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CheyOnna Sewell
csdzb@mail.umsl.edu

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CheyOnna Sewell

M.A. in Criminology and Criminal Justice, May, 2012, University of Missouri-St. Louis
B.A. in Criminal Justice and Criminology, May, 2010, University of Missouri-Kansas City

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Advisory Committee:

Janet Lauritsen, Ph.D.
Chairperson

Karlijn Kuijpers, Ph.D.

Lee Slocum, Ph.D.

Hillary Potter, Ph.D.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT

Violence against women declined with other forms of violence during the 1990s. Nevertheless, the most popular macro-level theory regarding violence against women, which suggests that changes in gender inequality are associated with changes in the level of violence against women, has been studied primarily cross-sectionally and with mixed findings. In fact, the nature of the relationship between gender inequality and violence against women is undecided. One hypothesis, amelioration, suggests that as gender inequality decreases, and the genders become more equal, violence against women will also decrease (the inverse is also true that as gender inequality increases, violence against women will also increase). Another hypothesis, backlash, suggests that as gender inequality decreases, and the genders become more equal, violence against women will increase. Amidst the mixed findings have been notable conclusions that have found that the relationship may be race-specific and/or dependent on the victim-offender relationship. This project uses the intersectionality perspective, as introduced by Black Feminist scholars to take into account these important findings and thoroughly investigate the relationship between gender inequality and violence against women. I use multiple datasets, investigate fatal and non-fatal forms of violence against women, investigate the relationship at the national- and state-level, incorporate race-specific trends of violence against women, and use gender inequality indicators that are informed by intersectionality. The national-level analyses use homicide data from the Supplementary Homicide Reports (SHR) and victimization data from the National Crime Survey and National Crime Victimization Survey (NCS/NCVS). The national-level analyses use correlation analyses to examine trends of women's status and trends of violence against women from 1980-2012. At the state-level, panel data regressions examine the relationship between women's status and women's homicide rates (1980, 1990, 2000, 2010). In the end, this study produces mixed findings that lend to specific recommendations for future study and data development by emphasizing the importance of disaggregation by victim-offender relationship, geographic level, fatality of violence, and race/ethnicity.

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

Considering macro-level theories of crime and victimization is critical for the reduction and forecasting of crime. In the 1990s, crime declined unexpectedly in the United States of America. Arrests for homicide and robbery peaked in the 1980s and early 1990s, but by 1998 were lower than they had been since the late 1960s according to the Uniform Crime Report (UCR) which reports offenses that are known to the police or that result in arrest (Blumstein & Wallman, 2000; Levitt, 2004; Zimring, 2007). Aggravated assault arrests peaked in the early 1990s and then declined sharply as well (Blumstein & Wallman, 2000). Notably, victimization surveys which do not require crime incidents to be reported to the police also recorded a decline in rates of victimization. For instance, "Violent Victimization and Race," a report produced by the Bureau of Justice Statistics (BJS) using data from the National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS), found that from 1993 to 1998, violent crime victimization decreased by 29% for white people and 38% for Black[1] people (Rennison, 2001b). This decline continued so that in "Crime Victimization, 2000," Rennison (2001a) reported that in 2000 crime victimization was recorded at the lowest rate since the first report in 1974. Seeing the decline in official data and victimization survey data suggests that the decline reflects a behavioral change rather than policy or practice changes.

During the crime decline, violence against women was included amongst the violence categories that experienced marked declines. Violence against women often refers to intimate partner violence, rape, and sexual assault with a girl or woman victim.

[1] My capitalization scheme follows the one Dr. Patricia Hill Collins (2013) presented in her book *On Intellectual Activism.* I capitalize "Black" but I do not capitalize "white." This scheme reflects and emphasizes a historical categorization and othering by race. The capitalism can also be viewed as an attempt to make primary those groups and identities that have been and are regularly marginalized.

According to the "Violence by Intimates report" which combined official data from the UCR and victimization survey data from the NCVS, fatal intimate partner violence against Black women decreased from a rate of 14 per 100,000 in 1976 to under 4 per 100,000 in 1996. For white women rates decreased from 1.3 per 100,000 in 1976 to .85 per 100,000 in 1996 (Greenfield et al., 1998). Additionally, sexual victimization peaked in 1995 and then declined 64% over the following decade (Planty, Langton, Krebs, Berzofsky, & Smiley-McDonald, 2013).

The crime decline of the 1990s was substantial, but moreover it was unexpected. The unexpected nature of the crime decline highlighted insufficient crime forecasting abilities and a dearth in robust macro-level longitudinal research and data (Rosenfeld & Goldberger, 2008; Blumstein & Rosenfeld, 2008). In response, scholars explored various hypotheses including longstanding assertions that trends of crime are related to the economy or police tactics, to newer suggestions that crime may be related to the availability of legal abortions or changes in the crack cocaine drug market (Levitt, 2004; Blumstein & Rosenfeld, 2008). Notably, although violence against women also declined during this period, it is rarely addressed in theoretical discussions or empirical investigations (for exceptions see Heimer & Lauritsen, 2008; Lauritsen 2011). This is likely because violence against women is typically left out of general violence discussions due to its distinctive context which suggests unique indicators. Nevertheless, investigations and theorizing are warranted, since a similarity in trends could indicate similar underlying factors. Blumstein and Rosenfeld (2008) explained this possibility in regards to robbery and murder when noting that "both reach their peaks and their troughs within a year of each other. This may suggest that similar factors are affecting both

trends" (p. 14). They go on to say that there are other possible explanations including that one of the trends may be influencing the other one. Yet, the similarity between general violence and violence against women trends has not prompted considerable quantitative, macro-level, and longitudinal research or theories of violence against women.

Another element that remains out of central discussions regarding the crime decline is the fact that the details of the decline such as the onset and magnitude differ by race (for exceptions see Heimer & Lauritsen, 2008; Parker, 2008). This is true for violence against women as well as other forms of violence. These lapses drive the design of the present study. For instance, this study uses an intersectional perspective, which Black Feminist scholars introduced and have applied in many disciplines (Crenshaw, 1989; Crenshaw, 1991; Potter, 2015). Specifically, I use a framework that considers multiple historical and current societal structures and their influence on individual interactions, interactions with institutions, and personal responses to investigate trends of violence against women. Through this perspective, I introduce an additional way of operationalizing a key concept to an existing body of literature.

This study approaches violence against women from, arguably, the most prominent macro-level explanation for violence against women, which posits that changes in violence against women are related to changes in gender inequality. Yet, while this posited relationship serves as the basis for organizational and global initiatives, Whaley, Messner, and Veysey (2013) suggest that the evidence regarding the relationship has been "inconsistent and inconclusive" (p. 733). Examples of the influence of this explanation include the United Nations' creation of the United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women (commonly referred to as UN Women) in

2010 (UN Women, n.d.). This initiative links the concepts of violence against women and gender inequality in their purpose statement suggesting that increases in gender equality will decrease violence against women. Additionally, the United Nations Population Fund discussed the influence that gender inequality has on gendered discrimination including violence on their website. This group also posits that decreasing gender inequality will decrease discrimination. While there is substantial theoretical support for these initiatives, the empirical support has been limited. The commonly assumed positive relationship suggesting that decreasing gender inequality will decrease violence against women has motivated a considerable number of empirical investigations in the last few decades, but with mixed findings (for examples see: Baily, 1999; Martin, Vieraitis, & Britto, 2006; Whaley, Messner, & Veysey, 2013; Yodanis, 2004). Ultimately, within the quantitative empirical literature, support exists for multiple relationships including negative, temporal, and curvilinear (Whaley et al., 2013).

In general, scholars have conducted cross-sectional analyses which may contribute to the inconclusiveness of the literature. These analyses do not investigate the temporal element of the relationship between changes in gender inequality and changes in violence against women. The longitudinal studies that have been conducted have yielded important findings; however, further longitudinal work is necessary to gain a comprehensive understanding of the relationship between gender inequality and violence against women (Bailey, 1999; Whaley, 2001; Xie, Heimer, & Lauritsen, 2012).

Also, detracting from the conclusiveness and applicability of the gender inequality literature is the lack of a thorough investigation of the role race plays in the relationship between gender inequality and violence against women. Notably, there have

been studies which have disaggregated gender inequality and rates of violence against women by race (Vieraitis & Williams, 2002; Eschholz & Vieraitis, 2004; Pridemore & Freilich, 2005). However, I will argue that these studies lacked a comprehensive theoretical framework to lead a conclusive analysis of the role of race. Therefore, although these studies advance the literature by making salient the racial differences in gender inequality and violence against women, they fall short of providing a comprehensive theoretical foundation for the relationship between race, gender inequality, and violence against women. The present study advances the literature by including a longitudinal methodology and intersectional framework.

Chapter two provides a broader theory and literature review. I frame this discussion by explaining what violence against women is and why it is treated differently and often separately from general violence. This discussion includes information on racial disparities in violence against women. I also outline extant hypotheses regarding the relationship between gender inequality and violence against women and their empirical support. Lastly, I introduce an intersectional approach, as introduced by Black Feminist scholars, for understanding violence against women (Crenshaw, 1989; Crenshaw, 1991; Hill-Collins, 2013; Potter, 2015). This perspective will guide the proposed study including its framework and design.

Chapter three outlines the current study, the research questions, and how it contributes to extant literature by applying an intersectional-lens to the gender inequality perspective. From this perspective, I outline several hypotheses. The primary contribution of an intersectional approach is the broadening of gender inequality to assess not just intra-racial inequality but also inter-racial inequality for Black and Hispanic women.

Chapter four provides detailed information about the data, measures, and proposed analytical techniques to show how the research questions will be answered. This study contributes to the literature by using an intersectional approach and by incorporating key elements from past theoretical and empirical literature. Specifically, this study investigates the relationship between gender inequality and violence against women on the national- and state-levels. The national-level investigation uses homicide data from the Supplementary Homicide Reports (SHR), non-fatal violence data from the National Crime Survey which was revamped into the National Crime Victimization Survey (NCS/NCVS), and demographic data from a variety of sources. The homicide and non-fatal violence data were used to create rates of violence disaggregated by the victim's race/ethnicity, sex, and relationship to their offender. The demographic data was gathered to reflect gender inequality, intersectional inequality (a measure used for Black and Hispanic women to reflect an intersectional perspective), absolute status, and general economic condition. Together these data were used to conduct a series of bivariate analyses to assess whether trends of violence appear to be significantly related with the gender inequality, intersectional inequality, absolute status, and general economic indicators. The state-level investigation uses homicide data from the SHR. These data were used to create rates by state and disaggregated by victim's race, sex, and relationship to their offender. Due to data availability, the analysis is conducted using a time series panel regression with fixed effects at 1980, 1990, 2000, and 2010 for the 50 states and Washington, D.C. allowing for a change analysis. The same indicators of gender inequality, intersectional inequality, and absolute status that were used in the national-level investigation are used in the state-level investigations.

Chapter five presents the findings from the national-level investigation while Chapter six presents the findings from the state-level investigation. In Chapter seven, I discuss the implications of the national- and state-level findings and the potential for future research and data collections.

CHAPTER TWO: THEORETICAL AND LITERATURE REVIEW

The purpose of this chapter is to provide the theoretical and empirical framework for this study. To do this, violence against women must be defined. It is important to explain why violence against women is often analyzed separately from general violence especially since data illustrating the crime decline of the 1990s show that trends of violence against women declined along with general violence. While these trends are not identical they are similar and correlated according to a report prepared by Lauritsen in 2011 for the Panel on Measuring Rape and Sexual Assault in Bureau of Justice Statistic Surveys. While this similarity may indicate similar underlying explanations, the study of violence against women has distinct theories. Hence second, I review the hypotheses associated with the most popular macro-level explanation for violence against women which posits a relationship between gender inequality and violence against women. In addition, I outline some findings related to the various hypotheses. Lastly, I reframe the discussion of gender inequality from an intersectionality perspective as introduced by Black Feminists. This chapter sets the foundations for Chapter three which presents my hypotheses.

DEFINING VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN

The concept of violence against women literally applies to all forms of violence for which the victim is a woman or girl; however, rape, sexual assault, and intimate partner violence (non-fatal and fatal) tend to be the focus (Kruttschnitt, McLaughlin, & Petrie, 2004). Research on violence against women tends to occupy its own space in criminological research and is studied separate from other forms of violence (Kruttschnitt et al., 2004). Kruttschnitt et al. (2004) suggested that "this intellectual separation of

research on violence against women stems from the premise that distinctive features of the social and political context of violence against women, particularly the context of intimate relationships, sets it apart from other forms of violence" (p. 2). They follow this explanation by declaring that they "urge an end to the almost total separation that has characterized the field" (p. 2). Indeed, the social and political context of violence against women characterizes society in the United States as a whole and thereby could have an impact on other forms of violence. The results of this separation is that although trends in violence against women declined with other forms of violence in the 1990s, violence against women has been largely omitted from the great crime decline literature. The vice versa is also true, the discussion of the great crime decline has largely been omitted from investigations of violence against women. The separation of these literatures may be limiting our understanding of crime trends, their explanations, and how they relate to one another.

Advocating for more crossover between the literatures does not negate that violence against women differs contextually from general forms of violence. These differences exist in who the victims are, how the violence was enacted, by whom the violence was enacted, and what response followed the violence. For example, rape is the only violent index crime for which women and girls make up the majority of the victims (Kruttschnitt et al., 2004). Additionally, a greater proportion of the victimization that women and girls experience is committed by intimate partners than is true for men and boys (Kruttschnitt et al., 2004). Moreover, women and girls are more likely to be the victim in intimate partner violence. In fact, in 2001, women and girls were the victim in 85% of nonfatal intimate partner victimizations (Kruttschnitt et al., 2004). The different

context of violence against women and violence against men suggests that gender matters. Gender could matter in multiple ways at multiple levels. For instance, gender may affect crime and victimization through its influence on the societal power structure, which defines the power that individuals and groups hold in relation to one another and with institutions and, therefore, influences access to institutions and interpersonal interactions (Allen, 2011; Brownmiller, 1975; Miller & Mullins, 2006).

Also, the changes in the way that rape has been defined reflect its distinctive context. For example, the Federal Bureau of Investigation's (FBI) official definition for rape has evolved over time. Prior to a change in 2013, the FBI defined rape as "the carnal knowledge of a female forcibly and against her will" (Rape, n.d.). In 2013, the definition changed to "penetration, no matter how slight, of the vagina or anus with any body part or object, or oral penetration by a sex organ of another person, without the consent of the victim" (Rape, n.d.). Moreover, laws have expanded to include rape of married females, rape by husbands, and rape against males (Brownmiller, 1975). These expansions of the definition do not reflect a change in behavior but rather a shifting understanding of sexuality and the relationship between men and women. Writing specifically about changes in statutory rape, Cocca (2004) argued that the legislation of "statutory rape has served as a site for multiple constructions of gender and sexuality" (p. 3). Similar arguments have been presented regarding rape more broadly (Toner, 1982). Therefore, laws about rape influence how gender and gendered relations are constructed while also responding to the extant cultural values. The legal and cultural construction of rape (as well as other forms of violence against women) has real consequences that further distinguish it from other forms of violence.

One consequence of the legal and cultural construction of rape and other forms of violence against women is that it has influenced enforcement practices and the treatment of victims. For instance, rape and intimate partner violence have often not been a priority for law enforcement. This has resulted in the refusal to officially handle rape and intimate partner violence allegations. However, when these allegations have been handled officially, victims of rape have often been "revictimized" by the criminal justice process through suspicion, apathy, and accusations (Belknap, 2010; Russell, 1984). Arguably, the extent of this animosity has decreased as rape has been recognized as an abhorrent crime through policy and legislative changes (Baumer, Felson, & Messner, 2003; Belknap, 2010). Regardless of the official changes, improvements, and increases in reporting, rape continues to be one of the most underreported crimes (Baumer et al., 2003; Britton, 2011). Continuing negative relations between police officers and intimate partner violence victims have been noted in the literature as well (Xie et al., 2012b). As a result, the history of rape, sexual assault, and intimate partner violence is marred by waves of disbelief, silence, and silencing which suggest that it may be distinct from other forms of violence.

It is also important to address that women experience violence according to other identities such as race, immigration status, class, sexuality, etc. (Crenshaw, 1991; Potter, 2015). For instance according to the "Female Victims of Violence" report by BJS, Black women have historically experienced higher rates of intimate partner violence than white women (Catalano, Smith, Snyder, & Rand, 2009). This was true of rape and sexual assault as well (Catalano et al., 2009). The heightened level of risk that Black women experience has largely been neglected within the gender inequality literature. The fact

that Black women are more likely to be killed by their intimates than white women are has also not garnered much attention. Lauritsen and White (2001) used the NCVS and found that Black women experienced a greater level of non-stranger violence than Latinas and white women. This was not true amongst the men. Amongst the men, Latinos experienced the highest level then Black men followed by white men. Due to the nuance of the relationship between race, victim sex, victim-offender relationship, and violence, Lauritsen and White (2001) suggested that "it is important to recognize that the relationship between an individual's racial and ethnic characteristics and their risk for violent victimization is not simple. Rather it depends on the sex of the victim and whether the violent incident involves a stranger or nonstranger offender" (p.44). However, this dynamic has often been omitted from violence literature. Rather many studies have controlled for the percent of the population that is Black instead of attending to the racial dynamics that underlie society and violence in the United States.

When race-disaggregated trends of violence against women are investigated, major gaps in the crime decline, race, and gender literature are exposed. For example, Lauritsen (2012) illustrated that although the rape and sexual assault trends for Latinas, Black women, and white women have been similar for the last 40 years, the gaps between them have varied occasionally. The variation in the gap could indicate different processes at work. These types of findings are important in that they denote the importance of attending to gender, race, and ethnicity but are often overlooked in later studies. Ultimately, the crime decline literature has at times denoted the varying magnitude of the decline by race and gender subgroups, but has not produced many intersectional approaches to explaining the disparate decline (Heimer & Lauritsen, 2008; Lauritsen,

2012; Lauritsen & Heimer, 2010; Levitt, 2004; Parker, 2008). As a consequence, the disparate declines and trends by race, ethnicity, and gender are not well understood. The race and inequality literature tends to lack a gender-lens, a framework denoting the role that gender plays in how things are enacted and perceived, while at the same time the gender and inequality literature tends to lack a race-lens, a framework denoting the role of race (McCall, 2005). This study argues that it is important to consider violence against women from a gender x race-lens or an intersectional-lens. [2]

HYPOTHESES AND EMPIRICAL SUPPORT

Before discussing the ways to apply an intersectionality perspective to the gender inequality hypothesis, it is pertinent to review the various hypotheses that exist within the literature. As noted in the introduction, the nature of the relationship between gender inequality and violence against women has not been clearly defined within the empirical literature (Whaley et al., 2013). In fact, evidence exists for multiple hypotheses. The original hypothesis and the one many organizations work under suggests that as gender inequality decreases and the genders become more equal violence against women will decrease (Whaley et al., 2013). This is referred to as the amelioration hypothesis. Peterson and Bailey (1992) found some support for the amelioration hypothesis. They investigated the relationship between various forms of inequality (general, racial, and gender) and rape rates for United States metropolitan areas in 1980. The rape rates were obtained from the UCR in 1980. General inequality was measured using the GINI index which represents income inequality in the total population. Racial inequality was

[2] Using "race x gender" rather than "race and gender" emphasizes the multiplicative properties of socially constructed identities following the intersectional perspective. The identities are multiplicative in that they cannot be separated and often interact with one another in influencing people's experiences and interactions (Reskin & Charles, 1999; Potter, 2015).

measured by the difference in median income for Black and white families. Gender inequality was measured in terms of education using the ratio of men to women who completed 4 years of high school, who completed 4 years of college, and who completed 5 or more years of college. It was also measured in terms of income using a ratio of men to women's median income for all people, people who completed 4 years of high school, and people who completed 4 years or more of college. Gender inequality was also measured by the percent of people employed in managerial and professional positions who were women and by a ratio of men to women who live in poverty. Multiple models were estimated with most containing one form of gender inequality and one containing a representative of each type. The GINI index was found to be positively and significantly related to rape rapes in each model. This finding suggests that places with greater general income inequality exhibited higher rape rates. Racial inequality in income was significant and positive in the models that included gender inequality by ratio of high school graduates only and gender inequality in percentage of women in professional occupations only. When all forms of gender inequality were included (income, high school graduation, and profession occupations), gender inequality in median income was significantly and positively related to rape rates. This finding suggests that where gender inequality in income is greater, rape rates will also be higher and this is consistent with the amelioration hypothesis.

Another hypothesis, the backlash hypothesis, suggests an opposite relationship. Specifically, the backlash hypothesis suggests that as gender inequality decreases and the genders become more equal, violence against women will increase (Whaley et al., 2013). It is important to note that the term "backlash" is sometimes used to imply a specific

mechanism causing the increase of violence. For instance, sometimes backlash is defined as a process by which men (or other dominant group) react violently to challenges to their dominant status. In this study, as with many past studies, the mechanism of the relationship between gender inequality and violence against women is not being evaluated. Rather this study examines the relationship between gender inequality and violence against women which therefore only allows for some speculation as to the mechanism of the relationship. Backlash, herein, is used to represent a negative relationship between changes in gender inequality and changes in violence against women.

Within the same article described above, Peterson and Bailey (1992) also found support for a backlash hypothesis when further investigating the relationship between gender inequality in occupations and rape rates. Specifically, they separated professional occupations into 1) executives, administrators, and managers 2) public officials and administrators 3) engineers and natural scientists 4) health diagnostic occupations 5) elementary and secondary teachers. They found that where the percent of executives, administrators, and managers that are women were higher rape rates were also higher suggesting backlash. However, they also found that where the percent of health diagnostic occupations that are women were higher rape rates were lower. This was true of elementary and secondary teachers as well. Since being an elementary or secondary teacher is a women-typed occupation, the finding of a negative relationship could be interpreted as backlash as well. The authors suggested that "the more that women remain in traditional 'female' occupations, the greater their 'reward' – freedom from rape" (p. 172). However, the significant finding for health diagnostic occupations appears to

support amelioration, since health diagnostic occupations are traditionally men-typed occupations.

