are seen in figure 3. This survey

Figure 3. Correlation of Spouse Report CTS

Scores with Student Report CTS

Scores (Straus, 1979, p.83)

Conflict Tactics Scale	Correlation for N=57 Husbands	Correlation for N=50 Wives
Reasoning	.19	-.12
Verbal Agression	.51	.43
Violence	.64	.33

was conducted after the national study. Notice the low and even negative correlations in the category of "reasoning". There is little or no agreement among the parents and the children as to how often these forms of "reasoning" were tried.

Straus published the coefficient of reliability for the conflict tactics scale. These results are shown in figure 4. Notice how the reliability is the lowest in the category of reasoning. This is especially evident in "husband to wife" and "wife to husband" violence.

Figure 4. Coefficient of Reliability for
 Conflict Tactics Scale
 (Straus, 1979, p.83)

Family Role	Reasoning	Verbal Aggression	Violence
Child to Child	.56	.79	.82
Parent to Child	.69	.77	.62
Child to Parent	.64	.77	.78
Husband to Wife	.50	.80	.83
Wife to Husband	.51	.79	.82
Couples Scores	.76	.88	.88

Because of the ambiguities and problems shown thus far, I made changes in the reasoning scale. I believe the best indicator of reasoning and negotiation that Straus used was "discussed issue calmly", and I use it as my measure of reasoning.

As stated before, in this item of reasoning you could answer 0-6 for yourself and 0-6 for your spouse. Therefore, a couple could score between the range of "zero" for never using reasoning, up to "twelve" for the highest level of reasoning. In order to have four levels of reasoning as Straus did, (rare, low, medium, high) I found the mean and standard deviation of this item (discussed issue calmly). The mean is 7.765, and the standard deviation is 3.453, which translated to the following categories:

Rare= Score from zero to four

Low= Score from five to eight

Medium= Score from nine to eleven

High= Score of twelve

The final step was to find the mean and median level of violence at each level of reasoning and conflict. I used two of Straus's violence variables. These are:

- 1) Kicked, bit, or hit with fist
- 2) Pushed, grabbed, or shoved other

I chose these two specific variables because it enabled me to see the difference between less severe (pushed, grabbed, shoved) and more severe (kicked, bit, hit with fist) modes of violence. Also, they each contain three forms of violence, which gives a broader range of types of violence than if I had used variables containing only one form of violence, such as (a) threw something at other, (b) slapped the other, or (c) beat up the other one.

Once again, the total score for each of these two variables for a couple could range from 0-12. I calculated their mean and median for each level of reasoning and conflict.

CHAPTER IV

NEW FINDINGS, EXPLANATIONS, AND CONCLUSIONS

Figure 5 is a graph I have drawn to show what Straus's graph (fig. 2) looks like when the reasoning scale only contains "discussed issue calmly". It is obvious that it is far from what Straus found. The correlation between conflict and violence does not increase with higher levels of reasoning. Actually, there are fewer violent couples in the "high" reasoning (46%) than in the "rare" reasoning (54%). Straus's conclusion no longer appears.

Figure 5. Percent of Couples Violent in Survey Year by

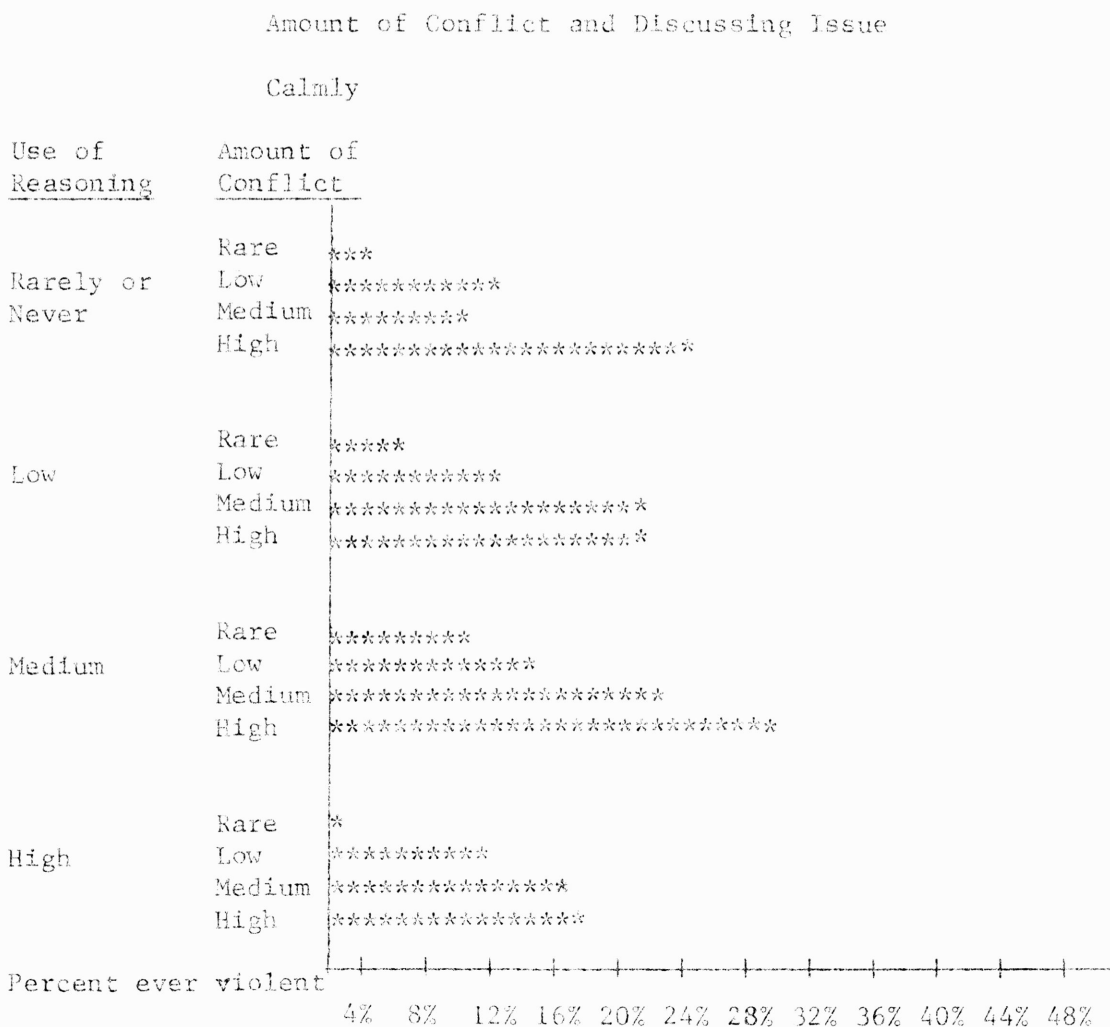


Figure 5 shows the change that comes about when the reasoning scale is less ambiguous. However, as mentioned before, measuring "percent ever violent" is not what we really want to do. The mean and median violence levels will reveal more accurate results.

In order to illustrate my findings, I have plotted the data on the mean and median violence levels, in two different ways. The first focuses on the association between conflict and violence at various levels of reasoning. The second focuses on the association between reasoning and violence at various levels of conflict.

Graphs 1-4 of the appendix show the association between conflict and the less severe violence variable "pushed, grabbed, or shoved other". Graph 1 shows this association with "rare" use of reasoning. Graph 2 is "low" reasoning, graph 3 is "medium", and graph 4 is "high" use of reasoning.

Graphs 5-8 of the appendix show the association between conflict and the severe violence variable, "kicked, bit, hit with fist". Graph 5 illustrates this association with "rare" use of reasoning, graph 6 is "low" reasoning, graph 7 is "medium" reasoning, and graph 8 is "high" reasoning.

Once again, let me reiterate what Straus said about the results he obtained.

"So we find, irrespective of whether the couple uses reasoning and negotiation, the more conflict in a marriage the more violence." (Straus, 1981, pg. 166)

There is indeed a positive correlation between conflict and violence on graphs 1-8 regardless of the level of reasoning used. The

correlation coefficient, based on the averages (means) is high for each of the graphs 1-8. In fact, the lowest correlation is .83 (found on graph 1). The remaining graphs have correlations which exceed .90. Yet, what is this actually telling us? The answer is that it shows there is a constant positive correlation between conflict and violence, a fact which is not surprising. Examining the data a bit more carefully however, reveals some interesting facts.

Notice, on graph 1, that the lowest mean average level of violence is .21. The highest mean average level is .92. This is with rare reasoning. Now, compare this with graphs 2-4. On graph 2, the lowest level of violence is .15 and the highest is .59. Though the positive correlation is still there, the violence levels have gone down as we go from "rare" to "low" reasoning. The same is true as we move to "medium" use of reasoning. The lowest violence level is .07, lower than that of "low" reasoning. The highest violence level is .69 which is slightly higher than "low" reasoning yet remains below that of "rare" reasoning. Graph 4, which shows the "high" reasoning results, has lower violence levels than any of the other three graphs. The lowest level is .04 and the highest level is only .53.

The same results are found in the severe violence categories shown on graphs 5-8. The lowest violence rates are "zero" on all four graphs, yet the highest violence rates vary. The highest violence rate among the four graphs is found with "rare" reasoning. This is .31. The lowest violence level, disregarding the "zero" on all the graphs, is found on the "high" use of reasoning. This is .02.

The above findings reveal to us that Straus's conclusion is inaccurate. It is true that, as he states, the more conflict the more

violence, but reasoning does in fact have an effect on this. To illustrate this more clearly, I have included graphs 9-16. These show the association of reasoning and violence.

Graphs 9-12 show the association between the less severe violence category of "pushed, grabbed, or shoved" and reasoning. Graph 9 shows this at the "rare" category of conflict. Graph 10 is "low" conflict, graph 11 is "medium" conflict, and graph 12 is "high" conflict. Notice on each and every graph, the line is, in general, downward sloping. For example, graph 9 shows that the mean average level of violence for "rare" reasoning is .21 whereas for "high" reasoning it decreases to .04. On each of the graphs, the mean average violence level is higher for "rare" reasoning than it is for "high" reasoning.

