

# Roundtable on the Future of Justice Policy

Examining Violence in the United States: Implications for Justice Policy and Practice

Co-hosted by Damon J. Keith Center for Civil Rights at Wayne Law and the Justice Lab at Columbia University  
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## **The Effects of Violence on Communities: The Violence Matrix as a Tool for Advancing More Just Policies**

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### **Introduction**

Rigorous interdisciplinary scholarship, public policy analyses, and the most conscientious popular discourse on the impact of violence point to the deleterious impacts that violence has on *both* individual health/safety *and* community well-being. Comprehensive justice policy research on topics ranging from gun violence to intimate abuse support the premise that the physical injury, psychological distress, and fear that is typically associated with individual victimization is directly linked to subsequent social isolation, economic instability, erosion of neighborhood networks and group alienation, and mistrust of justice and other institutions. This literature also points to the ways that structural inequality, persistent disadvantages, and structural abandonment are some of the root causes of micro-level violent interactions and at the same time are also influencers on how effective macro-level justice policies are at responding to or preventing violent victimization (Young, 1996).

The most exciting of these analyses have emerged from the subfields of feminist criminology, critical race theory, critical criminology, socio-legal theory, and other social science research that take seriously questions of race and culture, gender and sexuality, ethnic identity and class position, exploring with great interest how these factors influence the prevailing questions upon which practitioners in our field base their practice; questions such as how to increase access to justice, the role of punishment in desistance, the factors that lead to disproportionate impact of institutional practices, and the perceptions about, and possibilities for, violence prevention and for abolition practices (Broodman, 2018, Davis, 2010, Gabbidon & Greene, 2012; Leighton et al., 2010.). Discussions about the future of justice policy would be well served by attending to this growing literature and the critical frameworks that are advanced from within it.

In this paper, I will attempt to illustrate how discussions of the effects of violence on communities are enhanced by the use of a critical framework that links various micro variables with macro institutional processes. Drawing upon my work on the issue of violent victimization towards African American women and how conventional justice policies have failed to bring effective remedy in situations of extreme danger and degradation, I will argue that a broader conceptual framework is required to fully understand the profound and persistent impact that violence has on individuals embedded in communities that are experiencing the most adverse social injustices. I will use my work as a “case in point” to illustrate how complex community dynamics, ineffective institutional responses, and broader societal forces of systemic violence intersect to further the impact of individual victimization. In the end, I will argue that understanding the impact of *all forms* of violence would be better served by a more intersectional and critical

interdisciplinary framework.

Following a review of the data on violent victimization against African American women, I will describe *The Violence Matrix*, a conceptual framework that I developed from analyzing data from several research projects on the topic (Richie, 2012). I will do so as a way to make concrete my earlier claim; that the effect of violence on communities must be understood from a critical intersectional framework. That is, my central argument in this discussion paper is an epistemological one; suggesting that in the future, the most effective and indeed “just” policies in response to violence necessitate the development of critical far-reaching systemic analysis and social change at multiple levels.

### **Some Background on the Development of The Violence Matrix**

Violent victimization has been established as a major problem in contemporary society, resulting in long-term physical, social, emotional, and economic consequences for people of different racial/ethnic, class, religious, regional, and age groups and identity (Black et al., 2011; Buttell and Carney, et al., 2005; Harrell, 2007; National Center for Injury Prevention and Control, 2003; Peterson, 2010; Sharkey, 2013; Tjaden & Thoennes, 2000). However, like most social problems, the *impact* is not equally felt across all sub-groups in the population, and even though the *rates* may be similar, the *consequences* of violent victimization follow other patterns of social inequality, and disproportionately affect racial/ethnic minority groups (Sokoloff, 2005; Steffensmeier, 2011; Unnever, 2011). When impact and consequences are taken into account, it becomes clear that African American women fare among the worst, in part because of the ways that the individual experiences are impacted by negative institutional processes (McGuire, 2010; McNeely & Torres, 2009; Taft et al., 2009; Threadcraft, 2016; Waltermaurer et al., 2006).