The Peterson and Bailey (1992) study is illustrative for three primary reasons. First, the analysis assesses the relationship between gender inequality and rape in multiple ways. They use several forms of inequality including: education, income, and occupation. In addition, they estimate models with each form individually as well as a model with all of the forms. Second, this study is illustrative because it finds support for both the ameliorative and backlash hypotheses. Due to these mixed findings, the authors conclude that their "analysis by no means settles the issue of rape and the structural position of women vis-à-vis men" (p. 174). Lastly, this study thoroughly investigated different elements of inequality. For example, as discussed above, they investigated more specific occupation categories to gain an understanding of the relationship between gender parity in occupations and rape rates. Ultimately, together these three elements exemplify how complicated the relationship between gender inequality and rape may be. Specifically, it is possible that common indicators of gender disparity do not capture the most important aspects of gender inequality. This could be one explanation for why some measures of gender inequality were significantly related to rape and others were not. For instance, inequality in educational attainment was not related to rape rates in any of the Peterson and Bailey (1992) models. Through this study, it was also demonstrated that some of the measures of gender inequality may be confounding other relationships. In particular, Peterson and Bailey (1992) found that although in the main model there was no significant relationship between gender inequality in occupation type and rape rates, when looking at specific types of occupations the findings were mixed. Indeed, they

found support for backlash and amelioration when looking at specific types of occupations. By thoroughly investigating the relationship between gender inequality and rape, Peterson and Bailey (1992) illustrated how complicated the relationship may be and demonstrated important ways to attempt to uncover more information.

Some scholars have noted that much of the research on gender inequality and violence against women, including Peterson and Bailey (1992), have acted under the axiom that amelioration and backlash are contradictory hypotheses (Bailey, 1999; Whaley, 2001; Whaley et al., 2013). However, these hypotheses may be corollaries of one another contingent either on time or the level of gender inequality. For instance, Bailey (1999) and Whaley (2001) suggested and found some evidence that backlash occurs for a period of time leading to amelioration. According to Bailey (1999), prior to his analysis no studies had investigated the role of *changes* in gender inequality and *changes* in the rape rate. Indeed, I was unable to locate any studies prior to Bailey (1999) that investigated the relationship between changes in gender inequality and changes in any form of violence against women. Bailey (1999) investigated the relationship between gender inequality (using male and female differences in educational attainment, occupation type, and income as indicators) and rape rates for central cities. He found support for the backlash hypothesis between occupation type and rape rates for 1980 and 1990 (cross-sectional models), but found an ameliorative relationship between changes in income inequality and changes in rape rates from 1980 to 1990 (change model). In the end, Bailey suggested that although his analysis was an "improvement over previous investigations this analysis does not fully resolve important feminist arguments regarding the socioeconomic status of women and rape" (1999, p. 59).

Whaley (2001) presented itself as refining the temporal theoretical relationship between change in gender inequality and violence against women. She hypothesized that initially during times of higher gender inequality, women experience lower levels of rape as a "reward, "but that in the long term, gender inequality prompts cultural changes that build support for rape, prompting an increase. The reverse was hypothesized as well. To use the hypotheses already introduced, Whaley (2001) hypothesized that backlash occurs first and that after a sustained period of change amelioration can occur. Using 5-, 10-, and 20-year lagged indicators, Whaley (2001) was also unable to provide strong support for her hypothesis; however, most of the significant relationships were in the proposed direction. For example, cross-sectional analyses suggested that higher levels of inequality in holding executive occupations were associated with lower levels of rape supporting the backlash hypothesis. The model using a 5-year lag from 1970 to 1975 suggested backlash also. Yet in accord with the hypothesis, the model using a 10-year lag between 1980 and 1990 found support for the ameliorative hypotheses. Specifically, decreases in gender inequality in holding executive occupations were associated with decreases in rape. Therefore, findings related to holding executive occupations appeared to support backlash cross-sectionally and amelioration over a 10-year period. However, gender inequality in executive occupations was not significantly related to rape when looking at change from 1980 to 1985, 1970 to 1980, and 1970 to 1990. Therefore, within this analysis, the results reflect a complicated relationship.

Additionally, Whaley et al. (2013) suggested and found some evidence that the nature of the relationship between gender inequality and violence against women may be nonlinear and related to the level of gender inequality. Specifically, they investigated the

relationship between gender inequality (in terms of educational attainment, median income, and employment status) and various rates of homicides for 1990 and 2000 from the SHR (male-female, male-male, female-male, and female-female). Using negative binomial regressions, Whaley et al. (2013) found that gender equality (represented by a factor score of the three variables) was positively related to male offender – female victim homicide rates and that the squared form of gender equality was negatively related in 1990. These significant findings suggest that the relationship between gender equality and male-female homicide is nonlinear. Gender equality and its squared term were not significantly related to any other homicide rates except female-offender and female-victim. For the female-female homicide rate, gender equality was significantly and positively related in the model that did not include the robbery rate, which was included as a "robust control for other factors related to criminal violence" (Whaley et al., 2013, p. 743). In 2000, gender equality and its squared form were significantly related to male-female homicide when the robbery rate was not included but only the squared form was significantly related (negatively) when the robbery rate was included. The same was true for male-male homicide rates. Just gender equality is significantly and positively related to the female-female rate when the robbery rate was not included. In all other instances, gender equality and its squared form were not significantly related to homicide rates. Whaley et al. (2013) interpreted the effect of adding the robbery rate as suggesting that unmeasured factors associated with violent crime may be mediating the relationship or that there may be an issue with multicollinearity. As a whole, they found considerable support for their hypothesis that backlash processes are likely to function at "low to

intermediate levels" of gender equality and that amelioration occurs when equality is high for male-female homicide rates (p. 747).

Xie, Heimer, and Lauritsen (2012a) used longitudinal methods to assess whether there was a relationship between non-fatal intimate partner violence and absolute/relative indicators of women's status. They created five five-year pooled periods using MSA-level data (which includes the 40 largest MSAs) from the NCVS for 1980 to 2004. To thoroughly assess their hypotheses, they also disaggregated the non-fatal violence against women data by victim-offender relationship using the following listed categories: stranger, intimate partner, and other known. The four hypotheses included amelioration (which was posited to function more for intimate partner violence than non-intimate violence), backlash (which was also posited to function more for intimate partner violence than non-intimate violence), routine activities (which suggests that increases in absolute status also increases exposure and could lead to an increase in stranger and known victimization), and protective (which suggests that an increase in absolute status may increase the accessibility of protective mechanisms and decrease victimization). Absolute women's status was operationalized by the percent of women who were employed, percent of voting age women who voted in the November presidential and congressional elections, and an index of income-educational attainment, which included median income and percent who completed four years of college or more. Relative status was measured using the rate of women's labor force participation minus that of men, the level of income-educational attainment for women minus that of men, and the rate of voter turnout for women minus that of men. Their results found support for each of the hypotheses except for amelioration. They found a negative relationship between women's

absolute economic and political status and intimate partner violence which supports the protective hypothesis. They also found the negative relationship between inequality and intimate partner victimization which supports the backlash hypothesis. The routine activities hypothesis was supported through a positive relationship between absolute indicators of labor force participation and victimization by strangers and non-intimate persons known to the victim. This longitudinal analysis does not suggest that backlash, amelioration, protective, nor routine activities hypotheses are corollary by explaining the relationship between inequality, absolute status, and violence against women at different periods. However, they found evidence that the nature of the relationship is contingent on the victim-offender relationship.

The hypotheses and findings suggesting that backlash and amelioration are corollary are particularly important considering that much of the empirical quantitative literature on gender inequality has been cross-sectional and assumed a linear relationship. By design much of the extant literature is unable to address these possibilities (Whaley et al., 2013). The evidence supporting corollary processes indicate that future analyses should continue to consider change over time and the structural form of the relationship as the proposed dissertation will do. In addition, Xie et al. (2012a) presented evidence that the victim-offender relationship is important to also consider in future analyses.

In addition, while not an inequality hypothesis, several scholars have investigated the role of absolute status on trends of violence against women. Changes in absolute status are increases or decreases in the status of a group with no consideration or comparison to other groups. It is possible that there is a relationship between absolute status and violence against women and that any findings suggesting a relationship

between gender inequality and violence against women is due to absolute status changes that are coinciding with changes in inequality. As with gender inequality, there is the possibility of a positive or negative relationship. The positive relationship suggesting that when women's absolute status increases violence against women will also increase is sometimes associated with a routine activities hypothesis (Xie et al., 2012a). A negative relationship suggesting that when women's absolute status increases violence against women will decrease has been labeled as a "protective hypothesis" by Xie et al. (2012a) and as a Marxist feminist hypothesis by Martin et al. (2006). An additional hypothesis, which Martin et al. (2006) referred to as the socialist feminist hypothesis, suggests that absolute status and inequality may be related to violence against women. These hypotheses allude to the underlying explanation of the relationships. In this study, I focus on the direction of the relationship using the terms amelioration and backlash. Existing literature has been mixed regarding absolute versus relative status; hence, both will be investigated here (Martin et al., 2006).

Notably, these studies did not investigate the role of race x gender.[3] Reskin and Charles argued that omitting race from analyses of the labor market suggests that the labor market is race-neutral. This is true for criminological research as well; omitting race from investigations of violence against women suggests that violence against women is race-neutral. However, evidence exists that suggests that violence against women is not race-neutral including the disparities discussed above. Indeed, within the gender inequality literature some studies have attended to the role of race. Each of them finds

[3] The omission of race may be attributable to data and statistical power issues. The way that this study is able to incorporate race x gender is explained in chapter 4.

support for the incorporation of race into analyses of the relationship between gender inequality and violence against women.

First, Vieraitis and Williams (2002) investigated city homicide rates disaggregated by race obtained from the SHR. The rates were averaged across 1989 to 1991 to reduce the influence of anomalous year-to-year variation. They investigated whether absolute status indicators or relative status indicators for women were related to the homicide rates. The percent of women 25 years of age and older that completed a bachelor's degree, percent of women 15 years old and older who were employed, the median income for women 15 years old and older, and percent of women 16 years old and older working in executive, managerial, and administrative jobs were used to indicate the absolute status of women. Ratios comparing the absolute status of women to men were used to indicate the relative status of women. Models of homicide were estimated using total women homicide rates, white women homicide rates, and Black women homicide rates and absolute then relative indicators of women's status. The only indicator of absolute status that was significant was percent employed which was positively related to total women homicide rates. Total women's relative status in terms of employment, being employed in executive jobs, and income were positively related to total women homicide rates. For white women homicide, relative employment and income were positively related. No relative status indicators were related to Black women's homicide rates. They suggested that one explanation for the null findings regarding Black women's homicide is that the indicators of gender inequality may not "capture the dimension of Black male-female power relations that would explain Black women's victimization" (p. 58). Another possibility is that "underlying structural conditions that contribute to

homicide rates remain and thus may be masking the effects of gender inequality" for Black women (p. 58). The different findings for fatal violence against white and Black women suggest that race matters but without thorough explanation.

Second, Eschholz and Vieraitis (2004) city rape rates disaggregated by race obtained from the UCR and averaged across 1989 to 1991 and women's status measures by race. They used the same absolute and relative status indicators that Vieraitis and Williams (2002) used. Women's absolute educational attainment and relative occupational attainment (ratio of those employed in executive positions) were positively related to total rape rates. For white women, the absolute indicator of employment and relative indicator of educational attainment were negatively related to the rape rate. Relative indicators of employment and income were positively related to rape rates for white women. For Black women, the absolute indicator of employment and relative educational attainment were also negatively related to rape rates for Black women. In addition, the relative employment indicator was also positively related. They explained that their findings may suggest that race influences the relationship between gender inequality and rape. This is illustrated by the difference between the white women and Black women models, but also by the differences between the total model and the race-specific models.

Third, Pridemore and Freilich (2005) investigated total and white homicide rates obtained from the National Vital Statistics Survey (NVSS) averaged over 1998 to 2000. They posited that threats to white men's dominance in the United States' society has promoted a subculture amongst white men that uses violence in response to dominance threats. They specifically investigated whether gender income inequality and cultural

indicators of a "traditional masculine, patriarchial, paramilitaristic subculture" were related to the homicide rates of women and specifically white women (p. 216). The proxy indicators for traditional masculine, patriarchial, paramilitaristic subculture were the percent of the population living in rural areas, rate of Evangelical Protestants, and rate of National Rifle Association (NRA) members. They found that gender equality in income was not related to the total female homicide rate, but was significantly and positively related to the white female homicide rate indicating backlash. This relationship was not conditioned by the cultural variables.

These three studies each suggested that the relationship between gender inequality and violence against women is contingent on the race of the victim. However, these analyses present scant explanation for what role race plays. For example, although Eschholz and Vieraitis (2004) lay out three hypotheses, they do not present any propositions about the role that race plays. Pridemore and Freilich (2005) present a theory on a white traditionally masculine, patriarchial, paramilitaristic subculture that responds violently to threats to their dominance. However, the analysis did not include Black people or other People of Color. It only mentioned that People of Color may also be perceived as threats by the white subculture. Notably, none of these studies mentioned intersectionality. With the acknowledgement of a possible racial influence, these studies are not race-neutral or colorblind. Rather, using terminology from Hillary Potter's book *Intersectionality and Criminology: Disrupting and Revolutionizing Studies of Crime* (2015), these studies, with the exception of Pridemore and Freilich (2005), are power-blind.[4] They acknowledge the possibility of disparities by race in gendered experiences

[4] Pridemore & Freilich (2005) investigated a perspective that acknowledges the power and privilege that white people have and how it can be perceived as threatened. However, by omitting any discussion of

without acknowledging societal stratification which attaches power and privilege to certain race x gender identities while devaluing others.

Black Feminists have addressed the importance of addressing the multiplicative identities that people and Women of Color, in particular, possess as a framework for understanding multiple phenomena for centuries including intimate partner violence, female offending, labor market research, and motherhood, (Richie 1996; Browne & Misra, 2003; Potter, 2008; Gumbs, Martens, & Williams, 2016). This perspective has become known as intersectionality (Crenshaw, 1989). The following section provides a brief introduction to the extensive history of intersectionality and how it is used to frame this study.

INTERSECTIONALITY AND VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN

The term "intersectionality" has existed for decades (Crenshaw, 1989; McCall, 2005; Potter, 2015). However, claims that intersectionality is not well-defined or does not yield empirical hypotheses are common as demonstrated by criticism pieces and defenses embedded in intersectional work (McCall, 2005; Potter, 2015). Because of the seemingly loose definition of intersectionality, some have demoted the perspective to a "buzzword" or a likely temporary trend within sociology and criminology (Potter, 2015). The discounting of the extensive Black Feminist history behind this multiplicative identity approach is harmful and related to the very mechanisms that intersectionality makes salient.

It is important to note that the term "intersectionality" has been used in a variety of ways within scholarly research. It is because of this occurrence that McCall (2005) in a

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how this system affects the lives and victimization of People of Color this analysis and discussion is limited.

piece entitled "The Complexity of Intersectionality" presents a taxonomy of intersectional works. She suggests that intersectionality research has been approached in three ways, which she refers to as 1) anticategorical complexity 2) intracategorical complexity 3) intercategorical complexity. Yet, within her assessment of intersectionality, she failed to root the discussion in its Black Feminist origins. Instead, she suggested that intersectionality has been an advancement couched within feminist research, a feminist research that she acknowledges has been accused of "speaking universally for all women" (p. 1771). Hence, McCall (2005) appears to apply a methodological understanding to intersectionality by accepting all pieces that purport to discuss the role that race x gender have on some phenomena as intersectional. She then categorized them by their specific methods.[5] Her explanation of intersectionality omits its foundation which informs how it should be applied. Intersectionality is more than a methodology that suggests that race x gender x other important indicators of identity should be included in an analysis. Rather intersectionality is a perspective with an extensive history which should be applied fully within analyses. This application includes being used to form hypotheses, design analyses, and understand findings.

While intersectionality, like feminist thought, does not represent one concrete set of hypotheses it does represent axioms related to the structure of society. Specifically, intersectionality operates within the understanding that "individuals have multiple intertwined identities that are developed, organized, experienced, and responded to within the context of the social structure and its dis/advantaged ordering" (Potter, 2015, p. 76). These intertwined identities are necessarily "multiple, multiplicative, and inseparable" for everyone (p. 70). The fact that intersectionality does not consist of concrete hypotheses

[5] This suggestion uses "methods" and "methodology" as presented by Potter (2015).

reveals that intersectionality is a traveling perspective, which Potter (2015) explained as meaning that it is applicable and has been applied in multiple disciplines and fields. Potter (2015) suggested that it is the responsibility of researchers to derive hypotheses relevant to their individual work. This can be done by considering the historical evidence related to identity relations in the society of concern and relevant empirical literature.

Intersectional work on violence against women has primarily been qualitative which is in part an artifact of feminist methodology that emphasizes the importance and value of storytelling (Potter, 2015). The qualitative work demonstrates the importance of an intersectional perspective and highlights the experiences of especially marginalized groups such as Black women, Latinas, and Indigenous women. For example, in Battle Cries, Potter (2008) considered the intersection of race x gender x color x class when analyzing interviews conducted with 40 Black women on their experiences with intimate partner violence. She considered their intersecting identities when analyzing data related to the type of abuse they experienced, the duration of abuse, their experiences getting out of abusive relationships (which all had done regardless of whether they were in an abusive relationship at the time), and the social/formal support they accessed related to their abuse. She drew conclusions by assessing the common themes within her data, considering the findings of other studies on intimate partner violence, and incorporating relevant historical factors. A Black Feminist criminology perspective provided the framework with which she linked the various data and drew conclusions. I consider the relationship between gender inequality and violence against women similarly. I will incorporate detailed insights from intersectional work, race-neutral analyses, power-blind analyses (which attended to disparities such as Vieraitis & Williams, 2002 and Eschholz

& Vieraitis, 2004 mentioned above), and historical facts to form hypotheses and frame findings.

The purpose of this chapter was to overview the main hypotheses and findings regarding the relationship between gender inequality and violence against women. As explained, multiple hypotheses exist with some evidence within the literature (Whaley, 2013). The most convincing direction for future research approaches the relationship longitudinally. In addition, evidence exists within the literature that the victim-offender relationship and race may influence the relationship between gender inequality and violence against women. It seems that now that the nation's most popular crime/victimization databases (NCS/NCVS and SHR) each contain over 30 years of data, some of the past data-driven limitations can be confronted. In response, this study will use national- and state-level longitudinal data and methods to investigate the relationship between women's status (relative and absolute) and violence against women disaggregated by victim's race and relationship to offender. I approach the topic from a perspective of intersectionality as proposed and introduced by Black Feminists. The following chapter outlines the research questions and hypotheses of this project.

CHAPTER THREE: CURRENT STUDY

This project investigates two overarching questions: 1) Are changes in race-specific rates of gender inequality related to changes in race-specific rates of violence against women? 2) Does the victim-offender relationship matter in this relationship? These research questions responds to gaps in the gender inequality literature by linking studies that found a longitudinal relationship with studies that found race-specific relationships or relationships contingent on the victim-offender relationship. Hence, this study addresses elements of Bailey (1999), Whaley (2001), and Whaley et al. (2013) as well as portions of Vieraitis and Williams (2002), Eschholz and Vieraitis (2004), and Pridemore and Freilich (2005). By incorporating time, race, and victim-offender relationship in the analysis it allows for a connection between the race, gender, and crime trend literature by acknowledging that women's lives, experiences, and relationships are affected by their gender x race.

With their research on domestic violence prevention services and intimate-partner homicide, Dugan, Nagin, and Rosenfeld (2003) found no "empirically verified 'policy theory' from which specific hypotheses can be derived…" (p. 175). Similarly, no clear and established hypotheses exist for these issues within the gender inequality literature. However, hypotheses can be inferred from an understanding of the gender inequality, domestic violence, and intersectionality literatures. This chapter begins by outlining hypotheses and the reasoning behind them. Then I present an outline of the research design.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The research questions presented at the onset of this chapter are broad. Indeed, more specific questions are encompassed in the overarching question.

1. Are changes in status (gender inequality and absolute) related to violence against total women at the national- and state-level?
    a. Is the relationship the same for all forms of violence (e.g. total, intimate, known, stranger)?
    b. Is this relationship the same when investigating homicide and non-fatal violence?
2. Are changes in status (gender inequality and absolute) related to violence against white women at the national- and state-level?
    a. Is the relationship the same for all forms of violence (e.g. total, intimate, known, stranger)?
    b. Is this relationship the same when investigating homicide and non-fatal violence?
3. Are changes in status (gender inequality, intersectional inequality, and absolute) related to violence against Black women at the national- and state-level?
    a. Is the relationship the same for all forms of violence (e.g. total, intimate, known, stranger)?
    b. Is this relationship the same when investigating homicide and non-fatal violence?
4. Are changes in status (gender inequality, intersectional inequality, and absolute) related to violence against Hispanic women at the national-level?

a. Is the relationship the same for all forms of violence (e.g. total, intimate, known, stranger)?

HYPOTHESES

To hypothesize about these relationships, I considered the possible underlying mechanisms of the amelioration and backlash hypotheses. Then, using the intersectionality framework, I considered the applicability of the hypotheses to violence against non-Hispanic Black, non-Hispanic white, and Hispanic women contingent on the victim-offender relationship. Findings and explanations from extant literature were also used to form hypotheses. To depict the steps of this process, I will begin by discussing the possible underlying mechanisms of amelioration and backlash.

Again it is important to note that amelioration and backlash are proposed relationships between gender inequality and violence against women. While at times their underlying mechanisms are assumed, in this study they are merely used to reflect relationships where when gender inequality decreases violence against women also decreases (amelioration) or when gender inequality decreases violence against women increases (backlash). The purpose of this section is to speculate about the possible mechanisms provoking these observable relationships.