Graphs 13-16 show the association between the severe violence category of "kicked, bit, or hit with fist" and reasoning. Graph 13 shows this association at "rare" levels of conflict, graph 14 is "low" conflict, graph 15 is "medium" conflict, and graph 16 is "high" conflict. Graph 13 should be disregarded since there is no severe violence found with "low" conflict, irrespective of the amount of reasoning used. Once again, the line is downward sloping on each of the remaining graphs. The highest levels of violence are always associated with the lowest levels of reasoning.

So it appears that reasoning is beneficial in alleviating less as well as more severe modes of violence among spouses. The more a couple uses reasoning, the less they will resort to violence.

Straus concludes that the conflict theory cannot be supported by his results. Yet, re-examining what he said about the conflict theory,

we find that it does actually appear to be supported once certain needed changes are introduced. The theory says that couples should not keep things bottled up inside, but that they should use "constructive methods" to deal with marital conflict in order to make the conflict beneficial. As I have shown, using reasoning does lower the violence level, thereby making the conflict beneficial in this respect.

Straus also says that couples who use constructive tactics such as negotiation and reasoning to deal with conflict would be able to avoid physical violence. However, he shows his results graphically and says that the results are exactly the opposite of what was predicted on the basis of the conflict theory. Yet, as I have tried to show, couples who use "constructive tactics" are able to reduce their violence level. This is exactly what conflict theory claims should happen. It does not claim that reasoning will let couples "avoid physical violence" altogether, but rather that reasoning will be "beneficial", which is what I have endeavored to show.

As my last analysis I checked on the problem of using graphs with average scores which have the effect of increasing artificially the correlation coefficient. To check on this I ran a second analysis using individuals' responses. I dichotomized the two indicators of violence, scoring them at zero and one, the former score indicating the absence of violence. The measures of conflict and reasoning remained unchanged.

In this part of the analysis I used Somers' d , an ordinal measure of association which distinguishes between independent and dependent variables. It can vary from -1.0 indicating a perfect negative association to $+1.0$, the obverse. I obtained the Somers' d on the association

between conflict dependent on violence, and violence dependent on conflict, for each of the four levels of reasoning. Figure 6 shows the results. What is interesting here is that the Somers' d is almost zero when measuring violence as the dependent variable (and conflict as the independent variable). Not only does this indicate that reasoning does not increase the association between conflict and violence, but it also shows that violence is not dependent on the amount of conflict in a marriage. Consistently, a stronger association is seen with conflict dependent on violence, which also does not increase with increased reasoning. This suggests that violence may come before conflict. Perhaps the more violence a couple has, the more conflicts they will have, rather than the other way around as is normally believed. Unfortunately Straus's data is cross-sectional and cannot be used to clarify the causal

Figure 6. Relationship of Conflict and Violence
for Levels of Reasoning

Dependent	Independent	Reason	Severe Violence**	Less Severe Violence***
Conflict	Violence	1	.29*	.21
Violence	Conflict	1	.03	.07
Conflict	Violence	2	.31	.19
Violence	Conflict	2	.04	.06
Conflict	Violence	3	.26	.25
Violence	Conflict	3	.03	.09
Conflict	Violence	4	.36	.30
Violence	Conflict	4	.03	.07

* The numbers are asymmetrical Somers' d.

** The severe violence refers to "kicked, bit, or hit with fist".

*** The less severe violence is "pushed, grabbed, or shoved other".

direction in this regard; nevertheless, this interpretation should be evaluated in future studies.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY AND SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

Murray Straus is the leading researcher in the field of family violence. He conducted the only large scale national study that we have. Straus's study could be extremely useful to people dealing with family violence. However, a conclusion such as that reasoning does not help in alleviating the effects of conflict and violence, could have many adverse effects if it caused couples to stop trying to reason out their problems.

It is evident that Straus himself had some doubts about what he found. For instance, he states:

"No doubt even the fairly complicated analysis does not really do justice to the subtleties of conflict theory. We continue to believe that this theory describes an important aspect of what goes on in all groups, including families." (Straus, 1981, pg. 166)

Likewise, I talked to some family counselors in the Houston area and they all agreed that reasoning should have the effect predicted by conflict theory.

Dr. Denise Weinberg had this to say.

"I believe his finding is false. The higher the ability to reason, verbalize, and exchange opinions, the less the need to express dissatisfaction through violence."

Dr. William L. Graham only had one thing to say, which was "his findings sound false to me".

Dr. E. Bratteng answered with the following.

"Straus's result doesn't fit with my experience. He probably defines 'reasoning' differently than I would. Maybe he is referring to arguing and/or defensiveness."

Barbara Adkins of the Alpha Counseling Center said the following.

"No I don't believe his finding. It puzzles me. I tend to see violence happen more often with more primitively organized personalities."

It seems that Straus should have studied his conclusion in more depth. His mistake was in his methodology, and interpretations. His results show an increasing correlation between conflict and violence. After correcting his methodology we find this does not hold up. There is a high correlation coefficient on the mean averages between conflict and violence but it does not increase as reasoning increases. In fact, violence decreases as reasoning increases. The Somers' d also does not increase as reasoning increases.

It would be interesting to conduct another large scale study using the conflict tactics scale, with four or five reliable indicators of reasoning. The scale could include not only discussing the issue calmly, but also how often each spouse listens to the others opinion, how often they try to negotiate or compromise, and how often they actually reach a compromise. It would also be interesting to find out which of Straus's indicators of reasoning caused him to obtain the results he did. Once this was found, research could center around why this variable increases violence. The results obtained using the Somers' d could also be further explored. Does violence cause conflict or does conflict cause violence? There are many areas such as the above which

future research could focus on.

Nevertheless, this analysis shows that, as predicted, reasoning is an effective method in diminishing the tendency of family conflicts to cause violence in marriages. It does not have the effect of increasing the correlation between conflict and violence as Straus concludes.

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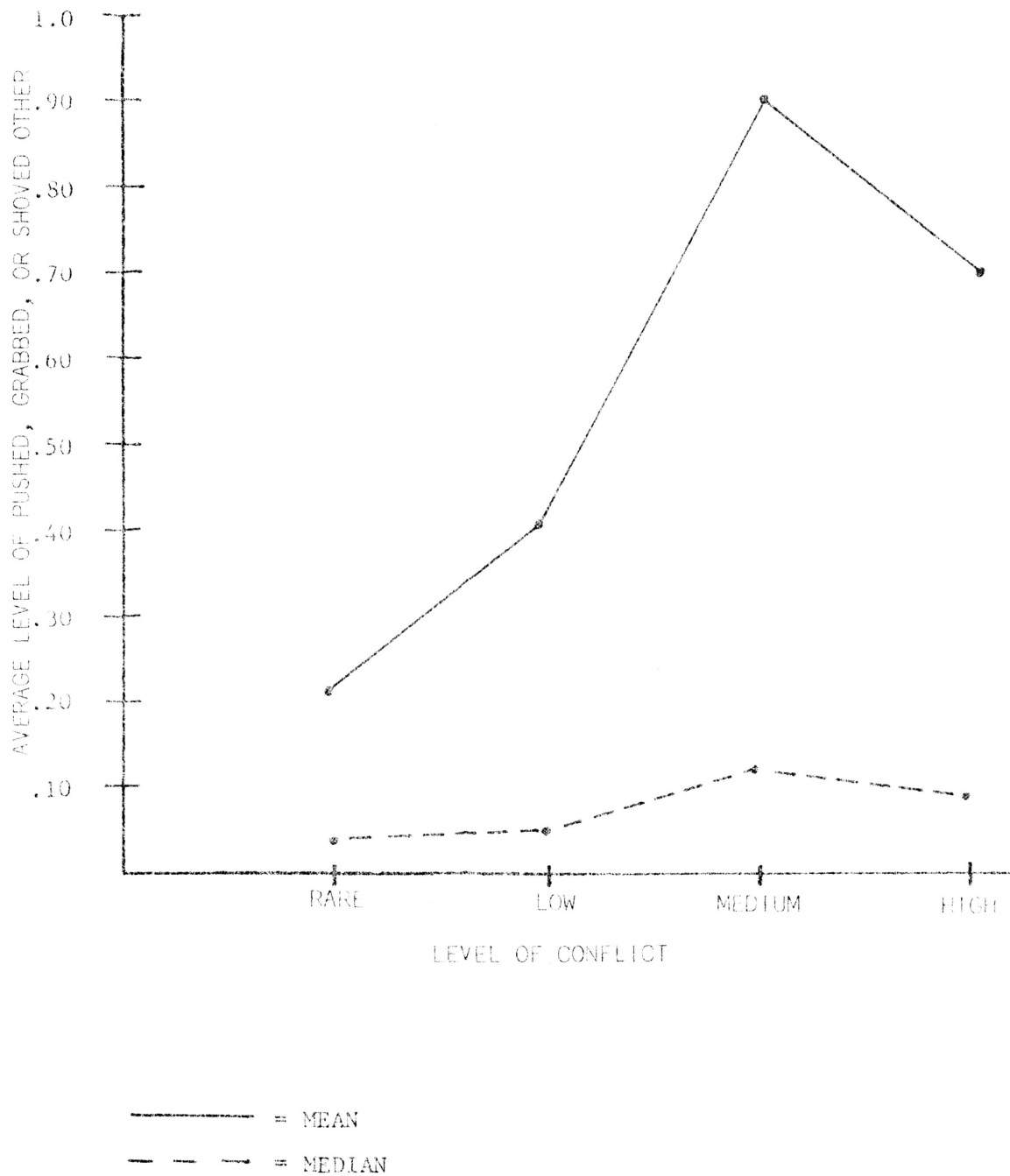
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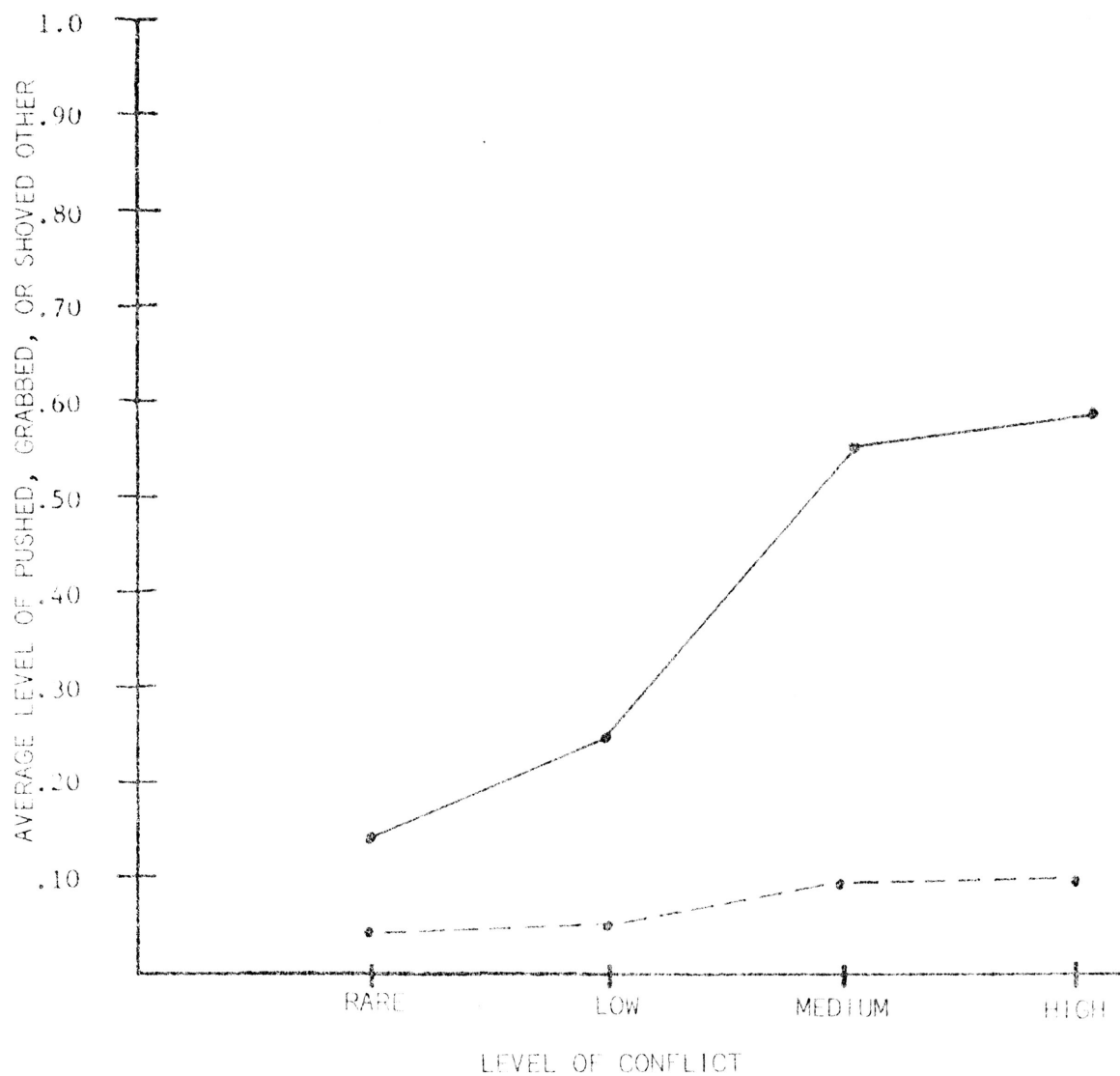
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APPENDIX