While qualitative data suggests that there is a link between social position in a racial hierarchy and Black women’s subsequent vulnerability to violence, the specific mechanism of that relationship has yet to be described or tested (Buttell & Carney, 2006; Catalano et al., 2009; Mitchell et al., 2006; Nash, 2005). However, despite new research that examines the effects of race/ethnicity and gender in combination, there has been a lack of systematic analysis of the intersection of race and gender with a *specific* focus on the situational factors, cultural dynamics, and neighborhood variables that lead to higher rates and/or more problematic outcomes of violent victimization in the lives of African American women (Taylor, 2005; Jones, 2010; Miller, 2008).

These unanswered questions led to the years of fieldwork that informed the development of The Violence Matrix. I was interested in broadening the understanding of violence by analyzing the contextual and situational factors that correlate with multiple forms of violent victimization for African American women, incorporating the racial and community dynamics that influence their experiences. I was also concerned about the ways that state-sanctioned violence and systemic oppression contributed to the experience and impact of intimate partner abuse and looking for a way to incorporate “ordinary violence” and “the injustices of everyday life” into an analytic model. I offer this conceptual approach as a potential epistemological model because it proposes to enhance the scientific understanding of violent victimization of African American women by looking at gender *and* race, micro *and* macro, individual, community *and* societal issues in the same analysis, whereas in most other research, rates of victimization are described either by gender *or* race, and typically not both *from within the contexts of household, neighborhood, and society*.

More specifically, domestic violence, sexual abuse, and other forms of violence typically understood to be associated with household or familiar relationships are usually studied as a separate phenomenon constituting a gender violence sub-field distinct from other forms of victimization that are captured in more general crime statistics (Jordon, 2009). The more general research that documents crimes of assault, homicide, etc. does not typically isolate analyses of the *nature* of the relationship between the perpetrator and the victim, even if it is noted. As a result, gender violence and other forms of violent victimization against women are studied separately, and their causes and consequences, the intervention and prevention strategies, and the needs for policy change are not linked analytically to each other. This leaves unexamined the significant influence of situational factors (such as intimacy) or contextual factors (such as negative images of African American women) on victimization, and on violence more generally.

## **A Broad View of The Problem of Violence Against Black Women**

Prior to describing the Violence Matrix, readers will benefit from a brief overview of the problems that it was designed to account for. African American women experience disproportionate impacts of violent victimization (Buttell & Carney, 2006). As the following review of the literature shows, the rates are high and the consequences are severe, firmly establishing the need to focus on this vulnerable group. The goal is not to suggest it is the *only* population group at risk or that racial/ethnic identity has a causal influence on victimization, but rather to look specifically at how race/ethnicity and gender interact to create significant disproportionality in rates of, perceptions about, and consequences of violence, and to develop an instrument to collect data that can be analyzed conceptually and discussed in terms of contextual particularities.

### **Assault**

According to the Bureau of Justice Statistics, Black women report 11.5 simple assaults per 1000 and 4.7 aggravated assaults per 1000, totaling 16.2 assaults per 1000 for persons 12 years of age and older. Black women's experiences of attempted or threatened violence is higher (14.1 per 1000) than white women's (11.2 per 1000), and their rates of completed violent victimization are 8.9 per 1000, compared to white women's 4.9. Black women are particularly vulnerable to violence involving strangers (56.6 per 1000 for Black women vs. 32.5 per 1000 for white women), and they are more likely to report violent victimization to the police than their white or male counterparts (Harrell, 2007). Situational factors such as income, urban vs. suburban residence, perception of street gang membership, and presence of a weapon influence Black women's violent victimization (BJS, 2010; Harrell, 2007; Rand & Catalano, 2007). Other variables are known to complicate this disproportionality, most notably income, age, density of neighborhood, and other crimes in the community like gang-related events. However, few studies note or analyze their co-variance.

### **Intimate Partner Violence**

Intimate partner violence is a significant and persistent social problem with serious consequences for individual women, their families, and society as a whole (Catalano, 2006b). The 1996 National Violence Against Women Survey suggests that 1.5 million women in the United States are physically assaulted by an

intimate partner each year (Tjaden & Thoennes, 2000), while other studies provide much higher estimates. For example, the Department of Justice estimates that 5.3 million incidents of violence against a current or former spouse or girlfriend occur annually. Estimates of violence against women in same sex partnerships indicate a similar rate of victimization (Fountain & Skolnik, 2007; Kanuha, 1990; National Coalition of Anti-Violence Programs, 2004).