The mechanisms underlying amelioration explain how decreases in gender inequality produce decreases in violence against women[6]. In general, the mechanisms for amelioration reflect potential victims' (women's) increased ability to reduce their and

[6] Extant literature has not investigated these underlying mechanisms. In fact, much of the extant literature does not outline the proposed underlying mechanisms. In order to form this discussion, I reviewed the gender inequality literature closely by paying attention to information that could speak to the underlying mechanisms. Sometimes this information could be gleaned from the discussion regarding the amelioration and/or backlash hypotheses and other times during the discussion of findings. Future studies should pay specific attention to the mechanisms. Doing so may help clarify what indicators of gender inequality are most meaningful and predict the specific conditions for each or either hypothesis.

other women's risk for victimization. For example, some suggest that formal power accompanies gender equality. If women are making comparable money and holding a proportionate share of professional and political positions, women in turn will then be able to ensure that violence against women is treated seriously (Chon, 2013). Another proposition is "exposure reduction," which was presented by Dugan et al. (2003). Dugan et al. (2003) referred to intimate partner violence specifically and suggested that certain practices, policies, and circumstances may be able to reduce the exposure of victims to their offenders. They suggested that "the improved status of women is important from an exposure-reduction perspective because economic resources and educational opportunity lessen the dependence of women on abusive partners" (p. 180). It is also possible that changes in gender inequality reflect ideological changes related to gender. For instance, some suggest that gender equality reflects equal status and value for men and women. This equality could mean that being anti-woman would no longer be a way for a man to prove his masculinity (Whitehead, 2005). Since violence against women is one way to be anti-woman, equality could end its association with masculinity. Masculinity and femininity would not dissipate as constructs; rather their value and how they are achieved could shift. Ultimately, from the literature it is possible that decreases in gender inequality could result in decreases in violence against women by increasing the power that women hold in society, by lessening women's dependence on and exposure to abusive men, or through an ideological shift that would eliminate the importance of anti-woman practices to masculinity. These explanations emphasize increases in relative status for women. However, some studies have suggested and found that increases in women's absolute status are related to violence against women as well.

For example, Bailey (1999) found that median income was the only significant absolute status predictor of rape rates and suggested that this may reflect "the ability of women to 'purchase' a more safe and secure living situation" (p. 54). He explained that this could be accomplished through changing residential environments and/or modes of transportation. Additionally, this could mean that women may come into contact with "high status men who do not experience the level of frustration and aggression that men do at the bottom of the socioeconomic ladder" (p. 58). Martin et al. (2005), also, discussed the role that changes in women's absolute status may have. They suggested that a Marxist feminist hypothesis would suggest that women's vulnerability to violence might be the result of "social instability inherent in capitalist societies" (Martin et al., 2005, p. 323). Indeed within their analyses they found that rape rates were lower where women had higher status according to income, educational attainment, labor force participation, and occupational status (Martin et al., 2005). Additionally, Xie et al. (2012) found a significant and negative relationship between women's absolute status (labor force participation, income-educational attainment, and female voter turnout) and rates of intimate partner violence against women.

A close reading of the literature can also provide the underlying reasoning for backlash. The primary explanation suggests that men, perhaps regardless of their personal status, may view a reduction in the status gap between men and women as a threat to their societal dominance (Whaley, 2001; Chon, 2013). Therefore, men may use violence against women to reassert their dominance or in frustration due to the threat to their status (Chon, 2013; Whaley et al., 2013). Moreover, the men may not focus their violence on

the women who are advancing but rather to accessible women regardless of the individual woman's personal status.

Like with amelioration, it is possible that a backlash relationship could occur due to changes in the absolute status of women. Some scholars have interpreted this relationship as supporting routine activities theory, which could be used to hypothesize a negative relationship between increases in women's status and violence against women (Smith and Chiricos, 2003; Xie et al., 2012a). Routine activities theory posits that victimization is possible when a motivated offender, valuable target, and the absence of a capable guardian exist in the same time and place (Cohen and Felson, 1979). Thus, the increase in gender equality by more women working in the labor force means that women may be more likely to encounter motivated offenders. Thereby through changes in the routine activities of women, increases in gender equality could also be associated with increases in violence against women. While women are at a greater risk for victimization from persons known to them (intimates, family members, and acquaintances) and therefore may experience greater risk at home, this proposition suggests that increased involvement in the public sphere may increase the areas of risk that women occupy. Indeed Xie et al. (2012) found a significant and positive relationship between labor force participation and incidents of violence by known nonintimates and strangers.

Gender inequality and absolute status are investigated in this study so a discussion regarding why different relationships may be expected is warranted. On one hand, significant relationships with absolute status suggest that women's status regardless of men's is related to risk for victimization. On the other hand, significant relationships with gender inequality suggest that changes in women's status relative to men's matter. This

suggests that the differences and similarities between men and women are pertinent. As mentioned in the discussion of the possible mechanisms of the relationship, it is possible that changes in how women relate to men status-wise may be viewed as or represents a shift in the societal power structure. Conversely, significant relationships with absolute status may reflect the importance of exposure and resources. Notably, there could be considerable overlap in these mechanisms. It is possible that inequality and absolute status are related to women's proximity, resources, value, or resources which are in turn related to women's rate of victimization. This study is unable to attend to the mechanisms underlying any significant relationships and therefore I attempted to align my hypotheses with the speculation from previous analyses and by considering additional elements such as race and intersectionality.

Often the explanations regarding amelioration and backlash are presented without discussion of race. As an exception Dugan et al. (2003) acknowledged that their propositions may function differently for different categories of victims. Moreover, Black Feminist scholars have theorized and found support for the influence of race and racism on intimate partner violence against women. Due to the lack of consideration of race and racism in the gender inequality literature, I argue that the underlying mechanisms have envisioned violence against white women more specifically and that the underlying mechanisms may function differently for Black women and women of Hispanic origin. A more nuanced discussion, which incorporates information about racism x patriarchy is warranted to determine how the explanations proposed above can be expected to apply to Black women and women of Hispanic origin. Moreover, regarding violence against white women it is reasonable that either hypothesis is true. It is generally accepted that the

hypotheses are not competing as originally presented and investigated. In fact, the literature has begun to reflect that the hypotheses may be corollary as mentioned above. However, the details of the corollary hypothesis have not been thoroughly modeled. For example, it is possible that the temporal relationship is time-specific and will not always be captured[7]. The hypotheses should be considered with the understanding that the literature presents multiple reasonable hypotheses for the same theory and that many elements continue to be unknown regarding the underlying mechanisms of the hypotheses.

The hypotheses and discussions that follow were formed to address research questions two through four from above. There are no hypotheses presented for research question 1 which refers to the relationship between changes in total women's status and rates of violence against total women. These analyses were included for comparability to extant literature. The hypotheses are focused on subgroup relationships because previous literature indicates that these may be more meaningful.

Hypothesis for Research Question 2

Research Question: Are changes in status (gender inequality and absolute) related to violence against white women at the national- and state-level?

Table depicting the direction of relationship between the noted operationalization of gender inequality and violence against white women by the victim-offender relationship

	Intimate	Known	Stranger

[7] Theoretically if backlash occurs soon after progress and then amelioration begins, it is possible that backlash exists during a specific time period. As a hypothetical example, women's liberation became a large discussion with accompanying progress in the 1970s. Perhaps after this period of change from 1980 to 1985 there was a period of backlash. Then following 1985 it is possible to expect that the backlash was either successful in quelling women's ambitions and opportunities or that women's status persisted and allowed for amelioration. This hypothetical but informed example would mean that the backlash relationship would only be captured during the period of 1980-1985.

Operationalization of Gender Inequality			
White women's status relative to white men's	Amelioration As suggested by Dugan et al. (2003), increased relative status may increase a victim or potential victim's ability to leave and avoid abusive intimate relationships.	Amelioration Increased relative status may allow potential victims greater resources to avoid and distanced themselves from violent-prone acquaintances and family.	Backlash Increased relative status may be viewed as a threat to white men's status.
White women's absolute status	Amelioration Improvements in absolute status may provide more access to resources to leave and avoid abusive relationships.	Amelioration Increased absolute status may allow potential victims greater resources to avoid and distanced themselves from violent-prone acquaintances and family.	Backlash Increased status may increase the presence of white women in spaces more prone to violence (such as public spaces). Additionally, white men may feel threatened by white women's increased status and react with violence toward women unknown to them.

I hypothesize that the relationship between gender inequality between white women and white men and violence against white women is contingent on the relationship to the offender. I anticipate a decrease in violence by intimate partners and people known to the victim and an increase in violence by strangers when gender inequality decreases.

The underlying explanations for amelioration and backlash likely centered the experiences and opportunities of white women. Thereby, the explanations are more likely to speak to the mechanisms in play in the relationship between gender inequality and violence against white women. I predict an amelioration relationship for violence committed by intimate partners and known nonintimate people. However, for stranger violence, I predict backlash since white men may feel particularly threatened by increasing gender equality for white women as Pridemore and Freilich (2005) argue.

Importantly, Whaley (2001) suggested, it is unlikely that this backlash would continue indefinitely nor continuously until equality is reached. Rather, amelioration will likely prevail after a period of backlash specifically as white women may gain enough status to garner power to reduce violence against women. Yet, due to the length and timing of the study period, I predict just a backlash relationship.

In terms of absolute status, I hypothesize that increases in white women's absolute status will be associated with decreases in violence against white women by intimates and nonintimate persons known to the victim. For violence against white women by strangers, I predict backlash or an increase in violence.

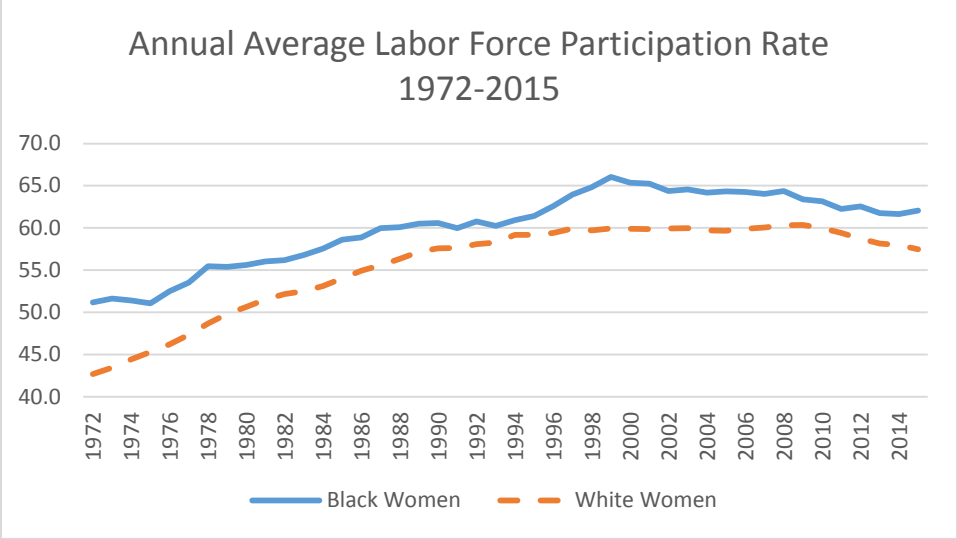
I predict that increases in absolute status will provide greater resources to white women. With these increased resources, white women may be greater equipped and able to leave, avoid, and be less dependent on abusive intimates, family members, and acquaintances.

In terms of stranger violence, I deviate from the previous predictions for violence against white women. **Figure 1** depicts the labor force participation rates for Black and white women from 1972 to 2015.[8] Due to the lower involvement of white women in the labor force, I accept the more commonly discussed underlying explanations for the routine activities hypothesis when considering stranger violence against white women. Specifically, I hypothesize that as white women's status increases, they may begin entering spaces they previously were not commonly in through work and leisure increasing their exposure to potentially violent strangers. Moreover, following the lead of Pridemore and Freilich (2005), it is possible that white men will react violently to white

[8] Note that this figure does not depict the unemployed women who are seeking employment.

women's advances (relative or absolute). Ultimately each of these hypotheses can be inferred from previous studies.

Figure 3.1 Graph of Labor Force Participation Rates for Black and White women



Source: Adapted from http://www.bls.gov/webapps/legacy/cpsatab2.htm. Last modified July 2015 by Bureau of Labor Statistics.

Hypothesis for Research Question 3

Research Question: Are changes in status (gender inequality, intersectional inequality, and absolute) related to violence against Black women at the national- and state-level?

Table depicting the direction of relationship between the noted operationalization of gender inequality and violence against Black women by the victim-offender relationship

	Intimate	Known	Stranger
Operationalization of Gender Inequality			
Black women's status relative to Black men's	Null Black Women's vulnerability to violence is due to their status in society not only in relation to Black men.	Null Black Women's vulnerability to violence is due to their status in society not only in relation to Black men.	Null Black Women's vulnerability to violence is due to their status in society not only in relation to Black men.
Black women's status relative to white men's	Amelioration Relative improvements in status related to white men may represent a	Amelioration Relative improvements in status related to white men may represent a	Amelioration Without changing the structure of racial segregation regardless of potential changes in Black women's societal status Black

	more valuable position for Black women. This change in value may act as protection for all Black women.	more valuable position for Black women. This change in value may act as protection for all Black women.	women are unlikely to leave neighborhoods which maintains proximity with violent-prone strangers. This proximity remains the same regardless of relative status. However, with increases relative to white men's status, Black women may be able to gain power within the segregated communities.
Black women's absolute status	Amelioration Increases in absolute status may provide more resources to leave and avoid violent-prone intimate partners through reducing dependency on these relationships.	Amelioration Increases in absolute status may provide more resources to leave and avoid violent-prone family and acquaintances through reducing dependency on these relationships.	Null Without changing the structure of racial segregation, Black women are unlikely to leave their neighborhoods which may keep them in proximity with violent-prone strangers. This proximity remains similar regardless of absolute status (Alba, Logan, & Bellair, 1994).

In response to the second research question, I hypothesize that changes in the relative status of Black women to Black men are not significantly related to changes in violence against Black women regardless of the relationship between the victim and offender.

Informed by the intersectionality perspective, I argue that Black women's risk for victimization is related to Black women's vulnerable position in society rather than relative status to Black men, who compose another vulnerable group. I argue that a better way to operationalize the vulnerable position of Black women is to compare Black women's status to that of white men. This operationalization better illustrates the structural position that Black women hold in United States' society.

Hence, I propose that changes in gender inequality operationalized relative to white men will be related to changes in trends of violence against Black women regardless of the victim-offender relationship. Specifically, I expect to see amelioration for violence committed by intimate partners, nonintimate persons known to the victim,

and strangers. That is to say when gender inequality decreases and the genders become more equal, violence against Black women will decrease. The opposite would also be true as the genders become more unequal, violence against Black women will increase.

It has been argued that Black women are controlled and restricted by racism x patriarchy in the United States. These systems together may be what places Black women at an increased risk for violence. For instance, the men Black women are in closest proximity to due to historical racial segregation and isolation are men who are more likely to experience, as Bailey (1999) put it, higher levels of frustration and aggressions. Blau and Blau (1982) argued that experiencing inequality, especially according to ascriptive characteristics, can provoke violence and unrest. Anderson (1999) similarly suggested that lack of access to the legal opportunity status structure has pushed the creation of an alternative status attainment system for Black boys and men in urban neighborhoods that rely on the "code of the streets." The code of streets emphasizes violence and respect as integral to status attainment. It is important to point out that most Black boys and men do not resort to violence but this does not negate the possibility that structural disadvantage, inequality, and oppression may be factors that promote the use of violence amongst Black boys and men.[9] In the end, this means that systems of racism x patriarchy may put Black women in vulnerable positions for experiencing violent victimization.

This study posits that measuring Black women's status in relation to the status of white men will better portray, Black women's status in general society. The explanations for the relationship between Black women's status relative to that of white men's is likely

[9] Indeed, it may predispose Black women and girls to violence as well. However, through interviews with youth in Philadelphia Jones (2008) found that gender including ideals related to femininity functions to reduce the lethality and propensity for fighting amongst girls.

contingent on the victim-offender relationship. In terms of intimate partner violence and violence perpetuated by people known to the victims, reduced inequality may elevate Black women's status in the home and family. If Black women's status relative to white men's increases, Black women may gain access to resources and power they previously were denied.[10] This however, may be a hopeful proposition. Potter (2008) found that the Black women in her study did not cite financial concerns as a primary reason for remaining in abusive relationships. Rather, they discussed love, guilt linked to an understanding of the racial oppression that their partners lived with, and wanting to make relationships work. Yet thinking about the exposure and independence explanations offered by Bailey (1999) and Dugan et al. (2003), considerable increases in status may allow Black women to obtain positions of power within the Black women's communities.

My hypothesis predicts this amelioration effect for violence perpetrated by strangers as well. I do not anticipate that Black women will be more able to leave violence-prone residential areas or more exposed to potentially violent strangers through increases in their socioeconomic status. Systems of racism x patriarchy serve to maintain racial segregation and isolation. Shihadeh and Flynn (1996) explained that although racial discrimination in housing was outlawed, integration was not the result. Instead, racial segregation has continued informally through various mechanisms. This continuing racial segregation reduces the likelihood that Black women will move to other communities even as Black women's absolute status, status relative to Black men, or status relative to white men increases. Additionally, Black women's increased status will not increase exposure to potentially violent offenders. Black women's most likely offenders are Black

[10] This may be contingent on how convergence occurs. For instance, if convergence is the result of a decrease in white men's status the outcome may be different. These nuances should be investigated in future research.

men and increases in status will not increase exposure to unknown Black men enough to form a significant relationship. However, it is possible that considerable reductions in the inequality between Black women and white men could promote Black women into more positions of power or increase their value within Black women's communities. Hence, I hypothesize that the data will reveal an amelioration relationship between inequality and violence against Black women by strangers.

In terms of absolute status, I hypothesize that increases in Black women's absolute status will be associated with decreases in violence by intimate partners and nonintimate persons known to the victim. I hypothesize no relationship between increases in Black women's absolute status and stranger violence.

As noted in the introduction to this chapter, it is possible that it is increases in women's absolute status rather than or beyond relative status that influences women's risk for violence. It is possible that just having greater socioeconomic status can act as a protective measure. However, it is also possible that greater socioeconomic status means greater exposure to victimization. I predict that just increases in Black women's absolute status may allow access to resources that can help Black women, avoid, leave, and be less dependent on abusive intimate partners, family members, and acquaintances. This effect may diffuse throughout the community as women support one another, see examples of other women leaving dangerous intimate and familial relationships, or as men recognize the potential of being left. I predict no relationship between absolute status increases and violence committed by strangers. I do not predict an amelioration relationship although some scholars have suggested that increases in absolute status may indicate a greater ability to obtain positions of power or reflect a decrease in economic instability (Martin,

et al., 2005; Xie et al., 2012a). Rather, I maintain that violence against Black women is related to a vulnerable position in society which is best reflected through relative terms. Moreover, I do not anticipate that increases in Black women's socioeconomic status will increase Black women's exposure to potentially violent offenders. Considering Black women's extensive presence in the labor force with men, I do not expect that further increases in socioeconomic status will expose enough additional Black women to produce a significant relationship (see Figure 3.1).

Hypothesis for Research Question 4

Research Question: Are national- and state-level trends in gender inequality related to violence against Hispanic women?

Table depicting the direction of relationship between the noted operationalization of gender inequality and violence against Hispanic women by the victim-offender relationship

	Intimate	Known	Stranger
Operationalization of Gender Inequality			
Hispanic women's status relative to Hispanic men's	Null Women of Hispanic origin's vulnerability to violence is due to their status in society not only in relation to men of Hispanic origin.	Null Women of Hispanic origin's vulnerability to violence is due to their status in society not only in relation to men of Hispanic origin.	Null Women of Hispanic origin's vulnerability to violence is due to their status in society not only in relation to men of Hispanic origin.
Hispanic women's status relative to white men's	Amelioration Relative improvements in status related to white men may represent a more valuable position for Hispanic women. This change in value may act as protection for all Hispanic women.	Amelioration Increased relative status may represent a more valuable position for Hispanic women. This change in value may act as protection for all Hispanic women.	Amelioration While, it may differ by nation of origin, relative increases in status may increase residential mobility for women to higher status areas with lower levels of violence (Alba, Logan, & Bellair, 1994; South, Crowder, & Chavez, 2005a; South, Crowder, & Chavez, 2005b). In addition, women of Hispanic origin may be able to attain positions of power and institute protective measures against violence against

			women.
Women of Hispanic origin's absolute status	Amelioration Improvements in absolute status may provide more access to resources to leave and avoid abusive relationships.	Amelioration Increased absolute status may allow potential victims greater resources to avoid and distanced themselves from violent-prone acquaintances and family.	Amelioration Increased absolute status may allow for geographic mobility into lower poverty areas with lower risk for violent victimization.

Third, I hypothesize no relationship between violence against women of Hispanic origin and gender inequality when operationalized as relative to men of Hispanic origin.

Like Black women, I suggest that, women of Hispanic origin are at risk for violence according to their vulnerability and status in general society. I again argue that considering gender inequality in reference to another oppressed group is less telling than when gender inequality is calculated relative to white men.

I hypothesize that as gender inequality increases between women of Hispanic origin and white men, violence against women of Hispanic origin will decrease (following amelioration) regardless of the victim-offender relationship.

Similar to violence against Black women and violence against white women, I predict amelioration when considering violence against women of Hispanic origin committed by intimates and nonintimate people known to the victim. Drawing again from the literature, decreases in gender inequality between women of Hispanic origin and white men, may translate into Hispanic women holding a higher value in their homes and interpersonal relationships due to the increased status of Hispanic women as a whole. Also, like for violence against Black women, I predict an amelioration relationship for violence committed by strangers. It is possible that as gender inequality decreases for women of Hispanic origin, they will be more able to leave violence prone environments

(including residential areas). Residential segregation works to separate populations of Hispanic origin from other populations as it does with non-Hispanic Black Americans. However, South, Crowder, and Chavez (2005a) found that higher status people of Hispanic origin lived in areas with larger white populations. In addition, this was amplified when the person was a woman. Additionally, Alba, Logan, and (1994) found that people of Hispanic origin lived in areas with lower crime than did non-Hispanic Black Americans. This literature does not speak directly to the issue at hand. However, it does provide some support for the idea that women of Hispanic origin may have greater mobility with increasing status than non-Hispanic Black Americans.

In terms of absolute status, I hypothesize that increases in women of Hispanic origin's absolute status will be associated with decreases in violence against women of Hispanic origin by intimates, nonintimate persons known to the victim, and strangers.