Graph 1. Relationship Between Conflict and Less Severe Violence
with Rare Use of Reasoning

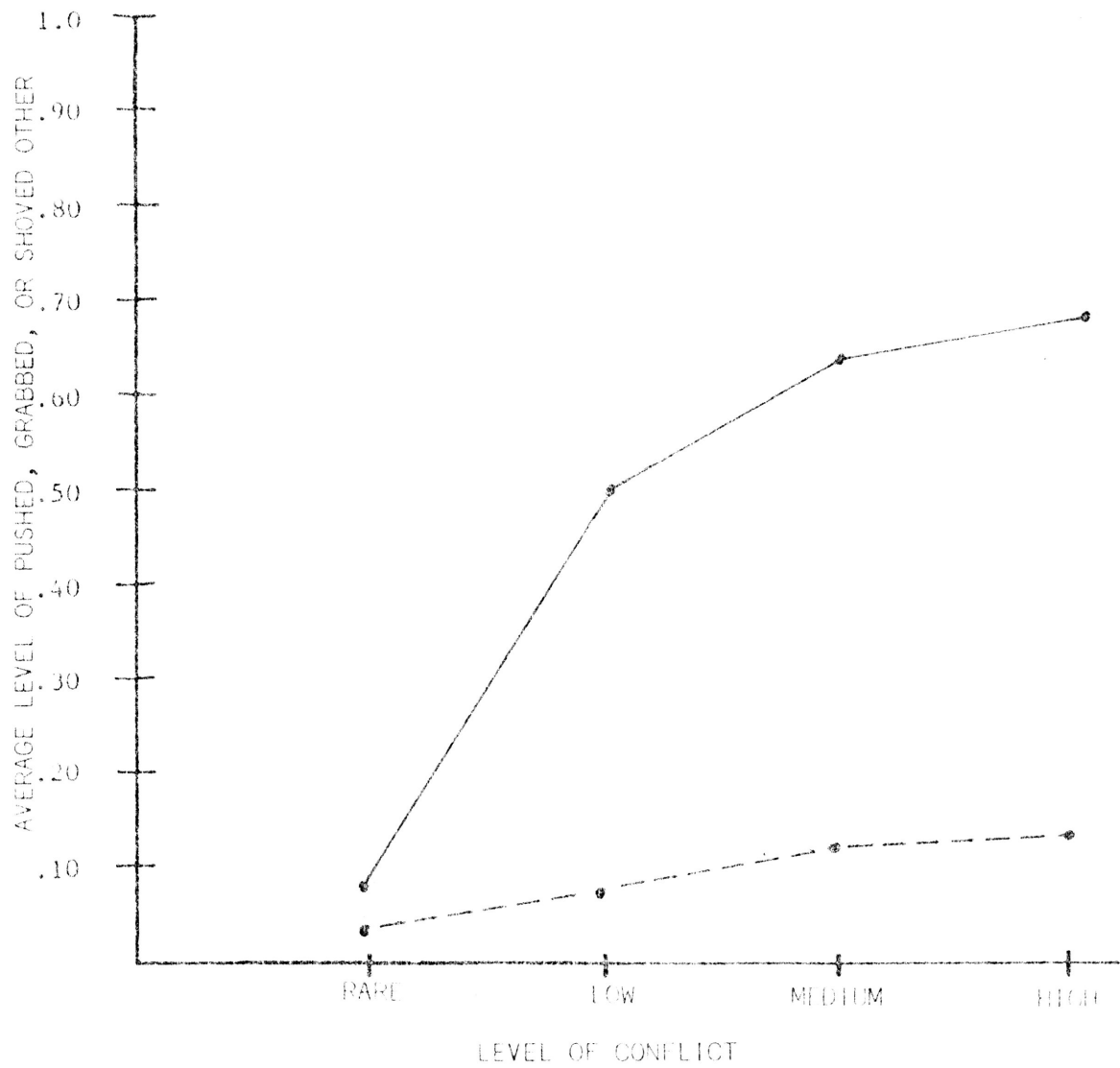


Graph 2. Relationship Between Conflict and Less Severe Violence
with Low Use of Reasoning