According to most national studies, African American women are disproportionately represented in the data on physical violence against intimate partners (Petrosky, 2017). In the Violence Against Women Survey, 25% of Black women had experienced abuse from their intimate partner including “physical violence, sexual violence, threats of violence, economic exploitation, confinement and isolation from social activities, stalking, property destruction, burglary, theft, and homicide. Rates of severe battering help to spotlight the disproportionate impact of direct physical assaults on Black women by intimate partner: homicide by an intimate partner is the second leading cause of death for Black women between the ages of 15 and 25 (Taft, 2009). Black women are killed by a spouse at a rate twice that of white women. However, when the intimate partner is a boyfriend or girlfriend this statistic increases to four times the rate of their white counterparts (Catalano et al., 2009). While the numbers are convincing, they are typically not embedded in an understanding of how situational factors like relationship history, religiosity or availability of services impact these rates (Bent-Goodley, 2004; Ramos et al., 2004; Watlington & Murphy, 2006; West, 2006).

### **Sexual Victimization**

When race is considered a variable in some community samples, 7% to 30% of all Black women report having been raped as adults, and 14% report sexual abuse during their childhood (Tjaden & Thoennes, 2006). This unusually wide range results from differences in definitions and sampling methods. However, as is true in most research on sexual victimization, it is widely accepted that rape, when self-reported, is underreported, and that Black women tend to underutilize crisis intervention and other supportive services that collect data (Neville & Hamer, 2001). Even though Black women from all segments of the African American community experience sexual violence, the pattern of vulnerability to rape and sexual assault mirrors that of direct physical assault by intimate partners. The data show that Black women from low-income communities, those with substance abuse problems or mental health concerns, and those in otherwise compromised social positions are most vulnerable to sexual violence from their intimate partner (Byrne & Riggs, 2002; Campbell et al., 2002; Chicago Coalition for the Homeless, 2002; Sutherland et al., 2001; Tjaden & Thoennes, 2000). Not only is the incidence of rape higher, but a review of the qualitative research on Black women’s experiences of rape also suggests that Black women are assaulted in more brutal and degrading ways than other women (Perry, 2017; Pierce-Baker, 1998; Robinson, 2003). Weapons or objects are more often used, so Black women’s injuries are worse than those of other groups of women. Black women are more likely to be raped repeatedly and to experience assaults that involve multiple perpetrators (Bart & O’Brien, 1985; West, 2006).

Beyond the physical, and sometimes lethal, consequences, the psychological literature documents the very serious mental health impact of sexual assaults by intimate partners. For instance, 31% of all rape victims develop rape-related post-traumatic stress disorder (National Victims Center et al., 1992). Rape

victims are three times more likely than non-victims to experience a major depressive episode in their lives, and they attempt suicide at a rate 13 times higher than non-victims. Women who have been raped by a member of their household are 10 times more likely to abuse illegal substances or alcohol than women who have not been raped. Black women experience the trauma of sexual abuse and aggression from their intimate partners in particular ways, as studies conducted by Banyard and Graham-Bermann, West, and others have discussed (Banyard & Graham-Bermann, 1993; West, 2006). It is also important to note the extent to which Black women are exposed to or coerced into participating in sexually exploitative intimate relationships with older men and men who violate commitments of fidelity by having multiple sexual partners (DeKeserdy, 2016; Raphael & Ashley, 2008). Far from infrequent or benign, it can be hypothesized that these experiences serve to socialize young women into relationships characterized by unequal power, and they normalize subservient gender roles for women, although very little empirical research has been done to make this analytical case.

### **Community Harassment**

In addition to direct physical and sexual assaults, Black women experience a disproportionate number of unwanted comments, uninvited physical advances, and undesired exposure to pornography in their communities. Almost 75% of Black women sampled report some form of sexual harassment in their lifetime, including being forced to live in, work in, attend school in, and even worship in degrading, dangerous, and hostile environments, where the threat of rape, public humiliation, and embarrassment is a defining aspect of their social environment (Campbell et al., 2002; Catalano, 2006a; West, 2006; Wyatt, 1992). They also experience trauma as a result of witnessing violence in their communities (Jenkins, 2002).