Similar to Black women and white women, I suggest that increases in absolute status for women of Hispanic origin may provide greater resources to women of Hispanic origin. These greater resources may not only allow for the women to avoid, leave, and be less dependent on abusive intimates, family members, and acquaintances, research has also suggested that women of Hispanic origin may be able to buy-into lower poverty and lower crime neighborhoods (Alba et al., 1994; South et al., 2005a; South, Crowder, & Chavez, 2005b).

Again, it is possible that changes in absolute status *and* relative status are related to violence against women. It is also possible that both or either are influenced by race/racism. These hypotheses were developed by considering some of the most commonly mentioned underlying mechanisms for amelioration and backlash (or routine

activities for absolute status) hypotheses. Moreover, these hypotheses were created to suggest which relationships can be expected theoretically. This is important since absolute status and relative status can be related to one another. For example, when women's absolute status increases and men's status does not increase or increases less, women's relative status will increase as well. Additionally, as mentioned, it is possible that financial limitations are not the primary obstacle for Black women in abusive relationships (Potter, 2008). However, these hypotheses provide a framework from which to consider the existing gender inequality literature from an intersectional perspective. Notably, the hypotheses do not differ considerably by subgroup. Indeed the hypotheses presented for Black women and Hispanic women are the same except for the relationship between absolute status and stranger violence. The similarities come from the proposition that intersectional status is operational for violence against Black and Hispanic women. Hence, null relationships are not hypothesized between relative status and violence against Black and Hispanic women. Importantly it is possible that trends of relative status are similar to trends of intersectional status. The differences were influenced by studies that found that residential mobility was related differently to socioeconomic status for Hispanic women than for Black women. The hypotheses presented for violence against white women were influenced by the largely color-blind prior research and the Pridemore and Freilich, 2005 study which suggested that white men may feel particularly threatened by increases in white women's status. Being led by prior research did not provoke drastically different hypotheses across subgroup, rather it contributed to differing explanations which cannot be directly studied in this investigation but warranted consideration.

Considering the literature from an intersectional perspective allows this study to contribute to a growing body of criminological research and potentially add clarity to understanding the role of race. More scholarship is beginning to recognize that other elements of women's identity influence the relationship between changes in inequality and violence against women (Sokoloff & Dupont, 2005). These elements include sexuality, religion, and citizenship status, among others. This study encompasses elements of race, class (through socioeconomic indicators though they will be aggregated), and gender. Rooting this analysis in Black Feminist scholarship and ideology allows for a limited, but thorough intersectional analysis. This sort of analysis advances literature on gender inequality, violence against women, and victimization trends.

CHAPTER FOUR: DATA AND METHODS

To answer the questions posed in Chapter Three, this study investigates the relationship between changes in women's status and changes in violence against women. These investigations are conducted at the national-level and at the state-level. They expand upon previous studies by taking advantage of the annual data available through the SHR and NCS/NCVS. After more than three decades of data collection, these datasets can now support disaggregated longitudinal studies at the national-level. At the state-level it is possible to conduct decade change analyses using homicide data from the SHR.[11] Moreover, this study assesses multiple findings from extant literature. For example, violence against women is disaggregated by victim-offender relationship for Black, white, and Hispanic women.[12] While this disaggregation allows for a deeper investigation of the relationship between gender inequality and violence against women, it is notable that this study attempts to parallel some of the extant literature for comparability. For instance, this study investigates rates that are not disaggregated by race or victim-offender relationship and operationalizes gender inequality in traditional ways. This is particularly important since extant literature has produced mixed findings and this study introduces multiple elements not previously studied together. The purpose of this chapter is to outline the data and analytical techniques used in this study.

NATIONAL-LEVEL

[11] Although the homicide data is available annually, as will be discussed later in this chapter the demographic data was not was available annually for the entire study period. With the collection of the American Community Survey, in the future these analyses may be possible.

[12] Analyses including Hispanic women were only possible at the national-level for non-fatal violence against women.

The national-level analyses use correlation analyses to determine whether there is a relationship between annual trends in various indicators of women's relative and absolute status and violence against women from 1980 to 2012.

Variables and Data

Violence against Women

In the literature, violence against women is often operationalized as one of the following; homicide, beating, rape, all non-fatal violence, etc. using official arrest, official reports to the police, and victimization data.[13] At the national-level, this study operationalizes violence against women in two ways: homicides and non-fatal violence. Homicide data is available from the Supplementary Homicide Report, an official source of data that is part of the Federal Bureau of Investigation's (FBI) Uniform Crime Reporting Program (UCR). These data are compiled by the FBI from reports submitted by police departments. Police departments comply with the program voluntarily and most departments submit data to the UCR regularly (Regoeczi & Banks, 2014). The SHR collects detailed information about all homicides that are known to the police. The data include information on up to 11 victims and 11 offenders associated with a homicide incident (this can vary by year of collection). For each victim, information about their race, age, sex, and ethnicity are included. In terms of race, the victim is able to be coded as Black, white, Asian or Pacific Islander, or American Indian or Alaskan Native. Age

[13] Numerous studies, including ones mentioned here, used official data for rape rates (e.g. Peterson & Bailey, 1992; Bailey, 1999; Whaley, 2001). The use of official data may be problematic since as noted, rape is particularly underreported to the police. While some of the studies justify the use of official data by explaining that as long as the independent variables are not related to the sampling bias introduced by using official data the results would be valid. However, there is no evidence to suggest that gender inequality is not related to the likelihood of a woman reporting her victimization to the police. In order, to avoid this issue and contribute to the literature, this analysis uses official homicide data which is considered more likely to come to the attention of the police. Victimization data is also used where possible for comparison.

tended to be coded continuously although infants and those over the age of 99 were sometimes grouped together. Sex is recorded as a binary variable, where the victim is male or female (likely coded by anatomy). Ethnicity designates whether the victim was identified as Hispanic or not. The same information was collected on the offenders when available. In addition, the relationship between the victim and offender (when known), type of weapon used, and circumstances of the offense were included when available. General information about the offense such as the state and month are also in the data.

For this project, national-level and state-level trends were produced for fatal violence against women. These trends were constructed to reflect homicide rates from 1980 to 2012. The annual data are publicly available through the Inter-Consortium on Political and Social Research (ICPSR).[14] To construct the longitudinal dataset, each year had to be downloaded individually, recoded for consistency across years, and merged together.

These data were chosen because they are longitudinal, can be disaggregated by geographic unit and can be disaggregated by race x gender. However, they are not without limitations. The limitations include the missingness in Hispanic classification, offender information, and for Washington D.C. and Florida.

Data are available from 1975 to 2015; however, ethnicity was not included until the 1980s.[15] To not confound race and ethnicity, data from 1980 to 2012 are used for this project. Importantly, although the SHR began to include ethnicity in 1980, it is missing

[14] Each year is available individually in ICPSR. The datasets used were 9028, 2906, 3162, 3448, 3722, 3999 (2003) 4125, 4465, 4723, 22401, 25103, 27650, 30767, 33527, 34588, 35023. For additional information, see http://www.icpsr.umich.edu/icpsrweb/content/NACJD/guides/ucr.html.

[15] When this project was started only data through 2012 was available. Although ethnicity was included beginning in 1980, it is widely considered unreliable due to missingness and its inference by recording officers.

often. Preliminary investigations suggest that many people who are coded as of Hispanic origin where also coded as white. This suggests that the number of white victims may be inflated by missing consistent ethnicity data. To reduce this misclassification, where the data are available, victims who are coded as of Hispanic origin are separated from white and Black victims. This practice was used to produce three subgroups: non-Hispanic white women, non-Hispanic Black women, and all women.

Additionally, there is substantial missingness in the offender information (Regoeczi & Banks, 2014). This is likely because many homicides remain unsolved. Due to the high proportion of missing offender information the proposed primary analyses only incorporate the victim-offender relationship such as: intimate, known, and stranger. Otherwise, the primary analyses will not use the offender information.

To create homicide rates for each population subgroup, it was necessary to have the annual population for each subgroup. To use a vetted population estimation process, the national-level population figures were gathered from the NCS and NCVS person-level files which are available through the ICPSR.[16] The NCS/NCVS provides estimates based on decennial Censuses for a 12 and older population which can be racially/ethnically deconstructed.[17] For comparable homicide data, incidents involving victims under the age of 12 were removed from the homicide dataset. In the end, total, intimate, known, and stranger homicide rates per 100,000 were created for total women, non-Hispanic white women, and non-Hispanic Black women.

[16] For the NCS/NCVS, the data are available in concatenated form in data set 7635, 8608, 8864, and 36143. For more information, see http://www.icpsr.umich.edu/icpsrweb/NACJD/NCVS/.

[17] Population figures for 1980 to 2005 were obtained from a dataset created by Janet Lauritsen and Karen Heimer. It is available through ICPSR dataset 27082.

Non-fatal violence against women is also investigated at the national-level. Non-fatal violence against women includes all non-fatal violent offenses where the victim was a girl or woman (e.g. assault, rape, sexual assault, robbery).[18] These data were obtained from the National Crime Survey which was revamped into the National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS) in 1993. The NCS/NCVS is a longitudinal survey administered by the U.S. Census Bureau that provides nationally representative estimates for the non-institutionalized population 12 years of age and older. [19] It uses a stratified, multistage cluster sampling technique that randomly selects geographic areas and eventually clusters of households. Once selected, households remain in the sample for 3 and a half years.[20] All members in the household ages 12 and up[21] are interviewed every six months about their experiences in the previous six months.[22] Respondents are asked a series of questions about themselves and whether they experienced a series of behaviors. Since the survey was designed to elicit sensitive information about crime victimization, it uses behavior-specific probes. Importantly, behavior-specific probes do not rely on the

[18] This operationalization is consistent with Xie et al. (2012). Commonly, violence against women is conceptualized as intimate partner assault, rape, and sexual assault (Kruttschnitt et al., 2004). A broader understanding of violence against women is theoretically appropriate since the theory is not clear about the scope. Additionally, the suggestion that women may be exposed to more risky situations due to status increases could apply to violence that do not occur within an intimate relationship.

[19] The response rate and sample size for the survey varies from year to year. However, Truman and Langton (2015) reported that for the 2014 survey, the response rate was 84% for households and 87% for people. Approximately 90,000 households, and 158,000 people 12 years old and older were interviewed.

[20] It is noteworthy that it is the household being sampled not the individuals within the household. Therefore, if the initial respondents move, the household remains in the sample for its full duration and thus the new residents would be interviewed in the subsequent waves.

[21] Proxy interviews, interviews completed by a parent about the child's experiences, may be conducted for children aged 12 and 13 if a qualified household member elects to do so. Proxy interviews may also be conducted for people not mentally or physically capable of participating directly and for individuals who are absent for the entire inclusion period.

[22] Initial and fifth interviews are conducted in person while all other interviews are conducted over the telephone. In addition, interviews are bounded to prevent incidents from being duplicated in multiple time periods except initial household interviews which are not included in estimates.

respondent recognizing that their experience was a crime. When incidents are reported, several questions related to the incident and offender(s) are asked.[23]

These data were chosen because they can provide additional information about the relationship between gender inequality and violence against women. For instance, these data can provide subgroup trends by victim-offender relationship similar to those produced using the SHR but with the addition of violence against Hispanic women. However, these trends reflect the rate of non-fatal violence which includes rape, assault, and robbery against women. It is possible that non-fatal violence against women is related to gender inequality differently than fatal violence against women. These data are able to produce trends that reflect the same time period, 1980 to 2012, adding to the comparability. Notably, due to the sampling method in addition to constructing rates for Black women, white women, and total women, these data allow for the construction of non-fatal violence against women of Hispanic origin rates.[24] These data are also not without limitations. The sampling method makes it difficult to produce reliable estimates for violence against women when disaggregated by race, ethnicity, *and* crime type.[25] Additionally, the NCS/NCVS is only publicly available for this period at the national-level.

Much of the extant analyses were conducted at sub-national-levels of aggregation including: state, metropolitan area, city, or county. This is likely due to the dearth of reliable national-level data that could be disaggregated and theoretical foundations that

[23] One respondent per household is designated as the household respondent and reports crimes against the house.
[24] 1980 through 2005 data can be downloaded from ICPSR dataset 27082 where Lauritsen and Heimer have already constructed these trends.
[25] If necessary multiple years will be pooled to increase the reliability of the estimates for the national-level data that is disaggregated by race and ethnicity.

did not address the role of race x gender. Yet, it is unknown at what level of aggregation the relationship between gender inequality and violence against women functions meaning that national-level analyses are warranted. Now that more data is available from these two publicly-available sources it is possible to investigate the relationship at the national-level. Moreover, this analysis is useful because it provides a way of assessing the utility of the NCS/NCVS for investigating the relationship between trends of gender inequality and violence against women. Since, the NCS/NCVS are only available at the national-level it is valuable to be able to compare findings using the NCS/NCVS with findings using the SHR. Additionally, since the fatal violence against women data from the SHR are available at the state-level, state-level analyses will be conducted to assess whether the relationship differs at the state-level which may speak to the scope of the NCS/NCVS in investigating this phenomenon.

At the state-level, violence against women is operationalized as homicides recorded by SHR. I compiled the state-level homicide data using the same process as for the national-level analyses except that I included women murdered by offenders whose relationships were unknown to them and collapsed the files by year and state. Hence, the homicide data is available annually. However, as will be discussed in the next section, the demographic data was not available for the subgroups annually for the full study period. Thus, I created three-year averages for each decade. 1980 is represented by data from 1980-1982 (as an exception since I began the study with 1980). 1990, 2000, and 2010 are represented by the year prior, the decade year, and the year following. A few states were missing all or some of the needed years of data. States that had valid data for at least two of the three needed years were included with two-year averages instead of three-year

averages. This was true for Iowa and Maine which were each missing data for 1991, Kansas which is missing data for 1999, and Alabama which is missing data for 2011. States that were missing more than one of the three data points for any three-year average were left as missing data for that decade. Washington, D.C. is missing data for 1999 and 2000 and therefore is missing for the 2000 data point. Florida is missing data for the entire three-year period for 1990, 2000, and 2010.[26]

Gender Inequality

The primary independent variable of this study is gender inequality, which I refer to as relative status. Sugarman and Straus defined gender equality as "women having the same level of status attainment as men" (1988: 263). This definition indicates that gender inequality is signified through relative status measurements, but is vague about what constitutes "status." Moreover, many of the articles that have investigated the relationship between gender inequality and violence against women did not explicitly define gender inequality. Instead, a definition could be inferred through their discussions regarding the theoretical basis of the analysis or how they operationalized gender inequality. Commonly, articles have suggested that gender inequality reflects the gendered economic stratification in society or specifically the relative economic disadvantage that females experience in contrast to males (Bradley & Khor, 1993; Martin, Vieraitis, & Britto, 2006; Peterson & Bailey, 1992; Straus, 1994; Vieraitis, Britto, & Kovandzic, 2007; Xie, Heimer, & Lauritsen, 2012; Whaley, Messner, & Veysey, 2013). Indeed within criminology, gender inequality is typically operationalized with socioeconomic indicators

[26] I investigated using WISQARS to supplement the missing homicide data. However, the rates obtained from WISQARS differed from the available SHR data considerably. In addition, since WISQARS includes information from death certificates it was not possible to disaggregate the rates by victim-offender relationship.

calculated to reflect women's status relative to men's (Titterington, 2006). To simplify the already broad scope of this investigation, I have elected to use indicators in line with the bulk of the extant gender inequality literature. Specifically, gender inequality is being measured as women's status relative to men's in educational attainment, employment, and median wage. For white women, Black, and Hispanic women, this measure was calculated intra-racially meaning that white women divided by white men, Black women divided by Black men, and Hispanic women divided by Hispanic men. To consider intersectionality, I also included an intersectional status version for Black women and Hispanic women. Intersectional status reflects the idea that women of color's experiences and risk is influenced by structural power that reflects both their race and gender. Therefore, rather than compare the status of women of color to the status of men of color, who form another oppressed group, I compare their status to the status of white men. Intersectional status for Black women is measured by the status of Black women divided by the status of white men and for Hispanic women is the status of Hispanic women divided by the status of white men.

Inequality in educational attainment is measured as the percent of women over the age of 25 who completed 4 years or more of college divided by the percent of men over the age of 25 who completed 4 years or more of college. This data was gathered from the Current Population Survey (CPS) which can be accessed through the Census Bureau's website. CPS began in a different form in the 1940s. It became CPS and part of the Census Bureau in the 1940s. In 1959, the Census Bureau continued to collect the data but Bureau of Labor Statistics took over the publishing and analysis. CPS contains a variety of social, demographic, and economic indicators.

Inequality in employment is measured by the percent of women 16 years old and older that are employed in the civilian labor force by the percent of men 16 years old and older that are employed. These data were also obtained from CPS through the Census Bureau website.

Inequality in median wage was measured as the median weekly wage of full-time and salary women workers divided by the median weekly wage of full-time and salary men workers. I copied this data from Table 18 of the Highlights of Women's Earnings 2012 report produced by the Bureau of Labor Statistics.

These variables are used at the national- and state-level; however, the state-level data was downloaded from the Integrated Public Use Microdata Series (IPUMS; Flood, King, Ruggles, & Warren, 2015). IPUMS houses a wealth of Census and survey data that cover a wide array of characteristics. With the American Community Survey, an annual survey conducted by the Census Bureau to provide ongoing characteristic data, annual data has been available at the state-level since 2000. However, rather than limit the state-level investigation to 2000 to 2012, I chose to analyze decennial panel data (1980, 1990, 2000, and 2010). Using the decennial panels incorporates more variation in homicide than focusing on the 2000 to 2012 would have.

Absolute Status

Some scholars suggest that changes in women's absolute status are related to their risk for victimization. Changes in absolute status reflect changes in women's status regardless of the changes in men's status. Educational attainment, employment, and median wage are used to indicate women's absolute status. Specifically, the numerator of the above inequality measures are the absolute status measures.

General Economic Status

The national economy has been found to be related to trends of crime and victimization. Although, this study focuses on gender-specific socio-economic measures, general economic measures are also investigated at the national-level. The following three indicators are included: Gross Domestic Product (GDP), Consumer Sentiment Index (CSI), and percent in poverty. The Gross Domestic Product is used to quantify the economic productivity of a country by measuring the goods and services produced. This information is tracked by the Bureau of Economic Analysis under the U.S. Department of Commerce. The Consumer Sentiment Index is created from a survey of consumers about their attitudes and understanding of the economy and economic trends. This measure reflects consumer optimism about the economy and is available through the University of Michigan's Survey Research Center. The percent in poverty variable measures the percent of the population living below the poverty line. This data is available from the U.S. Census.

Analyses

At the national- and state-level, this study asks if changes in gender inequality are related to changes in violence against Black women, violence against white women, and violence against Hispanic Women. To answer this question at the national-level, bivariate correlation analyses will be used to determine whether first-differenced trends of gender inequality, intersectional inequality, absolute status, and general economic status and first-differenced trends of violence against women (fatal and non-fatal) are significantly correlated with one another. The violence trends will be disaggregated by race and

victim-offender relationship. A significant correlation suggests that changes in one trend appear to be similar and related to changes in the other trend.

At the state-level, this study asks the same question but uses cross-sectional panel data regressions to investigate. Panel data analyses using fixed effects are used to assess whether the indicators of gender inequality, intersectional inequality (for Black women's homicide), or absolute status are related longitudinally to rates of violence against women.[27] Each type of status is run alone. Although the statistical power improves for the state-level analyses, the models must still be carefully specified.[28] This is why rather than run this regression with all of the variables included, the investigation layers in the independent variables. For example, for gender inequality the decennial rates of homicide are regressed on the indicators of gender inequality. Indicators of intersectional inequality and absolute status are not included in the same model.

This analysis will contribute to the field in multiple ways. First, this analysis, unlike much of the literature, will investigate two forms of violence against women: fatal and non-fatal. It is possible that the relationship between gender inequality and violence against women differs by the type of violence. This analysis will be able to start that discussion by comparing results at the national-level and encourage further research if warranted. Second, this analysis will investigation the relationship at two levels of geographic aggregation: national and state. While much of the literature has conducted state, city, metropolitan area, *or* county analyses, this analysis will conduct state *and* national-level analyses. Third, this analysis will use two different data sources for violence against women: official and victimization. By using official data from the SHR

[27]

[28] For the national-level analyses, N=32, but for the state-level decade panel analyses N=51 and for the state-level time series analysis N=204.

and survey data from the NCS and NCVS, the analysis will be able to speak to potential differences between fatal and non-fatal forms of violence against women. The SHR will be used to conduct state-level analyses as well. Significant and substantial findings at the state-level may indicate a limitation with the NCS/NCVS data which is only publicly available at the national-level and therefore cannot support analyses at other geographic levels. Fourth, this study will blend key recommendations from previous analyses together. Specifically, the proposed analysis will incorporate longitudinal studies that studies whether the trends change together, studies that found race-specific relationships, and literature that suggested that the victim-offender relationship matters. In blending this literature, the study applies an intersectionality perspective to draw hypotheses and guide the research design. As a result, this study will advance the literature by being able to provide recommendations regarding future data collections and research questions. Specifically, this analysis may make important recommendations pertaining to the importance of collecting demographic data by race x gender subgroups and at various geographic-levels. It may also provide recommendations regarding at which geographic-level victimization data should be available. The findings will help guide future research and sound practice and policy initiatives that can better serve all communities including marginalized communities.

CHAPTER FIVE: NATIONAL-LEVEL ANALYSES

INTRODUCTION

One of the major contributions of this research project is the inclusion of national-level analyses. As noted, much of the extant literature uses subnational cross-sectional data to investigate the relationship between gender inequality and violence against women. To the contrary, this research project contains national- and state-level longitudinal analyses. This chapter will discuss why a national-level analysis is warranted and present the national-level findings.

Much of the extant literature that investigates the relationship between gender inequality and violence against women is sub-national (at the state-, city-, or less commonly the county-level) and cross-sectional. Yet, the theory is generally cited as suggesting that *changes* in gender inequality are related to *changes* in violence against women without mentioning the geographic-level of the relationship. Moreover, extant longitudinal analyses suggest that the relationship between gender inequality and violence against women may be temporal, changing over time (Bailey, 1999; Whaley, 2001; Xie et al., 2012). For comparability, the present study uses indicators of gender inequality that are like extant research, such as employment levels, wage, and educational attainment, while investigating this relationship on the national-level longitudinally.