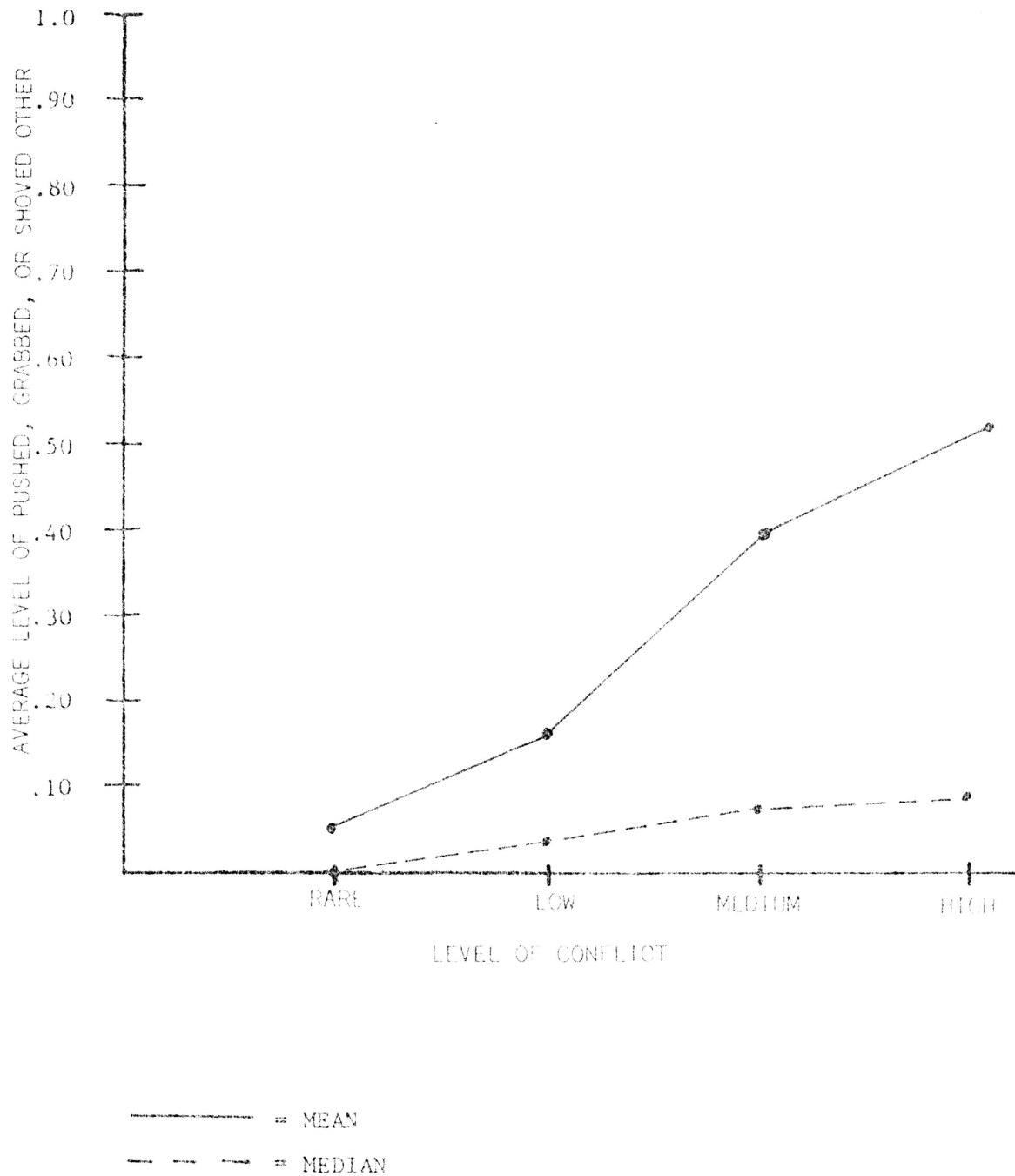
— = MEAN
- - - = MEDIAN

Graph 3. Relationship Between Conflict and Less Severe Violence
with Medium Use of Reasoning

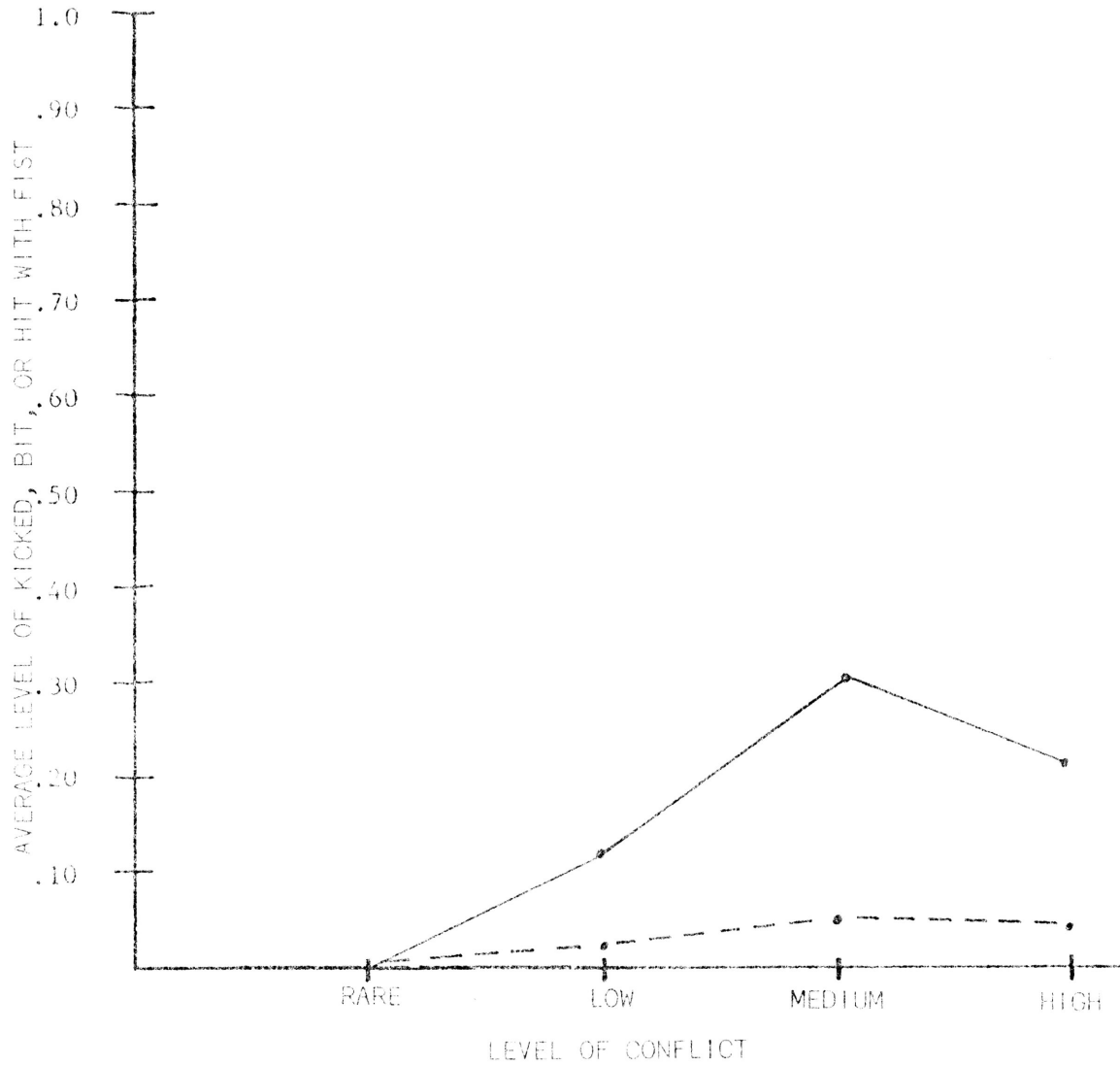


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Graph 4. Relationship Between Conflict and Less Severe Violence
with High Use of Reasoning

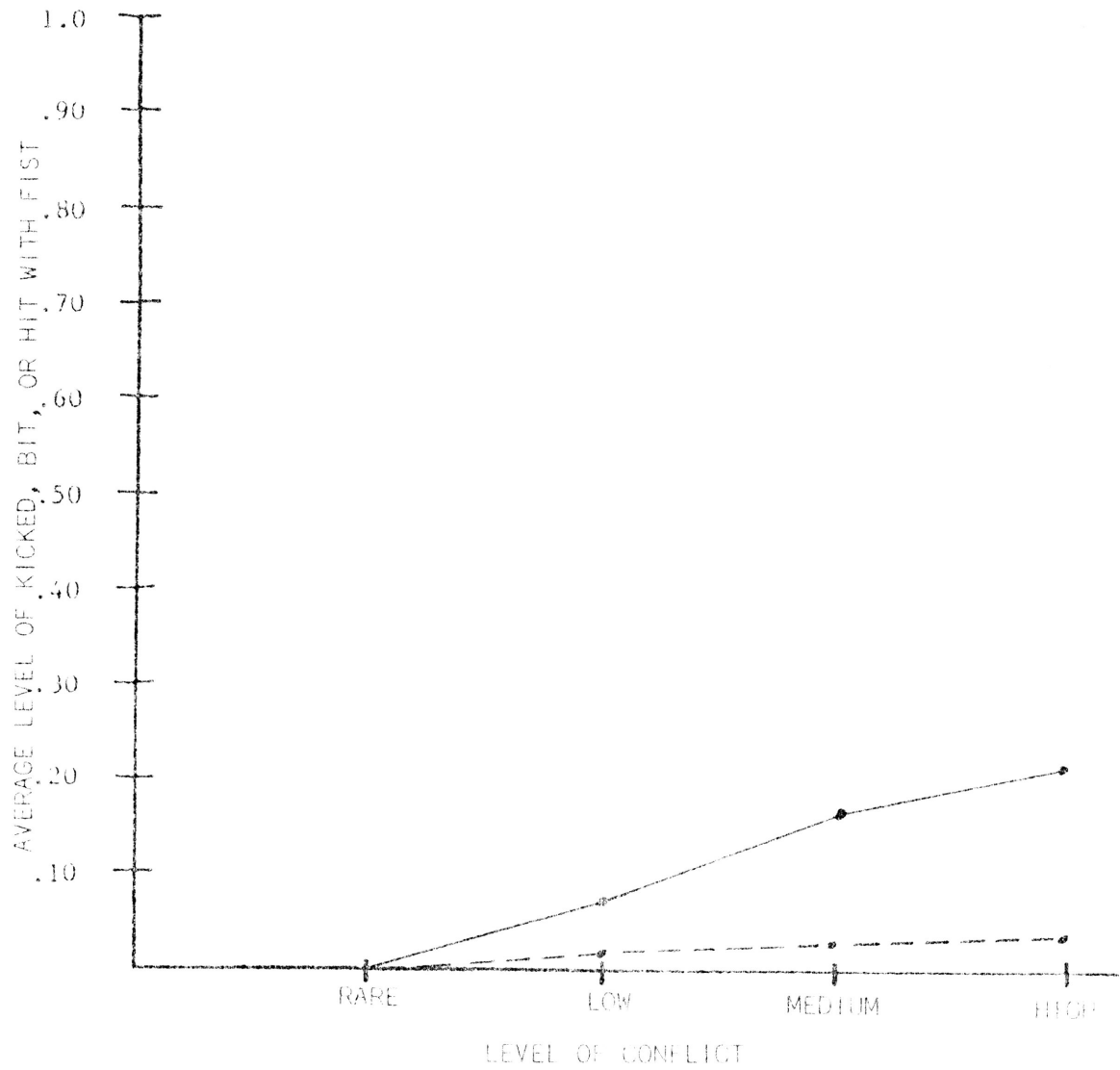


Graph 5. Relationship Between Conflict and Severe Violence
with Rare Use of Reasoning