For some women, this sexual harassment escalates into rape. Even when it does not, community harassment creates an environment of fear, apprehension, shame, and anxiety that can be linked to women's vulnerability to violent victimization. It is important to understand this link because herein lie some of the most significant situational and contextual factors, like the diminished utilization of services and reduced social capital on the part of African American women.

### **Social Disenfranchisement**

Less well documented or quantified in the criminological data is the disproportionate harm caused to African American women because of the ways that violent victimization is linked to social disenfranchisement and the discrimination they face in the social sphere. Included here is what other researchers have called coercive control (Stark, 2007) or structural violence. The notion of social disenfranchisement goes beyond emotional abuse and psychological manipulation to include the regulation of emotional and social life in the private sphere in ways that are consistent with normative values about gender, race, and class (Price, 2012; Taylor, 2018). These aspects of violence against African American women in particular are conceptualized in the Violence Matrix, and include being disrespected by micro-racial slurs from community members and agency officials, and having their experience of violent victimization denied by community leaders (Raphael & Ashley, 2008). African American women are also more likely to be poor, rely on public services like welfare, and are disproportionately under the control of state institutions like prisons, which means that they face discrimination and degradation in these settings at

higher rates (Gaseau & Martin, 2003; Gustafson, 2011; Winat, 2016). *These situational and contextual factors that cause harm are indirectly related to violent victimization and must be considered part of the environment that disadvantages African American women.* From this vantage point, it could be argued that when women experience disadvantages associated with racial and ethnic discrimination, dangerous and degrading situations, and social disenfranchisement, they are more at risk of victimization (Bosworth & Flavin, 2007, Kim, 2018; Sweet, 2016).

## The Violence Matrix

The Violence Matrix (Figure 1) is informed by the data reviewed in the previous section of this discussion paper and my interest in bringing a critical feminist criminological approach to the understanding of violent victimization of African American women. It asserts that intimate partner violence is worsened by some of the contextual variables and situational dynamics in their household, community and broader social sphere, and vice versa. The tool is not intended to infer causation, but rather broaden the understanding of the factors that influence violence in order to create justice policy in the future.

Figure 1.

| <i>The Violence Matrix</i> | <i>Physical Assault</i>   | <i>Sexual Assault</i>   | <i>Social Disenfranchisement</i>  |
|----------------------------|---|---|---|
| <i>Intimate Households</i> | <b>1</b> Direct physical assaults by intimate partners or household members, victim retaliation | <b>2</b> Sexual aggression by intimate partners or household members                    | <b>3</b> Emotional abuse and manipulation by intimate partners or household members, forced use of drugs and alcohol, isolation, economic abuse   |
| <i>Community</i>           | <b>4</b> Assaults by neighbors, lack of bystander intervention, availability of weapons         | <b>5</b> Sexual harassment, acquaintance rape, gang rape, trafficking into sex industry | <b>6</b> Degrading comments, hostile neighborhood conditions, hostile or unresponsive school and work environments, residential segregation, lack of social capital, threat of violence   |
| <i>Social Sphere</i>       | <b>7</b> Stranger assault, state violence (e.g. police), lack of gun control policies           | <b>8</b> Stranger rape, coerced sterilization, unwanted exposure to pornography         | <b>9</b> Negative media images, denial of significance of victimization, degrading encounters with religious institutions and public agencies, victim blaming, lack of affordable housing, lack of employment and health care, mistrust of public agencies, poverty |

## The Three Forms of Abuse

The Violence Matrix conceptualizes the forms of violent victimization that women experience as fitting into three overlapping categories, reflecting a sense that the forms are co-constituted and existing within a larger context and in multiple arenas (Richie, 2012; Schechter, 1982). One category of abuse includes direct physical assault against women; a second category of violent victimization includes the sexual aggressions that range from harassment to rape, and the third category encompasses the emotional and structural dimensions social disenfranchisement in the broader social context that characterizes the lives of some African American women and leaves them vulnerable to abuse. Embedded in the discussion of social disenfranchisement are issues related to social inequality, systemic abuse, and state violence.