This project makes additional contributions by comparing multiple forms of violence and disaggregating by race and victim-offender relationship. First, rape, assault, homicide, or non-fatal violence tends to be the focus of analysis without a comparison in extant literature. At the national-level it is possible to study homicide and non-fatal violence against women by using two datasets, the Supplementary Homicide Reports

(SHR) and the National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS). This is important because it is not yet known if the relationship between gender inequality and violence against women is specific to fatal or non-fatal forms of violence. Second, extant literature and theory suggests the importance of race and gender for explaining and understanding violence. Nevertheless, few studies have incorporated race into their analyses. The studies that have incorporated race into gender inequality and violence against women studies found that the relationship differs by race (Vieraitis & Williams, 2002; Eschholz & Vieraitis, 2004; Pridemore & Freilich, 2005). This project incorporates these findings into a national-level longitudinal analysis by drawing from the theory of intersectionality as introduced by Black Feminists. The theory of intersectionality is used to determine the operationalization of race-specific gender inequality. Third, extant literature has also suggested that the victim-offender relationship may be related to the explanation of violence (Xie et al., 2012). This can be investigated longitudinally with national-level data for homicide and non-fatal violence. The subcategories of intimate, known, and stranger are used. Ultimately, the national-level component of this analysis incorporates findings from extant literature into a longitudinal analysis that can be compared to existing cross-sectional analyses. This produces an analysis that complements and builds upon extant literature possibly adding some clarity to the inconclusive body of literature.

The objective of this chapter is to investigate whether changes in status are related to changes in violence against women when considering race, victim-offender relationship, and fatality. Specifically, this chapter answers the following questions:

1. Are changes in status (gender inequality and absolute) related to violence against total women at the national-level?

    a. Is the relationship the same for all forms of violence (e.g. total, intimate, known, stranger)?
    b. Is this relationship the same when investigating homicide and non-fatal violence?
2. Are changes in status (gender inequality and absolute) related to violence against white women at the national-level?
    a. Is the relationship the same for all forms of violence (e.g. total, intimate, known, stranger)?
    b. Is this relationship the same when investigating homicide and non-fatal violence?
3. Are changes in status (gender inequality, intersectional inequality, and absolute) related to violence against Black women at the national-level?
    a. Is the relationship the same for all forms of violence (e.g. total, intimate, known, stranger)?
    b. Is this relationship the same when investigating homicide and non-fatal violence?
4. Are changes in status (gender inequality, intersectional inequality, and absolute) related to violence against Hispanic women at the national-level?
    a. Is the relationship the same for all forms of violence (e.g. total, intimate, known, stranger)?

To answer these questions, I investigated national-level homicide, non-fatal violence, and demographic data from 1980 to 2012 with correlation analyses.

DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS

Violence Against Women Trends

The data used in this analysis reveal support for the conclusions that the "great crime decline" was universal but differed in magnitude by subgroup (Levitt, 2004, Parker, 2008). In particular, there are differences by race, victim-offender relationship, and fatality. These patterns are apparent in Tables 5.1 through 5.14. The odd-numbered tables show the percent change from decade to decade by population subgroup and victim-offender relationship. The even-numbered tables show the rates (per 100,000) at each decade and add context to the odd-numbered tables.

Table 5.1 Percent Change in Rates of Fatal Violence against Total Women by Victim-Offender Relationship

	1980-1990	**1990-2000**	**2000-2012**	**1980-2012**
Total	-14%	-39%	-23%	-59%
Intimate	-19%	-29%	-13%	-50%
Known	-9%	-44%	-16%	-57%
Stranger	-12%	-46%	-40%	-71%

Total Women

Fatal Violence

Table 5.1 shows that all forms of total women's homicide declined throughout the study period including total, intimate, known, and stranger. From 1980 to 1990, declines in total women's intimate homicide (-19%) were the greatest. From 1990 to 2000 and 2000 to 2012, total women's stranger homicide (-46% and -40%) had the largest decline.

Decades of declines culminated in high declines over the study period (1980-2012). For example, total women's total homicide declined 59%. Stranger homicide for total women (-71%) declined the most for the entire study period. The lowest decline in total women's homicide was for intimate homicide (-50%). Total women's known homicide declined 57%.

Table 5.2 illustrates that among total women homicides for which the victim-offender relationship is recorded, rates of intimate homicide (1.4, 1.2, 0.8, 0.7) were slightly yet consistently higher than known (1.1, 1.0, 0.6, 0.5) and stranger (0.4, 0.3, 0.2, 0.1) homicide throughout the study period. In addition, total women's rate of stranger homicide was consistently lower than total women's rate of intimate and known homicide. Notably, this is true only among the incidents of homicide for which the victim-offender relationship is known. Notably, approximately 29%, 31%, 27%, and 24% of total women's homicides in 1980, 1990, 2000, and 2012 respectively involved an unknown victim-offender relationship. It is possible that incidents for which the victim-offender relationship is not known are predominately stranger incidents and therefore, would change this interpretation.

Table 5.2 Rates (per 100,000) of Total Women's Homicide by Victim-Offender Relationship for 1980, 1990, 2000, and 2012

	1980	**1990**	**2000**	**2012**
Total	4.1	3.6	2.2	1.7
Intimate	1.4	1.2	0.8	0.7
Known	1.1	1.0	0.6	0.5
Stranger	0.4	0.3	0.2	0.1
Unknown	1.2	1.1	0.6	0.4

Non-Fatal Violence

Table 5.3 shows that during each decade most forms of non-fatal violence against total women declined. The exception was intimate non-fatal violence against total women which increased 22% from 1980 to 1990. During the same period, stranger non-fatal violence against total women decreased 20% and known non-fatal violence decreased 2%. From 1990 to 2000, stranger

Table 5.3 Percent Change in Rates of Non-Fatal Violence against Total Women by Victim-Offender Relationship

	1980-1990	**1990-2000**	**2000-2012**	**1980-2012**
Total	-6%	-34%	-34%	-59%
Intimate	22%	-37%	-34%	-49%
Known	-2%	-20%	-37%	-51%
Stranger	-20%	-48%	-36%	-73%

non-fatal violence against total women experienced the largest decrease with a 48% decline. Later, from 2000 to 2012, known non-fatal violence against total women declined the most with 37%.

Table 5.4 Rates (per 100,000) of Non-Fatal Violence against Total Women by Victim-Offender Relationship for 1980, 1990, 2000, and 2012

	1980	**1990**	**2000**	**2012**
Total	4090	3850	2530	1670
Intimate	710	870	550	360
Known	1400	1380	1100	690
Stranger	1860	1500	780	500

Total non-fatal violence against total women declined 34% from 1990 to 2000 and from 2000 to 2012; this decline was larger than the 6% decline from 1980 to 1990. Over the study period, total non-fatal violence against total women declined 59%, intimate non-fatal violence declined 49%, known non-fatal violence declined 50.6%, and stranger non-fatal violence declined 73%. The larger decline in stranger non-fatal violence against total women is suggested by looking at the rates as well. Table 5.4 shows that in terms of the rates, stranger non-fatal violence against total women was more common than intimate and known non-fatal violence against total women in 1980 and 1990 with rates of 1860 and 1500 per 100,000 respectively. By 2000 and 2012, known violence was the highest with rates of 1100 and 690 per 100,000 respectively.

White Women

Fatal Violence

Each form of white women's homicide declined throughout the study period (see Table 5.5). White women's stranger homicide declined more than white women's known and intimate homicide throughout the study period. From 1980 to 1990 and 2000 to 2012, white women's known homicide declined the least of white women's homicides and from 1990 to 2000, intimate homicide declined the least. Notably, from 2000 to 2012, white women's known (0%) and intimate (-1%) homicide remained nearly stable with less than one percent declines. For total women's total homicide, the greatest decline occurred from 1990 to 2000 with a 30% decline. Over the study period, white women's total homicide declined 49%, intimate homicide declined 29%, known homicide declined 34%, and stranger homicide declined 77%. Moreover, in terms of rates, among white women's homicides for which the victim-offender relationship was recorded, intimate homicide was more common than known and stranger homicide each decade (see Table 5.6). For white women, stranger homicide was the least common each decade. Approximately 33%, 30%, 25%, and 14% of white women's homicide in 1980, 1990, 2000, and 2012 respectively involved an unknown victim-offender relationship marking a considerable decline over the study period.

Table 5.5 Percent Change in Rates of White Women's Homicide by Victim-Offender Relationship

	1980-1990	1990-2000	2000-2012	1980-2012
Total	-17%	-30%	-12%	-49%
Intimate	-11%	-20%	-1%	-29%
Known	-9%	-27%	0%	-34%
Stranger	-27%	-43%	-44%	-77%

Table 5.6 Rates (per 100,000) of White Women's Homicide by Victim-Offender Relationship for 1980, 1990, 2000, and 2012

	1980	1990	2000	2012
Total	2.7	2.3	1.6	1.4
Intimate	0.9	0.8	0.7	0.7
Known	0.6	0.6	0.4	0.4
Stranger	0.3	0.2	0.1	0.1
Unknown	0.9	0.7	0.4	0.2

Non-Fatal Violence

Each form of non-fatal violence against white women declined during the study period except intimate (19%) and known (7%) non-fatal violence, which increased from 1980 to 1990 (see Table 5.7). Throughout the study period, stranger non-fatal violence against white women experienced the greatest declines. The greatest decline in total non-fatal violence against white women was 36% from 2000 to 2010. Following would be the slightly lower decline of 35% from 1990 to 2000. From the beginning of the study period to the end, total non-fatal violence against white women declined 61%, intimate non-fatal violence declined 54%, known non-fatal violence declined 46%, and stranger non-fatal violence declined 75%.

Table 5.7 Percent Change in Rates of Non-Fatal Violence against White Women by Victim-Offender Relationship

	1980-1990	1990-2000	2000-2012	1980-2012
Total	-5%	-35%	-36%	-61%
Intimate	19%	-37%	-39%	-54%
Known	7%	-16%	-40%	-46%
Stranger	-23%	-45%	-42%	-75%

Table 5.8 Rates (per 100,000) of Non-Fatal Violence against White Women by Victim-Offender Relationship for 1980, 1990, 2000, and 2012

	1980	1990	2000	2012
Total	3940	3760	2440	1550
Intimate	730	870	550	340
Known	1240	1330	1110	670
Stranger	1820	1410	770	450

In terms of rates, stranger non-fatal violence against white women was more common than other forms of non-fatal violence against white women in 1980, 1990, and 2012 (see Table 5.8). In 2000, known non-fatal violence against white women was the most common. Intimate non-fatal violence against white women was the least common form of non-fatal violence against white women throughout the study period.

Black Women

Fatal Violence

Black women's homicide of all types declined throughout the study period except stranger homicide from 1980 to 1990, which increased 15% (see Table 5.9). From 1980 to 1990, Black women's intimate (-29%) homicide declined more than Black women's known and stranger homicide. From 1990 to 2000, Black women's known homicide decreased the most with 59% and intimate violence decreased the least with 44% From 2000 to 2012, Black women's stranger homicide decreased the most with 38% and intimate homicide continued to decrease the least with 28%.

Table 5.9 Percent Change in Rates of Black Women's Homicide by Victim-Offender Relationship

	1980-1990	1990-2000	2000-2012	1980-2012
Total	-10%	-50%	-33%	-69%
Intimate	-29%	-44%	-28%	-72%
Known	-10%	-59%	-31%	-75%
Stranger	15%	-51%	-38%	-65%

Declines in Black women's total homicide were greatest from 1990 to 2000 with 50%. Over the entire study period, Black women's total homicide decreased by 69%, intimate homicide decreased 72%, known homicide decreased 75%, and stranger homicide decreased 65%. When victim-offender relationship was known intimate homicide was the most common form of Black women's homicide in 1980, 2000, and 2012 (see Table 5.10). In 1990, Black women's known homicide was the most common. Black women's stranger homicide was the least common during each decade. Approximately 28%, 33%, 35%, and 36% of Black women's homicide in 1980, 1990, 2000, and 2012 respectively

Table 5.10 Rates (per 100,000) of Black Women's Homicide by Victim-Offender Relationship for 1980, 1990, 2000, and 2012

	1980	1990	2000	2012
Total	13.7	12.4	6.2	4.2
Intimate	4.7	3.3	1.9	1.3
Known	4.4	4.0	1.6	1.1
Stranger	0.8	1.0	0.5	0.3
Unknown	3.8	4.1	2.2	1.5

involved an unknown victim-offender relationship. Unlike for white women, unknown homicides against Black women increase over the study period.

Non-Fatal Violence

Each form of non-fatal violence against Black women declined throughout the study period. From 1980 to 1990, intimate non-fatal violence against Black women declined 21%, which was more than known and stranger non-fatal violence (see Table 5.11). From 1990 to 2000 (-37%) and 2000 to 2012 (-45%), stranger non-fatal violence against Black women declined more than the other forms of non-fatal violence against Black women. Known non-fatal violence against Black women declined the least among the forms of non-fatal violence against Black women from 1980 to 1990 (-3%) and 1990 to 2000 (-14%). From 2000 to 2012, intimate non-fatal violence against Black women had the smallest decline with 8%. The decline in total non-fatal violence against Black women was greater from 2000 to 2012 with 33% than during the other periods. Over the study period, total non-fatal violence against Black women declined 59%, intimate non-fatal violence declined 51%, known non-fatal violence declined 53%, and stranger non-fatal violence declined 72%.

Table 5.11 Percent Change in Rates of Non-Fatal Violence against Black Women by Victim-Offender Relationship

	1980-1990	1990-2000	2000-2012	1980-2012
Total	-15%	-29%	-33%	-59%
Intimate	-21%	-34%	-8%	-51%
Known	-3%	-14%	-44%	-53%
Stranger	-19%	-37%	-45%	-72%

Table 5.12 Rates (per 100,000) of Non-Fatal Violence against Black Women by Victim-Offender Relationship for 1980, 1990, 2000, and 2012

	1980	1990	2000	2012
Total	5470	4670	3330	2220
Intimate	1100	870	580	530
Known	1900	1850	1590	900
Stranger	2130	1740	1090	600

In terms of rates, the rate of stranger non-fatal violence against Black women was higher than intimate and known violence in 1980 (see Table 5.12). Known non-fatal

violence against Black women was the more common than intimate and stranger non-fatal violence in 1990, 2000, and 2010. Intimate non-fatal violence against Black women was the least common throughout the study period.

Hispanic Women

Non-Fatal Violence

From 1990 to 2000 and 2000 to 2010 all forms of non-fatal violence against Hispanic women declined (see Table 5.13). Conversely, from 1980 to 1990 only stranger non-fatal violence against Hispanic women declined (-11%). Intimate and known non-fatal violence against Hispanic women increased 52% and 7% respectively from 1980 to 1990. While all forms of non-fatal violence against Hispanic women were decline from 1990 to 2000, stranger non-fatal violence against Hispanic women declined more than intimate (-40%) and known (-20%) non-fatal violence against Hispanic women with 63%. From 2000 to 2012, this shifted to known non-fatal violence against Hispanic women decreasing the most with 42% and stranger non-fatal violence against Hispanic women decreasing the least with 26%. Total non-fatal violence against Hispanic women decreased the most from 1990 to 2000 with 47% compared to other time periods. Over the study period, total non-fatal violence against Hispanic women decreased 63%, intimate non-fatal violence against Hispanic women decreased 42%, known non-fatal violence against Hispanic decreased 50%, and stranger non-fatal violence against Hispanic women decreased 75%. According to rates of non-fatal violence against

Table 5.13 Percent Change in Rates of Non-Fatal Violence against Hispanic Women by Victim-Offender Relationship

	1980-1990	**1990-2000**	**2000-2012**	**1980-2012**
Total	2%	-47%	-32%	-63%
Intimate	52%	-40%	-37%	-42%
Known	7%	-20%	-42%	-50%
Stranger	-11%	-63%	-26%	-75%

Hispanic women, stranger violence was the most common form of non-fatal violence against Hispanic women in 1980, 1990, and 2012 (2300, 2040, 570 per 100,000 respectively, see Table 5.14). In 2000, known non-fatal violence against Hispanic women was the most common (960 per 100,000). Intimate non-fatal violence against Hispanic women was the least common form of non-fatal violence against Hispanic women each decade.

Table 5.14 Rates (per 100,000) of Non-Fatal Violence against Hispanic Women by Victim-Offender Relationship for 1980, 1990, 2000, and 2012

	1980	**1990**	**2000**	**2012**
Total	4320	4390	2350	1590
Intimate	610	920	560	350
Known	1120	1200	960	560
Stranger	2300	2040	760	570

Differences between Homicide and Non-Fatal Trends

Although both fatal and non-fatal violence experienced declines over the study period there were four important differences between homicide and non-fatal violence. First, some forms of non-fatal violence increased from 1980 to 1990 for several subgroups. However, for homicide, this was only true for stranger violence against Black women. Second, at times the type of violence that experienced the greatest decline during each period differed for homicide and non-fatal violence. For instance, from 1990 to 2000 known homicide against Black women decreased more than intimate and stranger homicide and stranger non-fatal violence decreased more than intimate and known non-fatal violence. This also occurred from 2000 to 2012 for violence against total women. Total women's stranger homicide and known non-fatal violence decreased more than other forms of homicide and non-fatal violence respectively. Third, for homicide the percent decline from 2000 to 2012 was lower than from 1990 to 2000. To the contrary, for non-fatal violence some subgroups had lower declines (Hispanic women), greater

declines (white women and Black women), and maintained nearly the same level of decline (total women). Lastly, perhaps the most drastic difference between fatal and non-fatal violence is the magnitude. Rates of non-fatal violence are considerably higher than rates of homicide.

Cross-Racial Comparisons

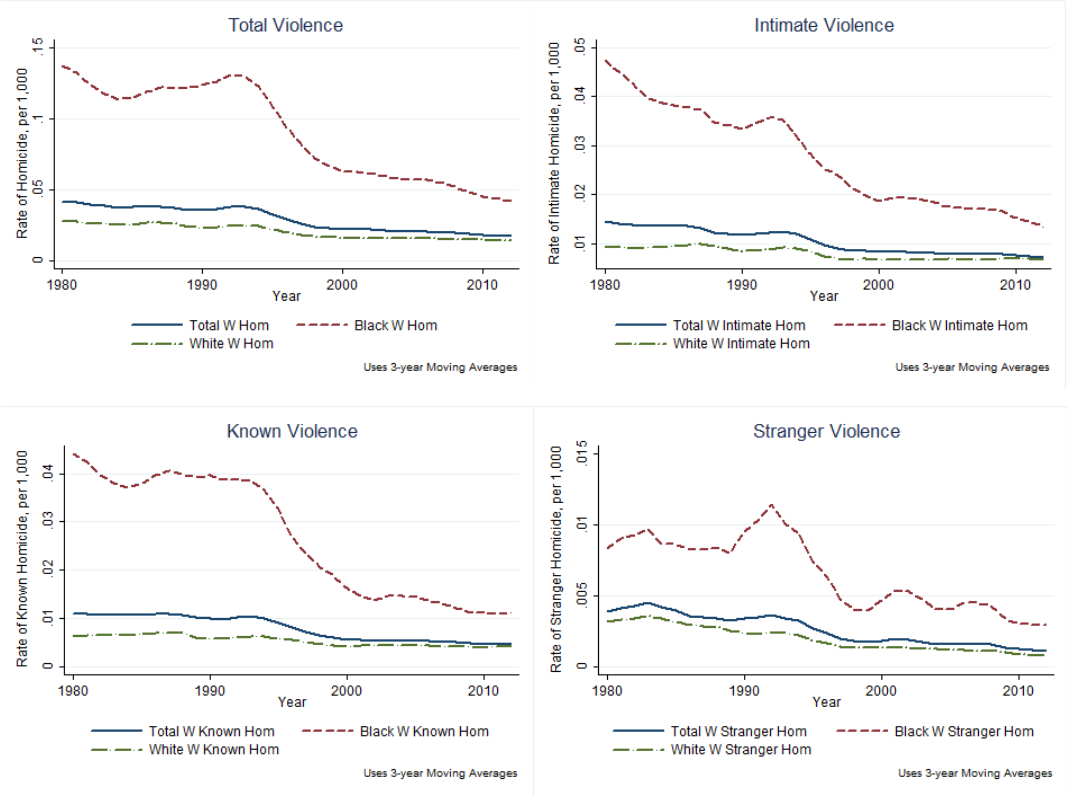
Another way to explore the trends is through graphs. Figure 1 and 2 present graphs of the violence against women trends by victim-offender relationship and race. Unlike Table 5.1 through 5.14, the graphs illustrate changes within the decades. This is important because the decade periods used in Table 1 are arbitrary. In fact, using different breaking points to calculate the percent change could change our understanding of the study period. To the contrary, the graphs depict the annual shifts that occur throughout the study period. Therefore, the graphs are able to show variation in the timing of the changes across race and victim-offender relationship. For example, the increases in the early 1990s followed in the mid-1990s by the great crime decline are evident in the graphs but hidden in the percent change tables. While this pattern occurs for each trend, the timing and magnitude differs by race and victim-offender relationship. In the following section, the graphs are used to facilitate a discussion of cross-racial variations in violence trends.

Homicide

The graphs illustrate that Black women experienced noticeably higher rates of homicide than all women combined and white women for all forms of violence (see Figure 5.1). In addition, the similarity between the total women and white women homicide trends are apparent. This is due to the fact that white women are the majority of

the total women population and therefore have a considerable influence on total women figures.