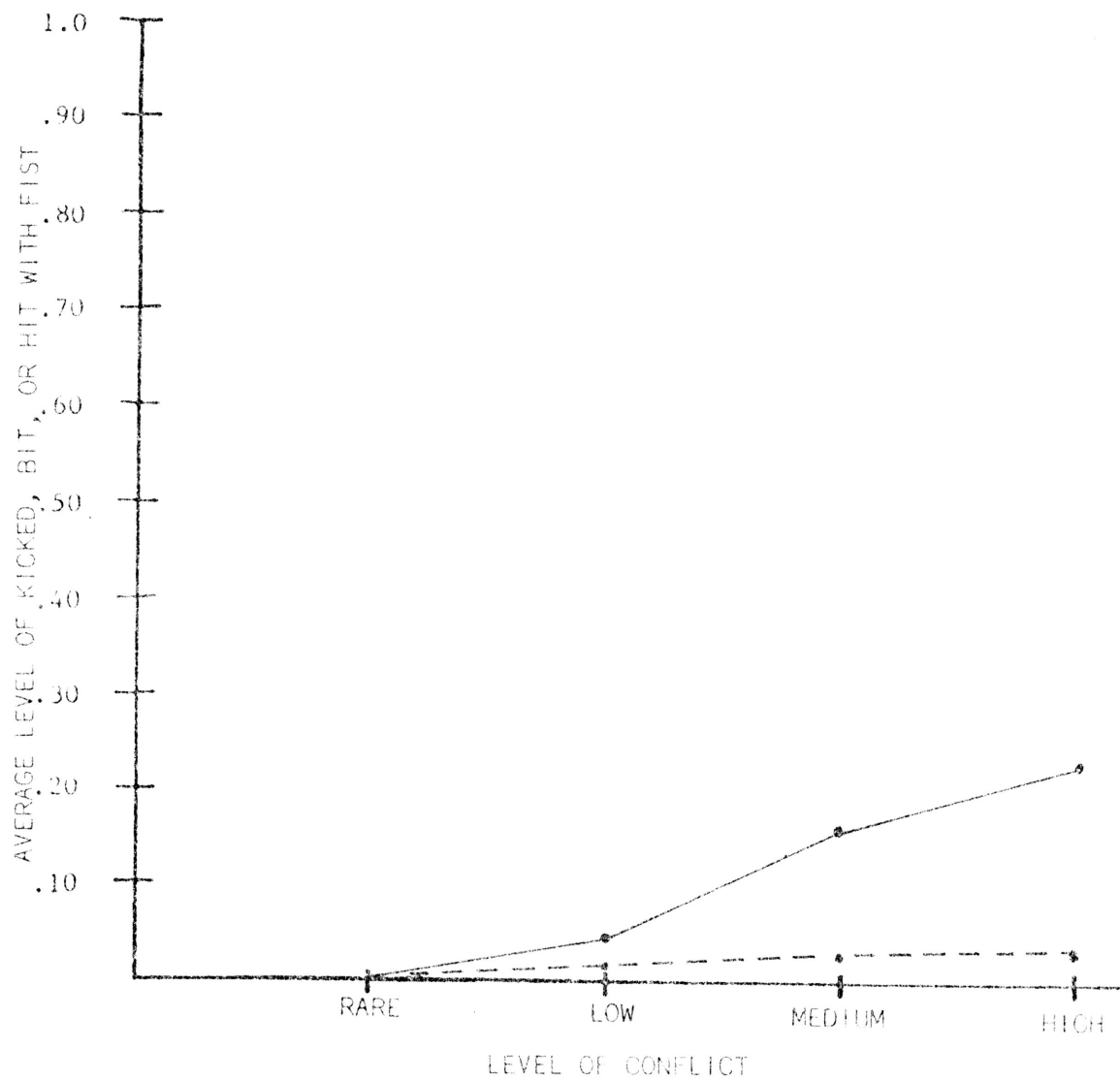
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Graph 6. Relationship Between Conflict and Severe Violence
with Low Use of Reasoning



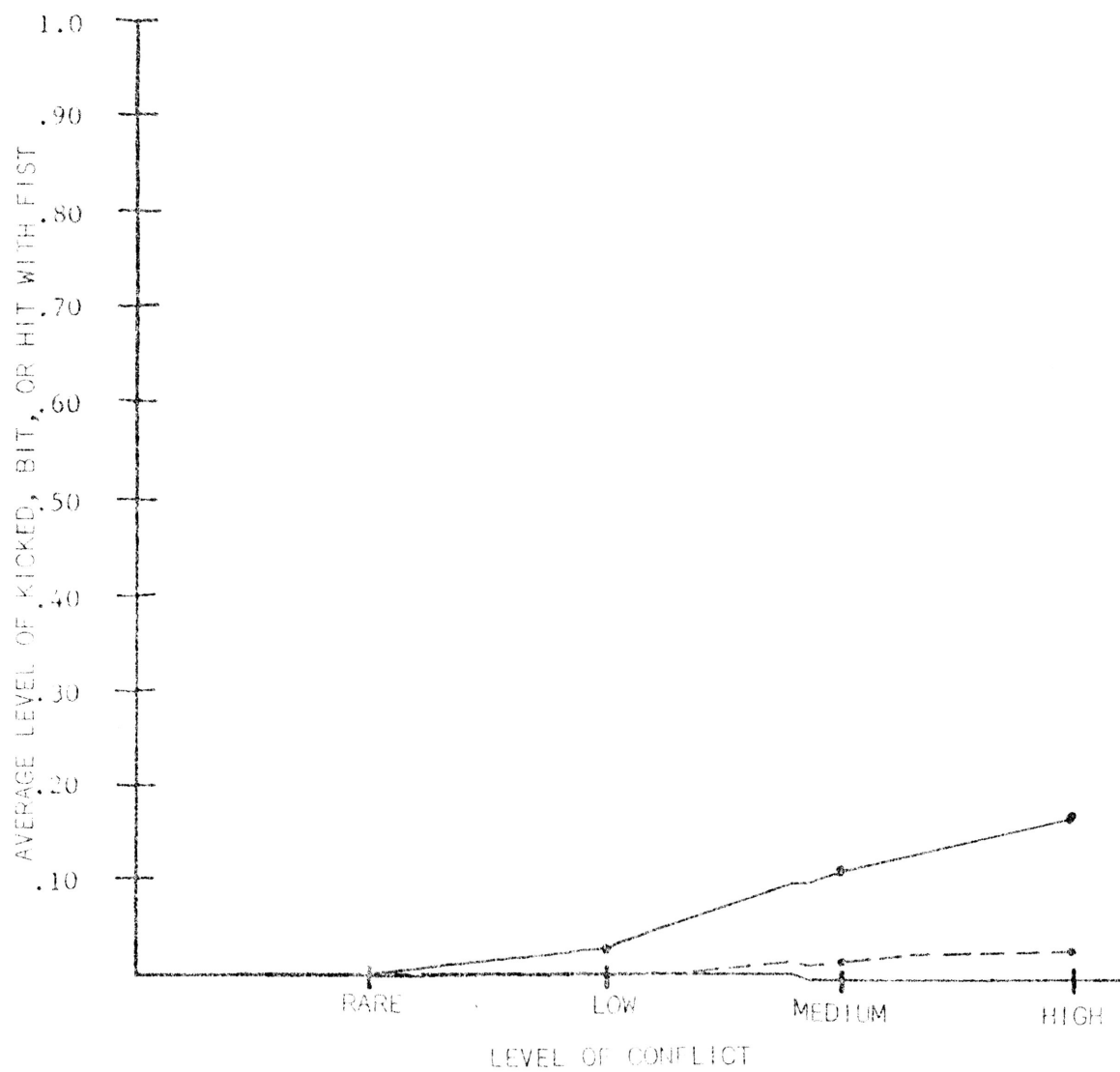
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Graph 7. Relationship Between Conflict and Severe Violence
with Medium Use of Reasoning



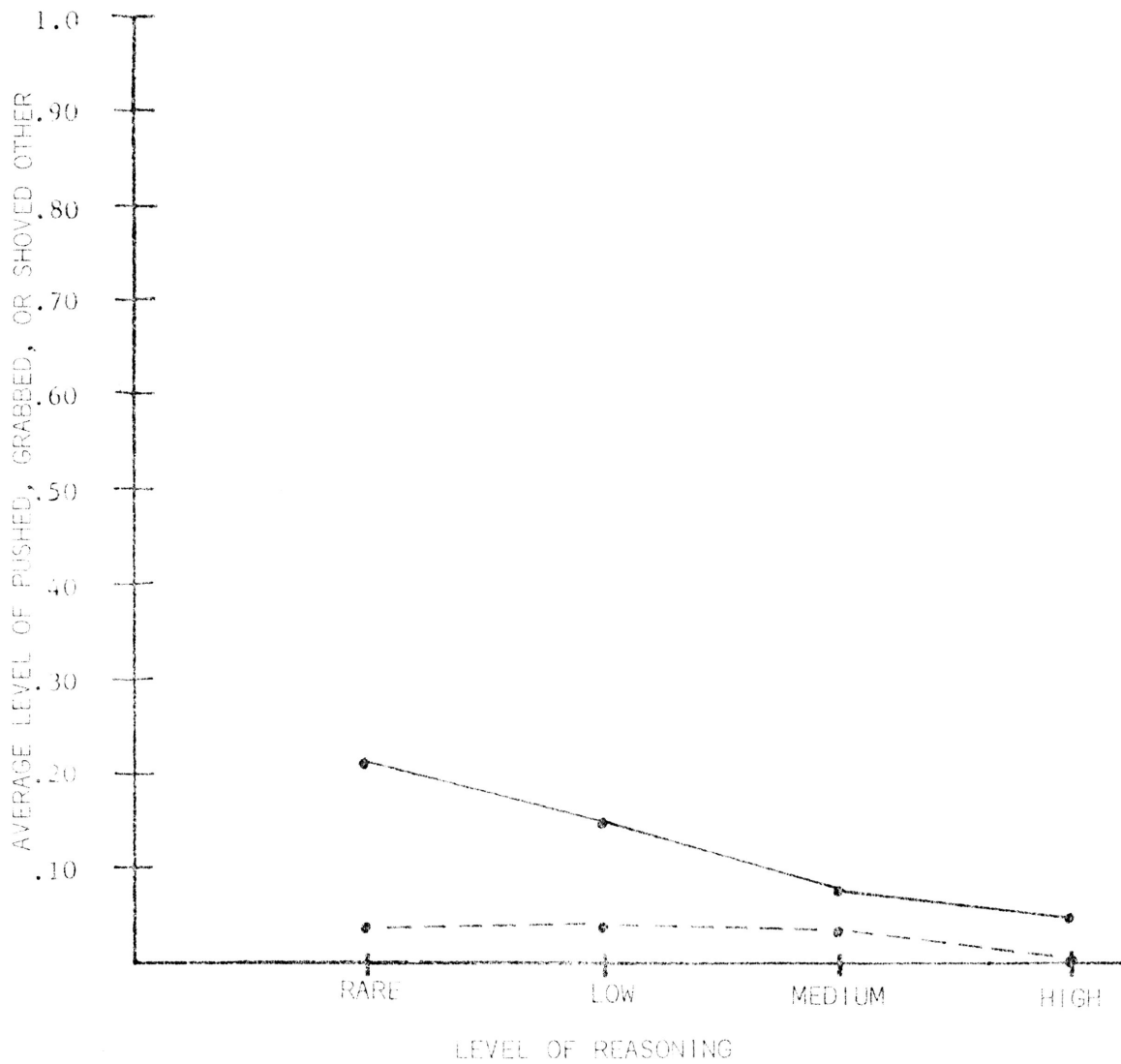
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Graph 8. Relationship Between Conflict and Severe Violence
with High Use of Reasoning