### **Violence in Multiple Spheres**

Consistent with ecological models of other social problems, the Violence Matrix shows that various forms of violent victimization happen in several contexts and are influenced by several variables (Bronfenbrenner, 1992). First, violence occurs within households, including abuse from intimate partners as well as other family members and co-residents. Dynamics associated with household composition, relationship history and patterns of household functioning can be isolated for consideration in this context. The second context is the community where women live: the neighborhoods, schools, workplaces, and public spaces where women routinely interact with peers and other people. This context has both a geographic and a cultural meaning. Community, in this context, is where women share a “sense” of belonging and physical space. An analysis of the community context focuses attention to issues like neighborhood social class, degree of social cohesion, and presence or absence of social services. The third context is the social sphere, where legal processes, the policies of institutions, ineffective justice policies and the nature of social conditions (such as population density, neighborhood disorder, patterns of incarceration and other macro variables) create conditions that cause harm to women and other victims of violence (Gurnham, 2016). The harm caused by victimization in this context happens either through passive victimization (as in the case of bystanders not responding to calls for help because of low priority put on women’s safety (Banyard, 2008) or active aggression (as in the form of police use of excessive force in certain neighborhoods) that create structural disadvantage.

The analytic advantage of using a tool like the Violence Matrix to explain violent victimization is that it offers a way to move beyond statistical analyses of disproportionality to focus on a more nuanced understanding of the relationship between contextual factors that disadvantage African American women and the situational variables leading to violent victimization. Two important features of this conceptual framework allow for this. First, the Violence Matrix theoretical model considers both the forms and the contexts as dialectical and reinforcing (as opposed to discrete) categories of experience. Boundaries overlap, relationships shift over time and situations change. It helps to show how gender violence and other forms of violent victimization intersect and reinforce each other. For example, sexual abuse has a physical component, community members move in and become intimate partners, and sexual harassment is sometimes a part of how institutions respond to victims. This theoretical model examines the simultaneity of forms and contexts, a feature that most paradigms do not have (Jordon, 2009). The possibility that gender violence (like marital rape) could be correlated with violence at the community level (like assault by a neighbor) holds important potential for a deeper understanding of violent victimization of vulnerable groups

and therefore informing the future of justice policy.

A second distinguishing feature of this conceptual model is that it broadens the discussion about violent victimization beyond direct assaults within the household (cells 1 and 2) and sexual assaults by acquaintances and strangers (cells 5 and 8), which are the focus of the majority of the research on violence against women. It includes social disenfranchisement as a form of violence and social sphere as a context (cells 3, 6, 7, 8 and 9). In this way, the Violence Matrix focuses specific attention on contextual and situational vulnerabilities in addition to the physical ones. More generally, as noted in the introduction to this discussion paper, this advantages research and justice praxis. This approach responds to the entrenched problem of gender violence as it relates to issues of structural racism and other forms of systematic advantage. Models like this therefore hold the potential to inform justice policy that is more comprehensive, more effective, and ultimately, more “just.”

### **Broader Considerations**

For the upcoming discussion at the Roundtable on the Future of Justice Policy, my hope is that the Violence Matrix will deepen the understanding of the specific problem of violence in the lives of Black women and serve as a model for intersectional analyses of other groups and their experiences of violence. I hope it points to the utility of moving beyond quantitative studies and single-dimension qualitative analyses of the impact of violence and instead encourages designing conceptual models that consider root causes and the ways that systemic factors complicate it’s impact. This would offer an opportunity for a deeper discussion around violence policy, one that would include attention to individual harm, and how it is created by, reinforced by, or worsened by structural forms of violence. It would bring neighborhood dynamics into the analytical framework and engage issues of improving community efficacy and reversing structural abandonment in considerations of potential options. Questions about where strategies of community development and how the politics of prison abolition might appear would become relevant. And in the end, critical justice frameworks that answer the question about what 1) we might we invest in to keep individuals safe, 2) how might we help neighborhoods thrive and 3) how do we create structural changes that shift power in our society such that violence and victimization are minimized would be advanced. More than rhetorical questions and naively optimistic strategies, these are real issues that must inform any discussion of the future of justice policy. A model like the Violence Matrix, modified and improved upon by discussions at convenings like the one hosted by The Square One Project, offer some insights into both the “what” and the “how” of the future justice policy. I hope that this discussion paper is helpful in moving that discussion forward.



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