Figure 5.1: Graphs of Fatal Violence Against Women by Race Sorted by Victim-Offender Relationship, 1980-2012

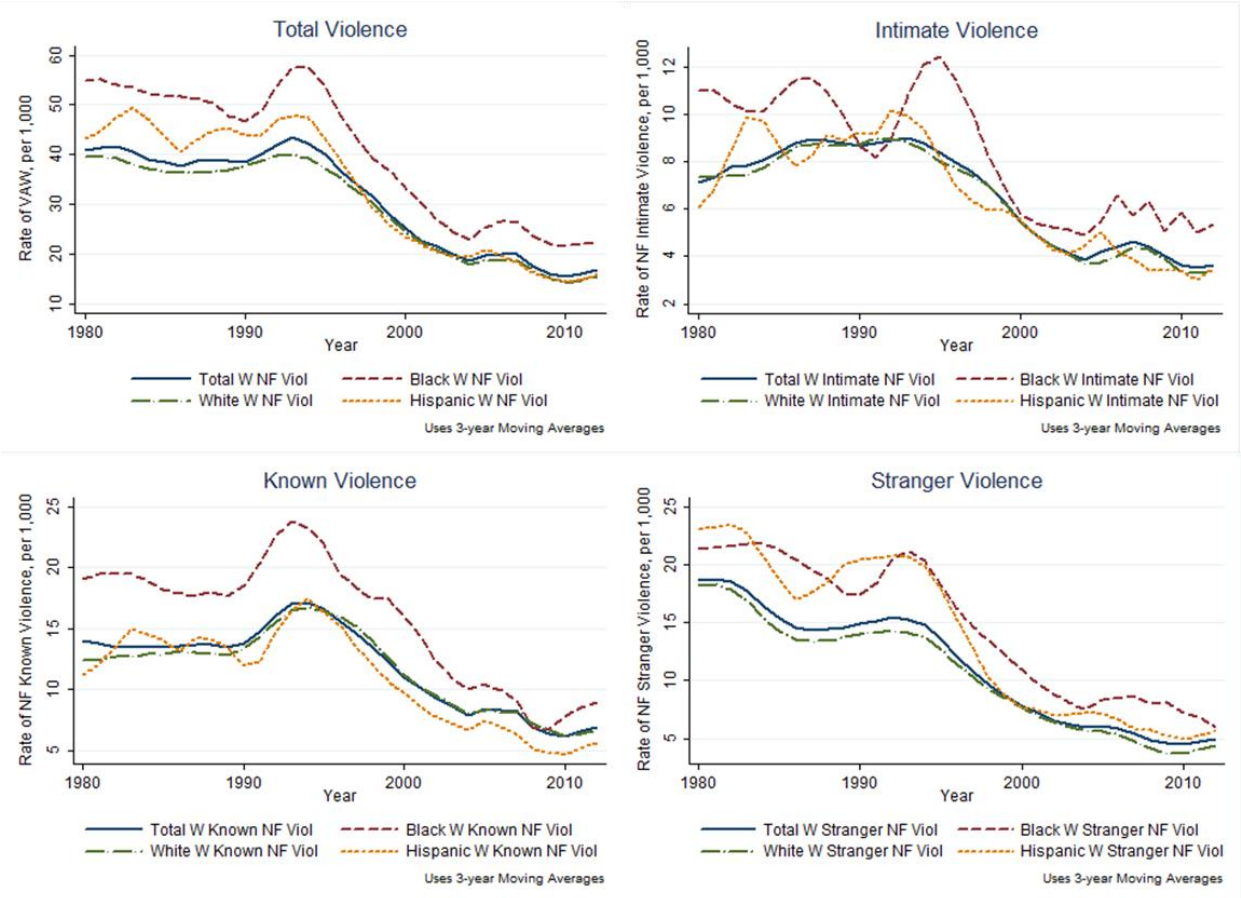


Non-Fatal Violence

For non-fatal violence, there is greater variation by victim-offender relationship (see Figure 5.2). For example, Black women experience the highest rates of total and known non-fatal violence. However, trends for intimate non- fatal violence are more similar among the racial subgroups. Black women have the highest rates for much of the period but not the entire period. For example, in the early 1990s Black women's rates fell to be the lowest. In addition, the trends of stranger non-fatal violence against Black women and Hispanic women alternate between being the highest from 1980 to the mid-

1990s where they became very similar until violence against Black women rose above violence against Hispanic women.

Figure 5.2 Graphs of Non-Fatal Violence against Women by Race Sorted by Victim-Offender Relationship, 1980-2012



Together these methods for exploring the national-level trends of violence against women suggest that disaggregating for race and victim-offender relationship is warranted. In addition, they suggest that homicide and non-fatal violence may warrant distinct investigations. Specifically, it was shown that the subgroup trends are at different levels and experienced different magnitudes of decline. Since the trends differ, it is possible that violence against women is explained differently or is affected differently by interventions

according to race of the women, the victim-offender relationship, and whether the violence was fatal or non-fatal.

Status Trends

To review, this analysis addresses three types of status: gender inequality, intersectional inequality, and absolute status.[29] Gender Inequality or relative status is calculated by calculating women's status relative to men's. It differs from intersectional inequality because it is calculated within-race subgroups. As an example, for Black women, gender inequality is calculated by dividing Black women's status by Black men's status. Therefore, a status of one means that Black women have the same status as Black men, less than one means that Black women have lower status than Black men, and greater than one means that Black women have higher status than Black men. Intersectional inequality, as mentioned before, acknowledges that race and gender matter in determining one's position and moves beyond using another oppressed group as a standard. Hence, for Black women, intersectional inequality is measured by dividing white men's status by Black women's status. A value of one means that Black women have the same status as white men, less than one means that Black women have lower status than white men, and greater than one means that Black women have higher status than white men. Absolute status is women's status without comparison to another group. Looking at the status trends helps to position the findings in reality since one of the purposes of this project is to assist with crime trend predictability.

Total Women and White Women

[29] As discussed in Chapter Three, the analyses include general economic status indicators as control variables. These indicators include the Gross Domestic Product (GDP), consumer sentiment (CSI-optimism), and percent of the population living in poverty.

Table 5.15 Relative and Absolute Status for Total Women by Decade

	1980	1990	2000	2012
Rel Status				
Educ att	0.64	0.76	0.85	0.98
Emp	0.67	0.76	0.80	0.83
Wage	0.64	0.72	0.77	0.81
Abs Status				
Educ att	14%	18%	24%	30%
Emp	48%	54%	57%	53%
Wage	$532	$593	$658	$702

Table 5.16 Relative and Absolute Status for White Women by Decade

	1980	1990	2000	2012
Rel Status				
Educ att	0.63	0.75	0.84	0.97
Emp	0.66	0.75	0.79	0.82
Wage	0.63	0.71	0.76	0.82
Abs Status				
Educ att	14%	19%	24%	31%
Emp	48%	55%	57%	54%
Wage	$537	$604	$670	$718

Table 5.15 and 5.16 show the relative and absolute status for total women and white women respectively for 1980, 1990, 2000, and 2012. Since white women are the majority of total women, their status values are similar to those found for all women. For every indicator, total and white women's status and status relative to men have increased. For the total women, population, in 1980 for every 100 men 25 years old and older who completed 4 years or more of college, approximately 64 women 25 years old and older did. However, in 2012 for every 100 men, 98 women completed 4 years or more of college. In terms of employment, in 1980 for every 100 men who were employed, 67 women were employed. In 2012, for every 100 men who were employed, 83 women were employed. In terms of wage, in 1980 for every $100 that men earned, women earned $64 by 2012, this had increased to $81. These figures are similar to white women's.

Black Women

Like total and white women's status, Black women's status increased from 1980 to 2012 when compared to Black and white men's (see Table 5.17). When Black women's status is considered relative to Black men's in educational attainment, Black women complete 4 years or more of college more often than Black men do. Specifically,

in 1980 for every 100 Black men that completed 4 years or more of college, 103 Black women did. This increased to 119 Black women in 2012. In 1980 for every 100 Black men employed, 76 Black women were; by 2012 96 Black women were employed for every 100 Black men. In 1980, Black women made $76 per Black men's $100. By 2012, Black women were making $93 per Black men's $100.

Table 5.17 Relative, Intersectional, and Absolute Status for Black Women by Decade

	1980	1990	2000	2012
Rel Status				
Educ att	1.03	0.98	1.08	1.19
Emp	0.76	0.83	0.93	0.96
Wage	0.76	0.85	0.86	0.93
Int Status				
Educ att	0.37	0.45	0.57	0.70
Emp	0.62	0.71	0.80	0.79
Wage	0.58	0.63	0.65	0.69
Abs Status				
Educ att	8%	11%	16%	22%
Emp	45%	52%	58%	52%
Wage	$495	$531	$575	$618

Values were lower when considering Black women's status relative to white men's status. In 1980, 37 Black women per 100 white men completed 4 or more years of college, 62 Black women per every 100 white men were employed, and Black women made $58 to white men's $100. By 2012, these figures increased to $63, $65, and $69 respectively.

Hispanic Women

Hispanic women's status increased from 1980 to 2012 (see Table 5.18). In 1980, for every 100 Hispanic men 25 years old and older that completed 4 years or more of college, 62 Hispanic women did. By 2012, 117 Hispanic women per 100 Hispanic men

Table 5.18 Relative, Intersectional, and Absolute Status for Hispanic Women by Decade

	1980	1990	2000	2012
Rel Status				
Educ att	0.62	0.88	1.02	1.17
Emp	0.59	0.65	0.69	0.73
Wage	0.75	0.87	0.88	0.90
Int Status				
Educ att	0.27	0.35	0.39	0.49
Emp	0.58	0.66	0.73	0.76
Wage	0.54	0.55	0.57	0.60
Abs Status				
Educ att	6%	9%	11%	16%
Emp	43%	48%	53%	50%
Wage	$458	$478	$490	$536

completed 4 years of college or more. For every 100 Hispanic men employed in 1980, 59 Hispanic women were employed. By 2012, 73 Hispanic women were employed for every 100 Hispanic men. In 1980, for every $100 Hispanic men earned, Hispanic women earned $75 which increased to $90 in 2012.

Like for Black women, Hispanic women's intersectional status was considerably lower than their relative status. In 1980, 27 Hispanic women per 100 white men completed 4 years or more of college, 58 Hispanic women per 100 white men were employed, and Hispanic women made $54 to white men's $100. These figures increased slightly to $55, $57, and $60 respectively in 2012.

Cross-Racial Comparisons

The absolute status figures reveal the way that these racial subgroups of women compare to one another (see Tables 5.15 through 5.18). Of the racial groups compared, Hispanic women tend to have lower absolute status than Black and white women. However, in 2012 employment figures were similar with 50% of Hispanic women employed, 52% of Black women employed, and 54% of white women employed. Greater differences exist for wages. In 2012, Hispanic women made 25% less than white women ($536 versus $718 respectively). Black women made 14% less than white women ($618 versus $718 respectively). Additionally, while only 31% of white women 25 years old and older completed 4 years or more of college, only 22% of Black women and 16% of Hispanic women did.

It is important to note that generally inequality is used to refer to women having lower status than men. However, in 1980 and from 1992-2012, Black women's education attainment exceeded Black men's. Additionally, Hispanic women's educational

attainment exceeded Hispanic men's from 1999-2012. In response, this analysis emphasizes the fact that these analyses are of *relative status* and absolute status. Supplemental analyses were conducted to explore whether the relationship between relative status when Black women's status is lower and violence against Black women differs from when Black women's status is higher. Similar analyses were conducted for Hispanic women as well. The supplemental analyses will be discussed at the end of Black women's and Hispanic women's sections. A broader discussion of the impact of this reality will be discussed in Chapter Seven with the discussion of the findings.

FINDINGS

To complement the existing literature, I investigated the relationship between violence against women and gender inequality using violence against total women and total violence (not disaggregated by victim-offender relationship). In addition, educational attainment, employment, and wage were included as indicators of gender inequality as is common in the extant literature[30]. This investigation deviates from the extant literature by operationalizing gender inequality from an intersectional perspective while also disaggregating by race and victim-offender relationship. The resulting variables are referred to as "Int Status," short for intersectional status. The findings will be discussed by the race of the victim. After the race-specific findings have been shared, cross-racial differences and similarities will be discussed.

Total Women

Are Changes in Status Related to Changes in Violence Against Total Women?

Bivariate analyses were conducted to determine whether there is a significant relationship between changes in violence against total women trends and changes in

[30] On the tables, these variables are labeled as "Rel Status" short for relative status.

status trends. For the total women analyses, relative status, absolute status, and control variables which measure the general economic status of the nation were investigated[31].

Homicide

Are Changes in Gender Inequality Related to Changes in Total Women's Homicide?

Changes in relative educational attainment is significantly and negatively related to changes in the trends of total women's known homicide (r=-0.37*[32]). This relationship suggests that as the relative status of women to men in educational attainment increases and the percent of women completing 4 years or more of college becomes more similar to the percent of men, the rate of homicide committed against women by persons known to them decreases. This relationship could be interpreted as supporting the amelioration hypothesis in that it suggests that as inequality in education decreases and women become more similar to men, women's known homicide decreases. As noted in Chapter Three, this relationship may reflect that women gain more value or hold more power to protect

Table 5.19 Bivariate Analysis Results for Total Women's Homicide

	Total	Intimate	Known	Stranger
Rel Status				
Educ Att	-0.25	-0.17	-0.37*	-0.19
Emp	0.06	0.01	0.08	-0.01
Wage	0.61*	0.58*	0.56*	0.37*
Abs Status				
Educ Att	-0.51*	-0.39*	-0.58*	-0.18
Emp	-0.21	-0.34	-0.18	-.36*
Wage	0.08	0.23	0.03	0.06
Controls				
GDP	-0.11	-0.03	-0.18	-0.13
% Poverty	0.41*	0.43*	0.44*	0.48*
CSI	-0.44*	-0.3	-0.15	-0.26

* $p<0.05$

[31] I investigated the relationship between violence and status using first-differenced trends and natural-logged first difference trends. The first set of results are for the first-difference trends. These trends reflect the annual change values. Therefore, the results can be interpreted as stating whether there is a significant relationship between changes in the status variable and changes in the violence variable. The second set of results are for first-differenced logged trends. Logging trends lessens heteroscedasticity, or bias among the error terms. The results are fairly consistent between the logged and not logged results so only the results for the unlogged analyses are explicitly discussed and presented in this chapter. The results for the natural-logged first difference analyses are included in the appendix.

[32] The * indicates that the significance value of this relationship was less than 0.05.

themselves and others as their status increases. Notably, this relationship does not exist for total, intimate, or stranger homicide nor for employment or wage inequality. Changes in total women's relative employment status was not significantly related to changes in any type of total women's homicide.

Conversely, changes in relative wage are significantly and positively related to each form of women's homicide including total (r=0.61*), intimate (r=0.58*), known (r=0.56*), and stranger (r=0.37*). This suggests that as the median wage for women becomes more similar to the median wage for men the rate of each form of women's homicide also increases. This relationship could be interpreted as supporting the backlash hypothesis, which suggests that as women become more equal to men violence against women will increase. This backlash effect may be attributable to men's violent reaction to status threat or women's increased exposure to potential offenders. Since for total women, this relationship is restricted to inequality in wage, it is possible that men's perception of status threat is specifically related to income or that as women make more money they are becoming more vulnerable to homicide by men.

These findings provide mixed support for the hypotheses. Depending on the indicator of relative status, the relationship between changes in homicide and changes in the relative status of total women could support a null hypothesis of no relationship (employment), an amelioration hypothesis (educational attainment), or a backlash hypothesis (wage). Moreover, there is mixed support for the hypotheses depending on the victim-offender relationship. Notably, on one hand total women's known homicide could support a null hypothesis (employment), an amelioration hypothesis (educational attainment), or a backlash hypothesis (wage). On the other hand, total women's total,

intimate, and stranger homicide could only support a null hypothesis (employment, educational attainment) or a backlash hypothesis (wage). These mixed findings are similar to those produced by past research, since it is uncommon that all indicators of status relate to violence in the same ways. This may suggest that the concept of gender inequality is misspecified through the use of educational attainment, employment, and wage as the primary indicators the forms of status are related to violence against women differently.

Are Changes in Absolute Status Related to Changes in Total Women's Homicide?

In terms of absolute status, findings suggest that as women's educational attainment increases, rates of total women's total (r=-0.51*), intimate (r=-0.39*), and known (r=-0.58*) homicide decrease. Similarly, findings suggest that as women's employment levels increase, the rate of homicide committed by strangers (r=-0.36*) decreases. These findings could be interpreted as supporting an amelioration hypothesis meaning that perhaps the increases in educational attainment and employment provide greater protections for women against violence, that women spend less time exposed to potential offenders/without capable guardians, or that communities are less prone to violence because of the increased status brought by women. Nevertheless, support for the amelioration hypothesis is tentative since it is restricted to certain indicators of absolute status (educational attainment and employment) and certain victim-offender relationship trends.

For the control variables, changes in the percent of the population in poverty and all forms of total women's homicide including total (r=0.41*), intimate (r=0.43*), known (0.44*), and stranger (r=0.48*) were significantly and positively related. Specifically, as the percent of the population in poverty increases, total women's homicide also increases.

To the contrary, change in the consumer sentiment index is significantly and negatively related to changes in the total violence against women trend (r=-0.44*). When the consumer sentiment index or optimism increases, total women's homicide decreases.

Table 5.20 Bivariate Analysis Results for Non-Fatal Violence against Total Women

	Total	Intimate	Known	Stranger
Rel Status				
Educ Att	-0.33	-0.12	-0.24	-0.32
Emp	0.05	0.28	0.02	-0.13
Wage	0.38*	0.22	0.42*	0.38*
Abs Status				
Educ Att	-0.67*	-0.49*	-0.61*	-0.50*
Emp	0.04	0.35	0.17	-0.37*
Wage	-0.39	-0.33	-0.37	-0.36
Controls				
GDP	-0.14	-0.2	-0.15	-0.11
% Poverty	0.39*	0.18	0.24	0.62*
CSI	-0.06	0.15	0.13	-0.32

* $p<0.05$

Non-Fatal Violence

Are Changes in Gender Inequality Related to Changes in Non-Fatal Violence Against Total Women?

When investigating the relationship between total women's status and non-fatal violence against total women, there are several insignificant findings. Specifically, total women's relative status in educational attainment and employment are not significantly related to any form of non-fatal violence against total women. In fact, total women's relative wage is the only relative status indicator significantly related to non-fatal violence against total women. Change in the relative wage between total men and total women is significantly and positively related to total (r=0.38*), known (r=0.42*), and stranger (r=0.38*) non-fatal violence. These positive relationships mean that as women obtain wages that are more similar to those of men, total, known, and stranger violence increases. These findings could be interpreted as supporting a backlash hypothesis. Again it is possible that men perceive changes in relative wage as a greater threat to their status.

Are Changes in Absolute Status Related to Changes in Non-Fatal Violence Against Total Women?

For absolute status, educational attainment and employment are significantly and negatively related to violence against women. Specifically, educational attainment is related to each form of violence against women- total (r=-0.67*), intimate (r=-0.49*), known (r=-0.61*), and stranger (r=-0.50*). Employment is related to stranger violence (r=-0.37*)[33]. These relationships suggest that as women's educational attainment and employment become more similar to men's, non-fatal violence against women will decrease. These findings could be interpreted as supporting the amelioration hypothesis in that as women's educational and employment status increase they may be better able to protect themselves and others against violence.

In terms of the control variables, only changes in the percent of the population that live in poverty is significantly related to non-fatal violence against total women. In particular, changes in the percent of the population in poverty is positively related to total (r=0.39*) and stranger non-fatal violence (r=0.62*). Therefore, as the percent in poverty increases, non-fatal violence against women also increases.

Does the Relationship Between Changes in Status and Violence Against Total Women Differ According to Fatality?

The relationship between changes in status and violence against total women does not differ entirely when considering homicide and non-fatal violence. In fact, relative wage is significantly and positively related to homicide and non-fatal forms of violence. However, for homicide trends relative wage is significantly related to total, intimate, known, and stranger violence. For non-fatal violence trends, relative wage is not

[33] When the values are logged, relative status in employment is also significantly, but positively, related to intimate violence.

significantly related to intimate violence (r=0.22). Another difference lies in the fact that relative educational attainment is significantly and negatively related to changes in known homicide but is not related to any form of non-fatal violence.

The relationship between changes in absolute status and violence against total women were very similar regardless of whether the violence was fatal or non-fatal. Indeed, the only substantive difference is that absolute status in educational attainment was not significantly related to stranger homicide (r=-0.18) but was significantly related to stranger non-fatal violence.

Lastly, in terms of the control variables that represent general economic status, there are similarities and differences. The percent of the population living in poverty was significantly and positively related to homicide and non-fatal violence against total women. However, when considering homicide this relationship existed for each type of violence against total women. When considering non-fatal violence, this relationship only existed for total and stranger violence. Another difference is that the consumer sentiment index is significantly and negatively related to total homicide but is not related to any form of non-fatal violence.

For violence against total women, investigating fatal or non-fatal violence does not produce drastically different results. However, there are some notable differences including the fact that educational attainment and consumer sentiment index are significantly related to homicide and not non-fatal violence.

White Women

Are Changes in Status Related to Changes in Violence Against White Women?

Violence against white women is investigated using the same set of indicators as violence against total women. Specifically, indicators of relative status, absolute status, and controls measuring general economic status were investigated.

Table 5.21 Bivariate Analysis Results for White Women's Homicide

	Total	Intimate	Known	Stranger
Rel Status				
Educ Att	-.41*	-.46*	-.47*	-0.35
Emp	0.11	0.13	0.11	0.02
Wage	0.24	0.25	0.12	0.22
Abs Status				
Educ Att	-.57*	-0.55	-.56*	-0.23
Emp	-0.15	-0.15	-0.12	-0.35
Wage	0.14	0.25	0.03	0.13
Controls				
GDP	-0.09	-0.07	-0.18	-0.07
% Poverty	0.27	0.25	0.33	.43*
CSI	-0.27	-0.05	0.05	-0.05

* $p<0.05$

Fatal Violence

Are Changes in Gender Inequality Related to Changes in Fatal Violence Against White Women?

Relative status in educational attainment is the only relative status indicator related to white women's homicide. It is significantly and negatively related to total (r=-0.41*), intimate (r=-0.46*), and known violence (r=-0.47*). This relationship means that as white women obtain similar levels of educational attainment as white men, total, intimate, and known violence against white women decrease. These findings can be interpreted as supporting an amelioration hypothesis in that perhaps increases in relative educational attainment suggest that white women gained status or the ability to better protect themselves and others from homicide or that white women become less vulnerable targets with gains in relative status. This does not extend to strangers however, perhaps the relationship operates on the individual level and does not extend to the white

women population at large. Changes in white women's relative status in employment and wage are not significantly related to any form of white women's homicide.