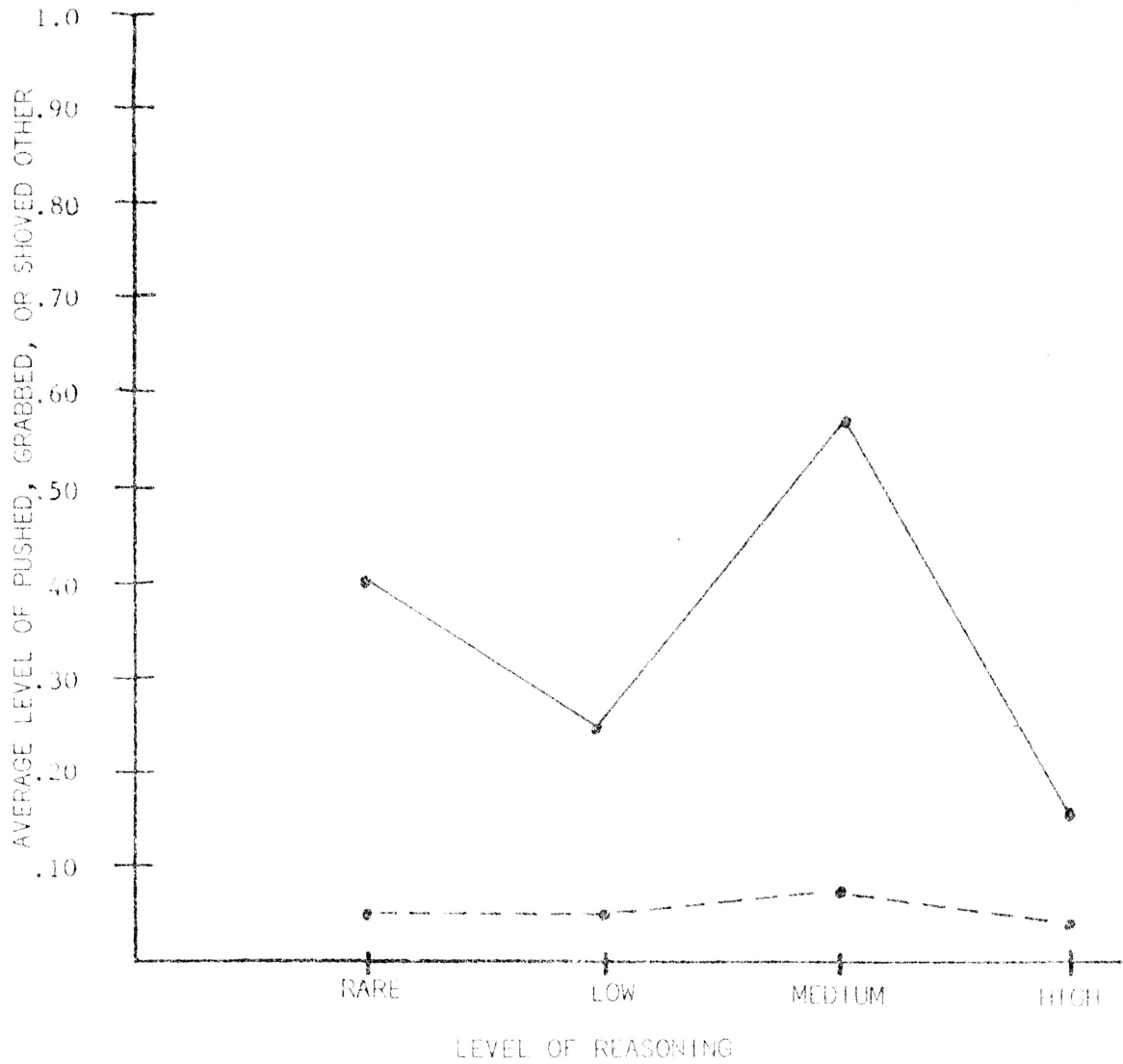
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- - - = MEDIAN

Graph 9. Relationship Between Reasoning and Less Severe Violence
with Rare Conflict



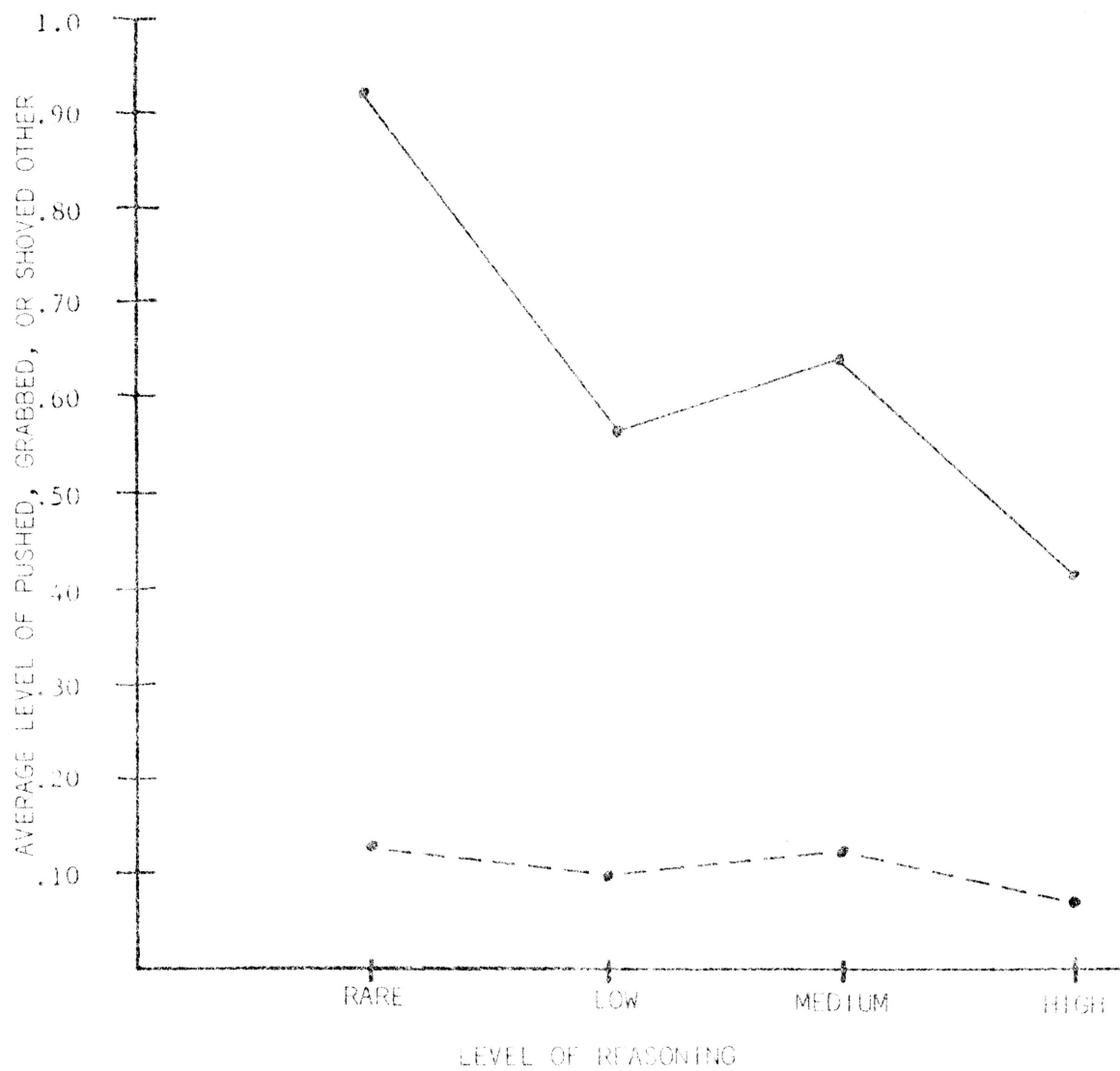
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Graph 10. Relationship Between Reasoning and Less Severe Violence
with Low Conflict



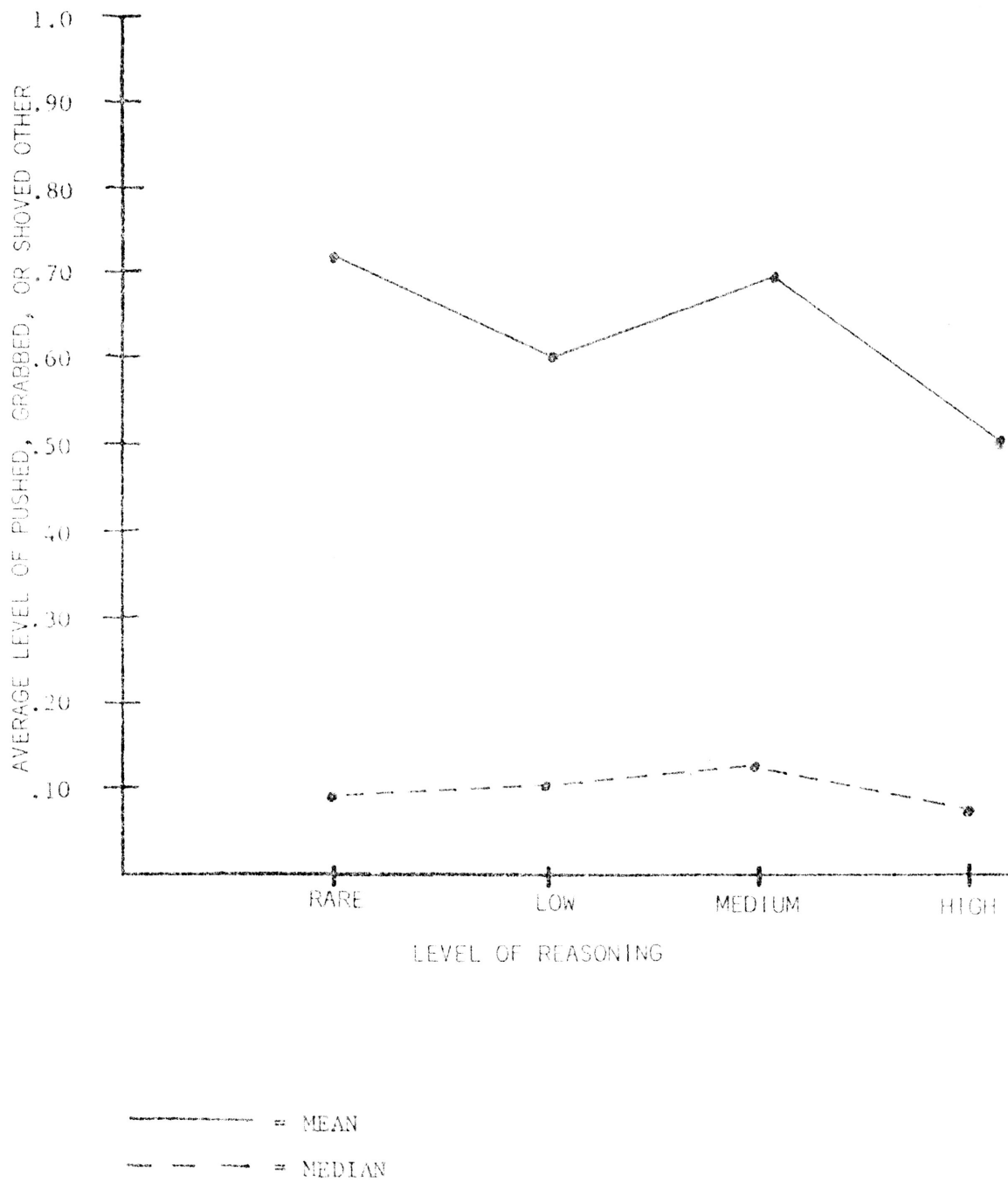
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- - - - = MEDIAN

Graph 11. Relationship Between Reasoning and Less Severe Violence
with Medium Conflict

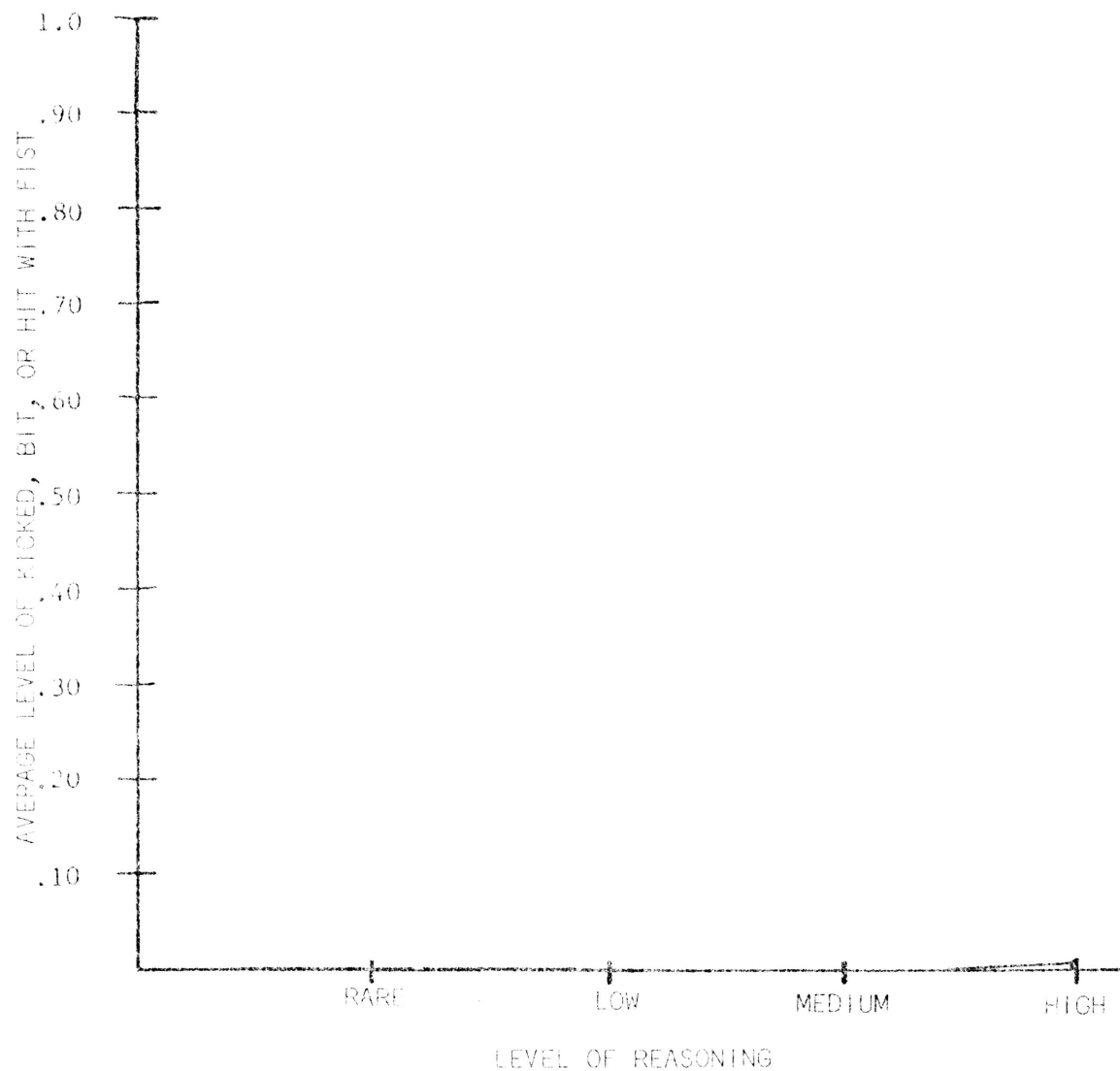


— = MEAN
- - - = MEDIAN

Graph 12. Relationship Between Reasoning and Less Severe Violence
with High Conflict