Investigations into white women's homicide provide mixed support for the amelioration hypothesis. In particular, only relative status in educational attainment is significantly and negatively related to fatal violence against white women. Additionally, these relationships do not exist for each form of fatal violence. Hence, there is also support for the null hypothesis of no relationship depending on the indicator of gender inequality and the form of violence investigated.

Are Changes in Absolute Status Related to Changes in White Women's Homicide?

For absolute status, educational attainment is significantly and negatively related to total (r=-0.57*) and known (r=-0.56*) violence against white women. This relationships mean that as educational attainment increases, some forms of violence against white women decrease possibly supporting the amelioration hypothesis. Changes in white women's employment and wage were not significantly related to any form of white women's homicide.

For the control variables, changes in the percent of the population living in poverty is significantly and positively related to stranger violence against white women (r=0.43*). This means that as the percent of the population living in poverty increases, stranger violence against white women also increases.

Non-Fatal Violence

Are Changes in Gender Inequality Related to Changes in Non-Fatal Violence Against White Women?

None of the indicators of relative status are significantly related to any form of non-fatal violence against white women. These findings suggest that changes in white women's relative status are not related to non-fatal violence against white women.

Table 5.22 Bivariate Analysis Results for Non-fatal Violence against White Women

	Total	Intimate	Known	Stranger
Rel Status				
Educ Att	-0.15	0.13	-0.16	-0.32
Emp	0.04	0.29	0.16	-0.15
Wage	0.30	0.14	0.28	0.28
Abs Status				
Educ Att	-.48*	-0.28	-0.55*	-0.41*
Emp	0.13	0.43*	0.19	-0.31
Wage	-0.46*	-0.27	-0.34	-0.37
Controls				
GDP	-0.15	-0.18	-0.25	-0.09
% Poverty	0.35*	0.08	0.28	0.51*
CSI	-0.10	0.00	0.17	-0.32

* $p<0.05$

Are Changes in Absolute Status Related to Changes in Non-Fatal Violence Against White Women?

For absolute status, educational attainment, employment, and wage are significantly related to some forms of violence. Educational attainment is significantly and negatively related to total (r=-0.48*), known (r=-0.55*), and stranger (r=-0.41*) violence. Wage is also significantly and negatively related total non-fatal violence against white women (r=-0.46*). This means that as educational attainment and wage increase for white women, some forms of non-fatal violence against white women decreases. This could be interpreted as supporting the amelioration hypothesis. Employment is significantly and positively related to intimate violence (r=0.43*). This means that as white women's status in employment increases, intimate violence against white women also increases. This could be interpreted as supporting a backlash hypothesis. That white women's absolute status in educational attainment, employment, and wage were related to non-fatal violence against white women while none of the relative status indicators

suggests that according to these indicators inequality does not influence non-fatal violence against white women. Rather, changes in white women's absolute status regardless of changes in white men's status were related to non-fatal violence against white women.

For the control variables, changes in the percent of the population living in poverty is significantly and positively related to changes in total and stranger violence ($r=0.35$, $p<0.05$, $r=0.5$, $p<0.05$). This means that as the percent of the population living in poverty increases, total and stranger violence against white women also increases.

Does the Relationship Between Changes in Status and Violence Against White Women Differ According to Fatality?

Findings regarding the relationship between changes in relative status and white women's homicide yield support for an amelioration hypothesis; however, analyses of relative status and non-fatal violence against white women only yield support for the null hypothesis of no relationship. Investigations of absolute status found that changes in educational attainment are significantly and negatively related to some forms of white women's homicide and non-fatal violence against white women. However, employment is only significantly related to non-fatal violence against white women and wage is only significantly related to white women's homicide. Moreover, additional differences are found when considering victim-offender relationship as well. For instance, absolute status in educational attainment is significantly related to all forms of white women's homicide except when committed by strangers. Conversely, absolute status in educational attainment is significantly related to all forms of non-fatal violence against white women

except when committed by intimates. Lastly, the percent of the population living in poverty is significantly related to white women's homicide and non-fatal violence against white women; however, this relationship only exists for white women's stranger homicide but total and stranger non-fatal violence against white women.

Black Women

Are Changes in Status Related to Changes in Violence Against Black Women?

The analyses investigating the relationship between status and violence against Black women include an additional type of status, intersectional status. Therefore, these analyses investigate relative status (Black women compared to Black men), intersectional status (Black women compared to white men), the absolute status of Black women, and general economic status variables as controls.

Homicide

Are Changes in Gender Inequality Related to Changes in Black Women's Homicide?

Distinct from the previous analyses, all indicators of relative status are significantly related to some form of violence against Black women. First, relative status in educational attainment is significantly and negatively related to stranger (r=-0.46*) violence against Black women. Second, relative status in employment is significantly and

Table 5.23 Bivariate Analysis Results for Black Women's Homicide

	Total	Intimate	Known	Stranger
Rel Status				
Educ Att	-0.15	0.03	-0.04	-0.46*
Emp	-0.53*	-0.36*	-0.48*	-0.44*
Wage	0.37*	'0.38*	0.25	0.27
Int Status				
Educ Att	-0.29	-0.05	-0.16	-0.43*
Emp	-0.34	-0.44*	-0.30	-0.38*
Wage	0.38*	0.54*	0.24	'0.35*
Abs Status				
Educ Att	-0.41*	-0.19	-0.22	-0.48*
Emp	-0.25	-0.44*	-0.21	-0.34
Wage	-0.03	0.18	-0.07	-0.01
Controls				
GDP	-0.07	0.05	-0.06	-0.12
%Poverty	0.29	'0.43*	0.25	'0.36*
CSI	-0.48*	-0.59*	-0.28	-0.42*

* p<0.05

also negatively related to total (=-0.53*), intimate (r=-0.36*), known (r=-0.48*), and stranger (r=-0.44*) violence. These relationships suggest that as Black women's status in educational attainment and employment increases relative to Black men's, some forms of violence against Black women decrease. Lastly, changes in Black women's relative status to Black men's in wage is significantly and positively related to total (r=0.37*) and intimate (r=0.38*) violence against Black women. This means that as Black women's wage becomes more similar to that of Black men's total and intimate violence against Black women increase. The findings for educational attainment and employment could be interpreted as supporting an amelioration hypothesis but the findings for wage could be interpreted as supporting a backlash hypothesis. It seems that the relationship between relative status in wage and Black women's intimate homicide is different from the relationship between relative status in employment and Black women's homicide. It is possible that increased employment provides Black women more time away from potential murderers at home while increased wage is viewed as a greater threat by potentially offending partners. In fact, it appears that relative status in employment reduces Black women's risk for homicide in general.

The findings regarding the relationship between gender inequality and Black women's homicide provide mixed support for the hypotheses. Specifically, there is support for the amelioration, backlash, and null hypothesis according to the indicator and victim-offender relationship investigated. I predicted a null relationship between gender inequality when calculated as Black women's status relative to Black men's status. This is supported for certain forms of homicide and certain indicators; however, relative status in employment was significantly related to each form of homicide.

Are Changes in Intersectional Inequality Related to Changes in Fatal Violence Against Black Women?

Similar findings were produced by the analyses of intersectional status and violence against Black women. Again each indicator of intersectional status is significantly related to some form of violence. First, changes in Black women's status relative to white men's in educational attainment is significantly and negatively related to stranger(r=-0.43*) violence. Second, changes in Black women's status relative to white men's in employment is significantly and negatively related to intimate (r=-0.44*) and stranger (r=-0.38*) violence. Again these findings suggest that as Black women's status approaches white men's, some forms of violence against Black women decreases possibly supporting an amelioration hypothesis. Finally, changes in Black women's status relative to white men's in wage is significantly and positively related to total (r=0.38*), intimate (r=0.54*), and stranger (r=0.35*) violence. These findings suggest that as Black women's wage gets closer to white men's wage, Black women's total, intimate, and stranger homicide increase possibly supporting a backlash hypothesis.

These findings provide some support for the hypotheses. Specifically, within these analyses there is support for an amelioration, a backlash, and a null hypothesis. I predicted an amelioration relationship for each form of Black women's homicide. Support for my hypothesis is restricted to certain indicators and forms of violence.

Are Changes in Absolute Status Related to Changes in Black Women's Homicide?

In terms of absolute status, only changes in educational attainment and employment are significantly related to Black women's homicide. Changes in educational attainment are significantly and negatively related to changes in total (r=-0.41*) and stranger (r=-0.48*) homicide. Changes in employment are significantly and negatively related to intimate (r=-0.44*) homicide. These relationships mean that as

Black women's educational attainment and employment increases, some forms of Black women's homicide decrease. These findings could be interpreted as supporting the amelioration hypothesis.

For the control variables, changes in the percent of the population living in poverty and the consumer sentiment index are significantly related to changes in Black women's homicide. Specifically, changes in the percent of the population living in poverty is significantly and positively related to changes in Black women's intimate (r=0.43*) and stranger (r=0.36*) homicide. This means that as the percent of the population living in poverty increases, Black women's intimate and stranger homicide also increase. Changes in the consumer sentiment index is significantly and negatively related to Black women's total (r=-0.48*), intimate (r=-0.59*), and stranger (r=-0.42*) homicide. This means that as the consumer sentiment increases, Black women's total, intimate, and stranger homicide decrease.

Non-Fatal Violence

Are Changes in Status Related to Changes in Non-Fatal Violence Against Black Women?

Changes in relative status and intersectional status are not significantly related to changes in any forms of non-fatal violence against Black women. In fact, the only significant relationship is between changes Black women's absolute status in wage (r=-0.39*) and changes in the percent of the population living in poverty and changes in stranger violence (r=0.55*).

Analyses on changes in status and non-fatal violence provide mixed support for the hypotheses. All findings support the null hypothesis of no relationship. I predicted a null relationship between gender inequality and all forms of violence against Black women; however, I predicted an amelioration relationship between intersectional inequality and all forms of violence against Black women.

Table 5.24 Bivariate Analysis Results for Non-fatal Violence against Black Women

	Total	Intimate	Known	Stranger
Rel Status				
Educ Att	-0.09	0.03	-0.02	-0.06
Emp	-0.33	-0.13	-0.24	-0.18
Wage	0.02	0.15	-0.11	0.22
Int Status				
Educ Att	-0.06	-0.11	-0.04	0.09
Emp	-0.24	-0.13	-0.18	-0.30
Wage	-0.04	-0.32	0.10	0.22
Abs Status				
Educ Att	-0.18	-0.22	-0.14	-0.06
Emp	-0.13	-0.04	-0.11	-0.29
Wage	-0.39*	-0.29	-0.35	-0.20
Controls				
GDP	-0.06	-0.09	-0.21	-0.10
%Poverty	0.33	0.07	0.33	'0.55*
CSI	0.02	0.13	0.13	-0.05

* p<0.05

Does the Relationship Between Changes in Status and Violence Against Black Women Differ According to Fatality?

Analyses of Black women's homicide and non-fatal violence produced different results. Specifically, when the relationship between Black women's gender inequality and homicide is investigated, there is support for the amelioration, backlash, and null hypotheses depending on the indicator and form of violence. This is also true when investigating intersectional inequality and fatal violence. When investigating non-fatal violence against Black women there is primarily support for the null hypothesis which predicts no relationship regardless of indicator and form of violence. The only exception is with regard to Black women's absolute status according wage and total non-fatal violence which supports the amelioration hypothesis.

Supplemental Analysis Findings

As noted, during the study period Black women's educational attainment was not always lower than that of Black men's. Specifically, in 1981 and from 1999 to 2012, Black women's educational attainment surpassed Black men's educational attainment. The supplemental analyses investigate whether the relationship between relative status in educational attainment and violence against Black women differs when Black women's status exceeds Black men's status. Table 5.25 and Table 5.26 present the results of the supplemental analyses. Findings suggest that Black women's educational attainment relative to Black men's is only significantly and negatively related to Black women's stranger (r=-0.46*) homicide when Black women have higher educational attainment

Table 5.25 Supplemental Bivariate Analysis of Black Women's Gender Relative Status in Educational Attainment and Black Women's Homicide

	1981-1991	1992-2012
Total	0.43	-0.23
Int	0.16	-0.04
Known	0.43	-0.10
Stranger	-0.26	-0.46*

* p<0.05

Table 5.26 Supplemental Bivariate Analysis of Black Women's Gender Relative Status in Educational Attainment and Non-Fatal Violence against Black Women

	1981-1991	1992-2012
Total	-0.01	-0.06
Int	0.11	-0.01
Known	-0.15	0.11
Stranger	-0.25	0.05

* p<0.05

than Black men do. Black women's relative educational attainment was not significantly related to any other form of homicide or any form of non-fatal violence. This was true for the period when Black women's educational attainment exceeded Black men's and when it did not. Importantly, the smaller periods mean that attaining enough power for significance is difficult which may explain the large coefficients found for the 1981 to 1991 period without significance.

Hispanic Women

Are Changes in Status Related to Changes in Violence Against Hispanic Women?

Similar to the analyses on violence against Black women, the analyses on violence against Hispanic women incorporate relative and intersectional status. Hence, relative status is measured as Hispanic women's status relative to Hispanic men and intersectional status is Hispanic women's status relative to white men's status. As noted earlier, only non-fatal violence data are available for Hispanic women.

Table 5.27 Bivariate Analysis Results forVarious Indicators of Hispanic Women's Status and Non-fatal Violence against Hispanic Women

	Total	Intimate	Known	Stranger
Rel Status				
Educ Att	-0.25	0.08	-0.34	-0.2
Emp	-0.24	-0.11	-0.23	-0.24
Wage	'0.36*	0.33	0.08	0.46*
Int Status				
Educ Att	-0.34	-0.10	-0.49*	-0.26
Emp	-0.41*	-0.24	-0.39*	-0.46*
Wage	0.21	0.34	-0.03	0.29
Abs Status				
Educ Att	-0.33	-0.08	-.48*	-0.26
Emp	-0.33	-0.24	-0.25	-0.46*
Wage	-0.18	0.03	-0.29	-0.13
Controls				
GDP	-0.20	-0.24	-0.24	-0.14
% Poverty	0.50*	0.42*	0.34	0.59*
CSI	0.06	0.23	'0.37*	-0.34

* p<0.05

Non-Fatal Violence

Are Changes in Gender Inequality Related to Changes in Non-Fatal Violence Against Hispanic Women?

Changes in Hispanic women's wage relative to Hispanic men's wage is significantly and positively related to changes in total (r=0.36*) and stranger (r=0.46*) violence. This means that as Hispanic women's wages become more similar to Hispanic men's, total and stranger violence against Hispanic women also increases. This relationship could be interpreted as supporting a backlash hypothesis. As with violence against other subgroups, increases in Hispanic women's wage relative to Hispanic men seems to be

related to an increase in non-fatal violence against Hispanic women perhaps indicating that wage in particular makes Hispanic women more vulnerable to violence or men more susceptible to violence offending against women.

I predicted a null relationship between gender inequality and each form of violence. These analyses provide mixed support for my hypothesis. Specifically, the findings provide support for the backlash and null hypothesis depending on the indicator of gender inequality and form of violence.

Are Changes in Intersectional Inequality Related to Changes in Non-Fatal Violence Against Hispanic Women?

When looking at intersectional status, educational attainment is significantly and negatively related to known (r=-0.49*) violence. Intersectional status in employment is significantly and negatively related to total (r=-0.41*), known (r=-0.39*), and stranger (r=-0.46*) violence. These relationships mean that as Hispanic women become more similar to white men in educational attainment and employment, some forms of violence against Hispanic women decrease. These relationships could be interpreted as supporting an amelioration hypothesis. As with other subgroups with similar findings, these findings may indicate that Hispanic women become less vulnerable to violence or better able to protect themselves and other Hispanic women from violence as they gain status relative to white men in educational attainment and employment.

Regarding the relationship between intersectional inequality and all forms of violence, I predicted an amelioration relationship. The findings provide some support for these hypotheses and the null relationship of no relationship.

Are Changes in Absolute Status Related to Changes in Non-Fatal Violence Against Hispanic Women?

Absolute status as indicated by educational attainment and employment are related to changes in some form of violence. Changes in Hispanic women's educational attainment is significantly and negatively related to known (r=-0.48*) violence. Changes in Hispanic women's employment is significantly and negatively related to stranger (r=-0.46*) violence. Each of these relationships means that as Hispanic women's status increases, some forms of violence against Hispanic women decrease. These relationships could be interpreted as supporting the amelioration hypothesis.

For the control variables, changes in the percent of the population living in poverty is significantly and positively related to total (r=0.50*), intimate (r=0.42*), and stranger (r=0.59*) violence against Hispanic women. Changes in the consumer sentiment index is significantly and positively related to known (r=0.37*) violence. These results mean that as the percent of people living in poverty increases total, intimate, and stranger violence against Hispanic also increase but when the consumer sentiment index increases, known violence against Hispanic women decreases.

Table 5.28 Supplemental Bivariate Analysis of Hispanic Women's Gender Relative Status in Educational Attainment and Non-Fatal Violence against Hispanic Women

	1980-1998	1999-2012
Total	-0.10	-0.28
Int	-0.37	0.14
Known	0.07	-0.47
Stranger	-0.38	-0.15

* $p<0.05$

Supplemental Analysis Findings

Like Black women, Hispanic women's educational attainment exceeded Hispanic men's educational attainment during the study period. From 1980 to 1998, Hispanic women's educational attainment was lower than Hispanic men's but from 1999 to 2012,

Hispanic women's educational attainment was higher than Hispanic men's educational attainment. As shown in Table 5.28, conducting separate analyses for the period when Hispanic women had greater educational attainment than Hispanic men from the period when Hispanic women has lower educational attainment than Hispanic men revealed no significant relationships. Again, using a smaller period reduces the power for attaining statistical significance which may explain some of the non-significant but large coefficients.

Cross-racial comparisons

There are similarities and differences across the racial subgroups investigated in this analysis. To compare the findings, this section is sorted by status indicator. See Table 5.29 to compare the hypotheses to the findings.

Table 5.29 Tables of hypotheses and findings

Research Questions

1) Are national-level trends in gender inequality related to violence against white women?

	Intimate			Known			Stranger		
	Predicted	Actual		Predicted	Actual		Predicted	Actual	
		Fatal	Non-Fatal		Fatal	Non-Fatal		Fatal	Non-Fatal
Rel Status	Amelioration	Amelioration	Null	Amelioration	Amelioration	Null	Backlash	Null	Null
Abs Status	Amelioration	Amelioration	Null	Amelioration	Amelioration	Null	Backlash	Amelioration	Mixed

2) Are national-level trends in gender inequality related to violence against Black women?

	Intimate			Known			Stranger		
	Predicted	Actual		Predicted	Actual		Predicted	Actual	
		Fatal	Non-Fatal		Fatal	Non-Fatal		Fatal	Non-Fatal
Rel Status	Null	Mixed	Null	Null	Amelioration	Null	Null	Amelioration	Null
Int Status	Amelioration	Mixed	Null	Amelioration	Null	Null	Amelioration	Mixed	Null
Abs Status	Amelioration	Amelioration	Null	Amelioration	Null	Null	Null	Amelioration	Null

3) Are national-level trends in gender inequality related to violence against Hispanic women?

	Intimate		Known		Stranger	
	Predicted	Actual	Predicted	Actual	Predicted	Actual
		Non-Fatal		Non-Fatal		Non-Fatal
Rel Status	Null	Null	Null	Null	Null	Backlash
Int Status	Amelioration	Null	Amelioration	Amelioration	Amelioration	Amelioration
Abs Status	Amelioration	Amelioration	Amelioration	Amelioration	Amelioration	Amelioration

Educational Attainment

Changes in educational attainment are significantly related to violence more than the other indicators. Specifically, as a relative status indicator, it is significantly and negatively related to total women's, white women's, and Black women's homicide. As an intersectional status variable, educational attainment is significantly and negatively related to Black women's homicide and non-fatal violence against Hispanic women. In terms of absolute status, educational attainment is significantly and negatively related to fatal and non-fatal violence against total women and white women, Black women's homicide, and non-fatal violence against Hispanic women. Notably, these relationships are not significant for each form of violence except in relation to non-fatal violence against total women.

Employment

Change in the relative status in employment is significantly and negatively related to fatal violence against Black women. As an intersectional status variable, employment is significantly and negatively related to fatal violence against Black women and non-fatal violence against Hispanic women. For fatal violence against Black women, relative and intersectional status in employment is only related to stranger violence. For violence against Hispanic women, intersectional status in employment is related to total, known, and stranger violence.

In terms of absolute status, employment is significantly and negatively related to fatal and non-fatal violence against total women, fatal violence against Black women, and non-fatal violence against Hispanic women. As an anomaly, employment absolute status

is significantly and positively related to non-fatal violence against white women. This relationship is confined to intimate violence.

Wage

Relative status in wage is significantly and positively related to fatal and non-fatal violence against total women, Black women's homicide, and non-fatal violence against Hispanic women. Intersectional status in wage is significantly and positively related to fatal violence against Black women. Conversely, changes in absolute status is significantly and negatively related to fatal violence against white women.

Notably, each indicator of gender inequality is not related in the same way to violence against women. There are positive and negative relationships. These analyses provide mixed support of the hypotheses presented in Chapter Three regardless of racial subgroup (see Table 5.29). Moreover, no clear pattern emerges for how the indicators are related to victim-offender relationship.

CONCLUSION

National-level longitudinal analyses are not typical for gender inequality and violence against women studies likely due to lacking appropriate data; however, this analysis contributes to the literature by using the now more abundant data. This project contributes to the literature on gender inequality and violence against women by recognizing findings that suggest that race and victim-offender relationship matter. In addition, this project considers the fatality of incidents. The findings show that this type of analysis is warranted while also calling for further investigation.

The violence trends included in this analysis illustrate well-known patterns such as the crime decline of the 1990s and the slight increases around 2010. However, they

also reveal differences by race, victim-offender relationship, and fatality. These differences suggest that these elements may be important for explaining or predicting violence.