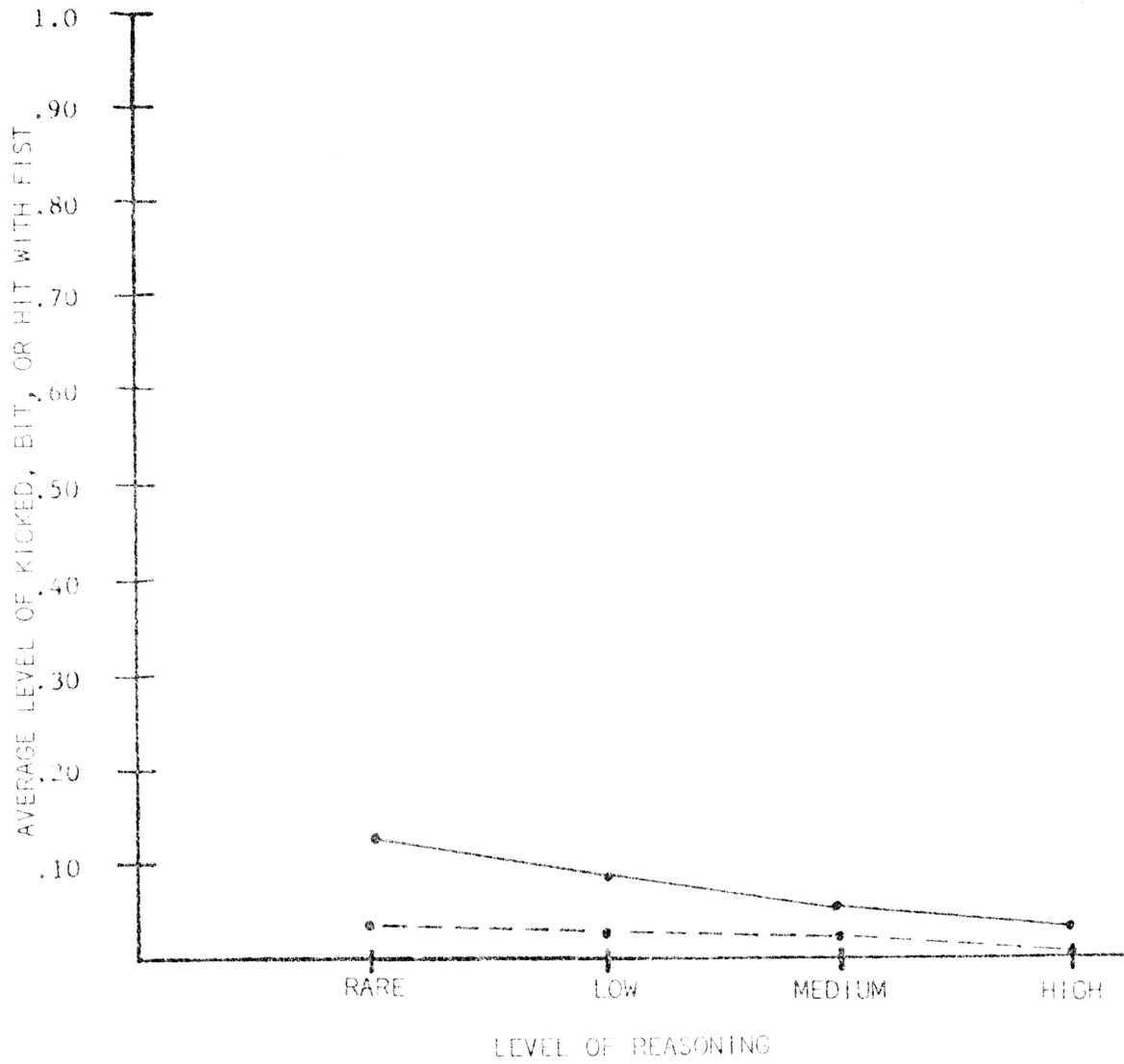


Graph 13. Relationship Between Reasoning and Severe Violence
with Rare Conflict



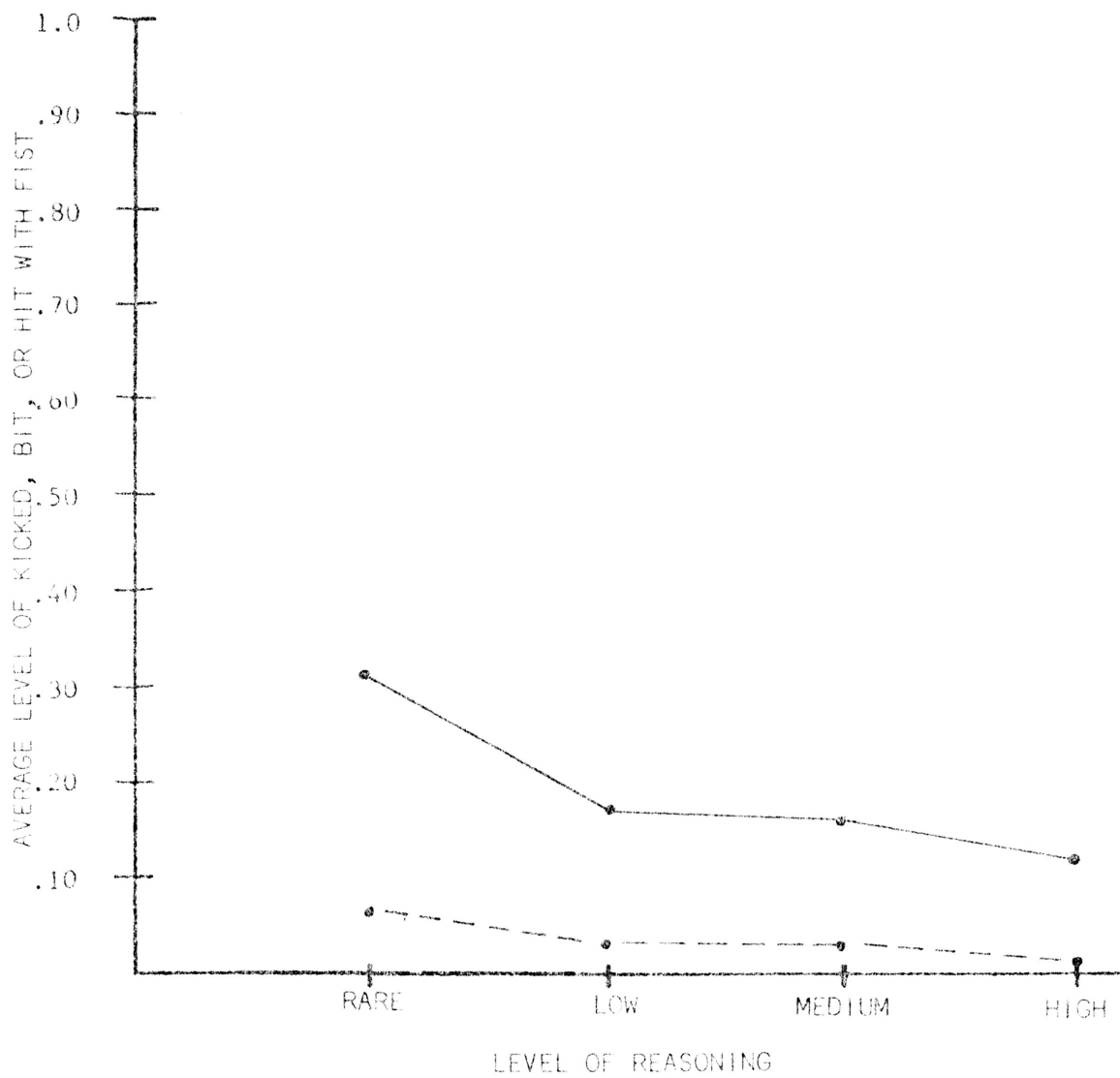
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Graph 14. Relationship Between Reasoning and Severe Violence
with Low Conflict



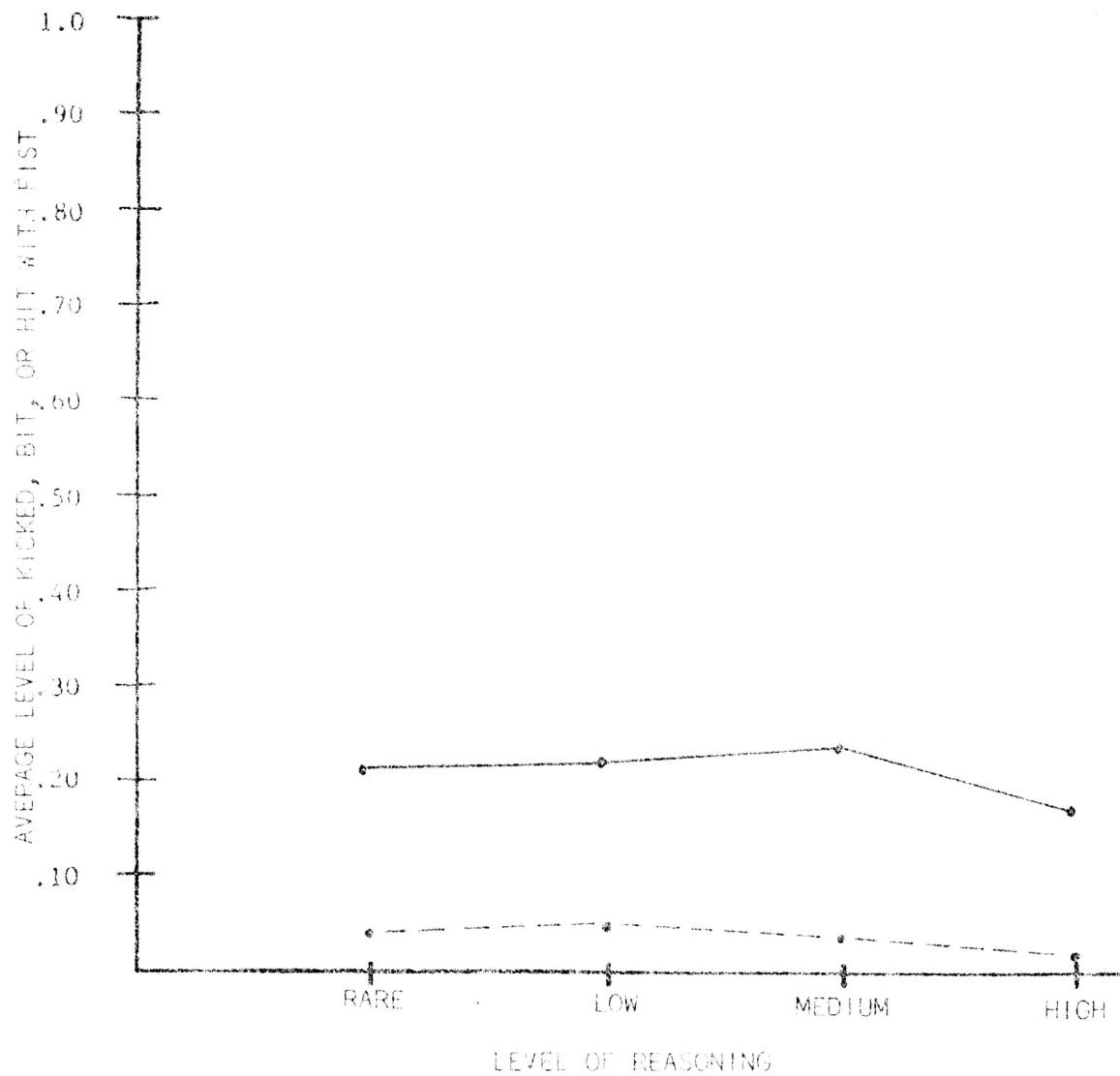
— = MEAN
- - - = MEDIAN

Graph 15. Relationship Between Reasoning and Severe Violence
with Medium Conflict



— = MEAN
- - - = MEDIAN

Graph 16. Relationship Between Reasoning and Severe Violence
with High Conflict



— = MEAN
- - - = MEDIAN