The status trends in this analysis show that while women's absolute and relative status is increasing across race, the levels differ by race. Specifically, in 2012 all subgroups had higher status than in 1980. Hispanic women have the lowest absolute status values, followed by Black women, and then white women. Yet, when exploring indicators of relative status measured as women's status relative to men of the same race, the racial subgroups are similar. Conversely when considered relative to white men, Black and Hispanic women have lower status than white women.

This chapter investigates whether changes in women's status is related to changes in violence against women while attending to race, victim-offender relationship, and fatality. Thus, this chapter's findings are sorted by race. Within the racial subgroup findings, there is a section for fatal and non-fatal violence which are each separated by types of status.

Ultimately, there was mixed support for the hypotheses presented in Chapter Three and the support was dependent on the indicator of status, form of violence, and fatality. For violence against total women, there was support for the amelioration, backlash, and null hypothesis. For violence against white women, there was support for the amelioration and null hypothesis. For violence against Black women, relative and intersectional status analyses produced support for amelioration, backlash, and null hypotheses. Investigations of violence against Hispanic women and relative status showed support for the backlash and null hypotheses while investigations of violence

against Hispanic women and intersectional status showed support for amelioration and null hypotheses.

Similar mixed support for the hypotheses were found when considering absolute status. Total women, Black women, and Hispanic women analyses found support for the amelioration and null hypotheses. Analyses on white women found support for the amelioration, backlash, and null hypotheses.

In conclusion, the analyses indicate that race, victim-offender relationship, and fatality do indeed matter but do not produce a clear picture of how, which will be discussed in later chapters. Relative and intersectional status in educational attainment were related to some form of violence against each subgroup of women, but not each form of violence according to fatality or victim-offender relationship. The implications of these findings will be discussed in Chapter Seven.

CHAPTER SIX: STATE-LEVEL ANALYSES

The purpose of this chapter is to investigate the relationship between changes in women's average status according to three indicators and women's homicide rates at the state-level. Like the national-level investigation, status is indicated by educational attainment, employment, and wage. The percent of men and percent of women who completed a bachelor's degree or more, that were employed, and the mean wage for men and women were used calculate the absolute status of women, relative status of women to men (intraracially), and the intersectional status specifically of Black women to white men. The state-level investigation is also similar in that it incorporates findings from extant literature by disaggregating the violence against women data by victim-offender relationship and race. However, the state-level analyses only examine women's homicide using the SHR, because the NCVS data are not available at the state level. As a result, nonfatal violence against women and violence against Hispanic women are not examined here. As noted earlier, the SHR has included an ethnicity indicator that reports whether a victim was identified as Hispanic or not Hispanic since 1980, but it is not considered a reliable measure.

This chapter answers the following questions:

1. Are changes in women's status (relative and absolute) related to total women's homicide rates at the state-level?
    a. Is the relationship the same for all forms of homicide (e.g. total, intimate, known, stranger, unknown)?
2. Are changes in white women's status (relative and absolute) related to white women's homicide rates at the state-level?

a. Is the relationship the same for all forms of homicide (e.g. total, intimate, known, stranger, unknown)?

3. Are changes in Black women's status (relative, intersectional, and absolute) related to Black women's homicide rates at the state-level?
    a. Is the relationship the same for all forms of homicide (e.g. total, intimate, known, stranger, unknown)?

To investigate the relationship between women's status and women's homicide rates at the state-level, this study uses panel data regressions and fixed effects. This technique regresses the independent variables on women's homicide rate across four decade periods and up to 51 states. Since the analysis has limited statistical power, separate models are used to investigate inequality (relative status), intersectional status (for Black women), and absolute status. Specifically, this means that the relationship between total women's homicide rates and total women's relative status in educational attainment, employment, and wage were examined separately from total women's homicide rates and total women's absolute status in educational attainment, employment, and wage.

DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS

To investigate the state-level relationship between changes in women's homicide and changes in women's status, this study analyzes homicide rates and women's status at four time periods (1980, 1990, 2000, and 2010) for the 50 states and Washington D.C (N=4 x 51). One of the major contributions of this investigation is the disaggregation by elements found to be pertinent in extant literature; however, this is challenging statistically because of the rarity of homicide. Additionally, due to low population sizes

low homicide counts can produce high rates which may be anomalous. Since this analysis uses time series data and is theoretically interested in change over time, having points at zero is not inherently problematic. Yet, having too many data points at zero could indicate overdispersion and violate the assumptions of OLS regressions (Osgood, 2000). In order to account for overdispersion, negative binomial regressions were used (xtnbreg command in STATA). As with the other models fixed effects seem appropriate because of the study's focus on time variant variables. [34] Paul Allison (2012) draws attention to potential issues with the fixed effects negative binomial regressions in STATA. He suggests that uncorrected the models do not always control for invariant covariates and is hence not "fixed." One way to correct for this is by using a hybrid model. The hybrid model regresses homicide counts on group means and centered means while controlling for the relevant population. The OLS regression models and uncorrected fixed effects negative binomial models are included in the appendix.

Summary Descriptive Statistics

As noted above, the dataset includes four data points at 1980, 1990, 2000, and 2010 for the 50 states and Washington, D.C. Table 6.1 provides the averages, standard deviations, and minimum and maximum values for each variable of interest to summarize the descriptive statistics for the 51 places. These statistics contribute to the understanding of the trend over time and the range amongst the states.

[34] Fixed effects were deemed satisfactory due to the even observations across states. The Hausman test often used to determine whether fixed effects or random effects are more appropriate for a specific dataset returned varying results. Rather than use fixed effects for some models and random effects for others, I resolved to consider the purpose of the two models for simplicity. This consideration led to my conclusion that fixed effects are appropriate for this analysis. In order to check the robustness of the results, random effect models were also investigated. The results from those analyses did not differ substantially from the fixed effect results. Indeed, much of the discussion in Chapter Seven would be the same whether fixed or random effects are used. The random effect finding tables are available for comparison in the Appendix.

The summary descriptive statistics regarding homicide rates suggest three primary conclusions (see Table 6.1). First, the average homicide rate in 2010 was substantially lower than it was in 1980 for all forms of homicide and each subgroup. For several of the trends the decline was steady over the decades; however, some experienced a slight increase between 2000 and 2010. For example, the average total women's total homicide declined steadily across the decades from 3.09 to 2.87 to 1.74 to 1.59. Conversely, the average white women's total homicide declined from 1980 to 2000 but increased slightly from 1.49 to 1.52 from 2000 to 2010. Nevertheless, the overall decline reflects the national-level trend discussed in Chapter Five. Second, average rates of Black women's homicide are considerably higher than average rates of white women's homicide throughout the study period. The degree of difference between the rate of Black women's and white women's homicide varies by victim-offender relationship and decade. For example, in 1980, white women experienced 23% of the total homicides that Black women did; however, in 2010, this is up to 34% due to the greater declines over the decades for Black women. Lastly, the summary descriptive statistics illustrate the variation by state. This is evidenced by looking at the standard deviation and the minimum-maximum range.

The summary descriptive statistics for the status indicators lead to three conclusions as well: women's status is improving, women's status differs by race, and there is great variation by state (see Table 6.2). First, total, white, and Black women's average status increases both absolutely and relative to men's status from 1980 to 2010. This is true for all indicators. This trend is important because it helps with interpreting the findings of the following analyses. Second, white women's absolute status is sometimes

higher than Black women's absolute status; however, there are many instances where the mean value for Black women is higher than the mean value for white women. This is also the case for relative status indicators. The higher mean values for Black women can largely be attributed to states with low Black populations and high white populations. For example, in 1980 South Dakota had a Black woman population of approximately 800, a white woman population of approximately 324,000 and a white man population of approximately 315,000. Only 40 (18%) Black women in the state completed four years or more of college by the age of 25 relative to 5,940 (3.1%) white women, and 13,480 (7.5%) white men. Intersectional status is calculated by dividing the percent of Black women's by the percent of white men that completed four years or more of college. Therefore, Black women's intersectional status in educational attainment for South Dakota in 1980 was 2.4. The stark differences in population sizes meant that proportionally Black women had much higher educational attainment status than white women and men. This also occurred in states such as Vermont, Wyoming, North Dakota, New Hampshire, Maine, and Montana. These instances are important to be aware of because they contribute to the narrative of inequality. They are a specific type of deviation from the general understanding and discussion of gender and racial inequality. They do not suggest that Black women do not experience inequality, but do suggest that at the state-level inequality may be related to additional factors such as migration histories, population density, etc. Lastly, as noted in the last point, women's status appears to differ greatly by state. This is particularly true for Black women whose standard deviation statistics and minimum-maximum range value illustrate greater variation amongst the states.

Table 6.1 Summary State Descriptive Statistics for Women's Homicide by Subgroup and Type of Violence

	1980				1990				2000				2010			
	N	Mean	SD	Min-Max	N	Mean	SD	Min-Max	N	Mean	SD	Min-Max	N	Mean	SD	Min-Max
Total W																
Total	51	3.09	1.88	.25-10.5	50	2.87	2.24	.42-16.05	49	1.74	0.76	.31-3.39	50	1.59	0.61	.601-3.65
Int	51	1.12	0.55	.13-2.21	50	1	0.48	.10-2.35	49	0.74	0.33	.29-1.81	50	0.71	0.25	.14-1.41
Known	51	0.86	0.49	.08-2.79	50	0.71	0.41	0-1.53	49	0.46	0.23	0-1.01	50	0.43	0.2	0-.94
Stranger	51	0.3	0.27	0-1.54	50	0.27	0.28	0-1.96	49	0.13	0.09	0-.35	50	0.09	0.07	0-.31
Unknown	51	0.82	0.84	0-4.72	50	0.89	1.64	0-11.84	49	0.42	0.27	0-1.09	50	0.36	0.31	0-1.98
White W																
Total	51	2.35	1.52	.26-8.32	50	2.04	1.16	.45-7.88	49	1.49	0.82	.23-4.45	50	1.52	0.92	.27-5.27
Int	51	0.83	0.44	.13-2.00	50	0.77	0.35	.11-1.73	49	0.68	0.36	.14-1.81	50	0.73	0.38	.08-2.12
Known	51	0.55	0.28	.09-1.50	50	0.46	0.25	0-1.05	49	0.4	0.27	0-1.43	50	0.44	0.36	0-1.88
Stranger	51	0.3	0.39	0-2.64	50	0.23	0.24	0-1.58	49	0.11	0.11	0-.56	50	0.1	0.17	0-1.18
Unknown	51	0.66	0.77	0-4.14	50	0.59	0.85	0-5.91	49	0.3	0.22	0-1.30	50	0.25	0.24	0-1.57
Black W																
Total	51	10.17	5.54	0-24.51	50	8.41	5.06	0-20.47	49	4.62	3.16	0-11.06	50	4.42	3.87	0-22.96
Int	51	3.9	3.93	0-23.81	50	2.25	1.55	0-4.61	49	1.47	1.18	0-5.09	50	1.72	3.23	0-22.96
Known	51	3.49	3.79	0-24.51	50	2.72	2.17	0-12.01	49	1.26	1.16	0-4.83	50	1.19	2.57	0-18.28
Stranger	51	0.44	0.5	0-2.23	50	0.62	0.85	0-4.79	49	0.29	0.34	0-1.29	50	0.19	0.24	0-1.09
Unknown	51	2.34	2.15	0-8.83	50	2.82	2.84	0-14.97	49	1.6	1.43	0-4.83	50	1.32	1.1	0-4.58

Table 6.2 Summary State Descriptive Statistics for Relative and Absolute Status by Subgroup and Indicator

	1980				1990				2000				2010			
Status	N	Mean	SD	Min-Max	N	Mean	SD	Min-Max	N	Mean	SD	Min-Max	N	Mean	SD	Min-Max
Total W																
Rel Status																
Edu	51	0.52	0.07	0.37-0.72	51	0.78	0.05	0.63-0.95	51	0.89	0.05	0.74-1.05	51	0.99	0.06	0.81-1.17
Emp	51	0.67	0.05	0.54-0.85	51	0.77	0.03	0.67-0.89	51	0.82	0.03	0.77-0.89	51	0.88	0.03	0.79-0.94
Wage	51	0.28	0.08	.08-0.56	51	0.41	0.09	0.12-0.73	51	0.49	0.07	0.26-0.71	51	0.55	0.07	0.33-0.76
Ab Status																
Edu	51	0.05	0.02	0.03-0.13	51	0.18	0.04	0.11-0.31	51	0.23	0.05	0.14-0.36	51	0.28	0.06	0.18-0.49
Emp	51	0.47	0.04	0.34-0.56	51	0.54	0.05	0.39-0.62	51	0.56	0.04	0.44-0.64	51	0.55	0.04	0.46-0.64
Wage	51	4075.88	1332.27	1190-10005	51	9058.06	2680.26	2000-18000	51	13598.04	3094.22	5000-21600	51	16784.31	3806.38	7000-26000
WhiteW																
Rel Status																
Edu	51	0.50	0.06	0.37-0.68	51	0.76	0.06	0.63-0.95	51	0.87	0.06	0.72-1.05	51	0.97	0.07	0.77-1.17
Emp	51	0.65	0.04	0.54-0.78	51	0.76	0.04	0.66-0.85	51	0.81	0.04	0.73-0.88	51	0.86	0.04	0.77-0.94
Wage	51	0.25	0.07	0.08-0.41	51	0.37	0.08	0.12-0.62	51	0.44	0.08	0.24-0.70	51	0.48	0.09	0.32-0.74
Ab Status																
Edu	51	0.06	0.04	0.03-0.28	51	0.19	0.08	0.11-0.67	51	0.25	0.09	0.14-0.77	51	0.31	0.10	0.18-0.87
Emp	51	0.47	0.04	0.34-0.58	51	0.55	0.05	0.39-0.66	51	0.57	0.04	0.44-0.67	51	0.55	0.05	0.46-0.70
Wage	51	3700.20	1303.07	1130-10370	51	8689.05	2795.88	2000-19000	51	13094.12	3509.72	4700-25200	51	15576.47	5334.14	7000-40000
Black W																
Rel Status																
Edu	51	0.90	0.37	0-2.18	51	1.03	0.37	0.36-2.37	51	1.16	0.22	0.69-1.95	50	1.33	1.11	0.26-8.67
Emp	51	0.79	0.09	0.46-1.04	51	0.90	0.08	0.74-1.28	51	0.97	0.08	0.73-1.13	51	1.06	0.23	0.53-2.25
Wage	51	0.62	0.24	0.21-1.43	50	0.70	0.23	0.33-1.53	51	0.76	0.18	0.35-1.69	50	0.91	0.35	0.51-2.43
Int Status																
Edu	51	0.47	0.42	0-2.41	51	0.54	0.22	0.20-1.55	51	0.66	0.31	0.22-1.79	51	0.67	0.32	0-1.93
Emp	51	0.69	0.10	0.52-0.99	51	0.77	0.11	0.60-1.12	51	0.79	0.07	0.61-0.98	51	0.84	0.11	0.48-1.20
Wage	51	0.48	0.15	0.14-0.94	50	0.54	0.16	0.19-1.37	51	0.60	0.16	0.35-1.35	50	0.61	0.19	0.24-1.4
Ab Status																
Edu	51	0.05	0.04	0-0.18	51	0.13	0.06	0.08-0.40	51	0.18	0.08	0.11-0.50	51	0.21	0.09	0-0.52
Emp	51	0.50	0.08	0.35-0.71	51	0.55	0.08	0.38-0.81	51	0.55	0.06	0.42-0.72	51	0.54	0.09	0.33-0.87
Wage	51	6881.28	2232.36	2005-15740	50	12549.82	4125.32	3168-28000	51	17647.06	4809.96	7800-33800	50	19412.00	6742.79	8000-50000

FINDINGS

As noted in chapter 4, the state-level relationship between women's status and homicide were examined using panel analyses with fixed effects across four decade points. Each model investigates the relationship between the three indicators of relative, intersectional, or absolute status and the rates of homicide.[35] This section is organized by racial subgroup. Within the subgroup sections, each form of homicide will be discussed. At the end of the section is a discussion about the cross-racial findings.

As discussed in Chapter Five, gender inequality is the term commonly used to discuss women's status relative to men's; however, in this study I often use the term "relative status" instead. Relative status encompasses situations where women's status is greater than men's as is evident in Table 6.2. Moreover, relative status leads to a more direct interpretation of the findings. Specifically, positive relationships would suggest that as women's status relative to men's increases, rates of violence against women also increase. To the contrary, negative relationships would suggest that as women's status decreases relative to men's, rates of violence increase. It is important to note that women's status can increase relative to men's for multiple reasons. In the situation where women's status begins lower than men's, women's status would increase relative to men's if; 1) women's status increased and men's remained the same, 2) women's status remained the same but men's status decreased, 3) women and men's status both increased but women's increased more than men's, or 4) women and men's status both decreased but men's status decreased more than women's. This study does not attend to the modes of convergence or divergence. This means that although state's may vary by mode of

[35] It is important to note that only one form of status (relative, intersectional, or absolute) is investigated in each model. This decision was made because of the limited statistical power of the analyses.

change, increases in relative status are analyzed the same. This would be a useful area of inquiry in future studies. A review of the hypotheses presented in Chapter Three may be useful for navigating the findings in this chapter.

Total Women

Table 6.3 Results for Hybrid Negative Binomial Regression of Total Women's Status on Violence against Total Women

	Total Violence		**Intimate**		**Known**		**Stranger**		**Unknown**	
	Coef.	S.E.	Coef.	S.E.	Coef.	S.E.	Coef.	S.E.	Coef.	S.E.
Edu Rel	-0.49	0.57	-0.92	0.63	-0.79	0.93	-0.53	1.29	-1.31	0.89
Emp Rel	2.17	1.78	2.65	1.94	2.85	2.86	5.59	3.56	7.60 *	2.90
Wage Rel	-2.59	1.37	-1.64	1.43	-3.35	2.16	-9.66 *	2.85	-6.10 *	2.22
Edu Abs	2.96 *	1.21	0.42	1.40	0.53	1.95	0.80	2.55	4.46 *	2.04
Emp Abs	0.06	1.12	1.23	1.30	2.23	1.86	4.42	2.44	1.16	1.84
Wage Abs	-1E-04 *	2E-05	-3E-05 *	1E-05	-7E-05 *	2E-05	-1E-04 *	3E-05	-1E-04 *	3E-05

Are Changes in Gender Inequality Related to Changes in Fatal Violence Against Total Women?

Changes in total women's relative employment are significantly and positively related to unknown homicide rates (b=7.60*). This finding lends support to the backlash hypothesis. Changes in women's relative wage are significantly and negatively related to changes in stranger (b=-9.66*) and unknown (b=-6.10*) homicide rates. These relationships suggest that as women's wage increases relative to men's there are declines in total women's homicide rates. This could be interpreted as supporting an amelioration hypothesis. Educational attainment is not significantly related to changes in any type of homicide rate.

Are Changes in Absolute Status Related to Changes in Fatal Violence Against Total Women?

Changes in women's absolute status in educational attainment are significantly and positively related to total (b=2.96*) and unknown (b=4.46*). These positive relationships suggest that as women's status increases, violence against women also

increases supporting a backlash hypothesis. Higher educational attainment may increase the animosity of men (including those in intimate relationships with women) for women regardless of their individual situation.[36] Changes in women's wage are significantly and negatively related to the rates of each form of homicide. This persistent relationship lends support to an amelioration hypothesis. Increases in wage may mean that women are gaining resources to aid in their avoidance of potential offenders or environments without capable guardians. Nevertheless, advancements in absolute status produce conflicting relationships depending on the indicator of status.

White Women

Table 6.4 Results for Hybrid Negative Binomial Regression of White Women's Status on Violence against White Women

	Total Violence		**Intimate**		**Known**		**Stranger**		**Unknown**	
	Coef.	S.E.	Coef.	S.E.	Coef.	S.E.	Coef.	S.E.	Coef.	S.E.
Edu Rel	-0.75	0.63	-0.61	0.68	0.01	0.91	0.48	1.39	-2.56 *	1.10
Emp Rel	0.80	2.16	1.91	2.41	-2.29	3.15	-2.35	4.92	6.56	3.98
Wage Rel	-1.18	1.59	-1.15	1.76	0.56	2.32	-3.96	3.89	-4.57	3.03
Edu Abs	2.55 *	1.17	1.21	1.40	2.29	1.82	2.72	2.56	2.65	2.02
Emp Abs	-1.06	1.03	0.27	1.20	-2.01	1.58	-2.73	2.47	-0.24	1.92
Wage Abs	-1E-04 *	2E-05	-3E-05	2E-05	-5E-05 *	2E-05	-1E-04 *	4E-05	-1E-04 *	3E-05

Are Changes in Gender Inequality Related to Changes in Fatal Violence Against White Women?

Changes in white women's educational attainment relative to white men's are significantly and negatively related to white women's homicide rates (b=-2.56*). This suggests that as the percent of white women who completed 4 years of college or more increases relative to men, states will have lower rates of unknown homicide possibly supporting an amelioration hypothesis. The unknown category captures homicides where

[36] This is an important distinction because it is critical to not suggest that this relationship is functioning on the individual-level since that is not what is being investigated. Rather it is possible that increases in women's status at the state-level has an effect on the homicide rate by changing the environment that women in the state travel through or the valuation system of all women.

the victim-offender relationship is not known. It is possible that something related to the victim-offender relationship being unknown is influenced by the change in white women's relative status in educational attainment. For instance, since these instances are more likely to be uncleared perhaps these instances are more likely to be random or perhaps the victims are particularly vulnerable.

These findings do not support the hypotheses I presented in Chapter Three, since nearly all of the findings support the null hypothesis.

Are Changes in Absolute Status Related to Changes in Fatal Violence Against White Women?

Changes in white women's educational attainment are significantly and positively related to white women's total (b=2.55*) homicide rates. This relationship could provide support for a backlash hypothesis by suggesting that as white women's educational attainment increases total and unknown homicide rates also increases. This relationship suggests that educational attainment increases white women's risk of homicides by offenders whose relationship cannot be determined. Additionally, changes in white women's mean wage are significantly and negatively related to white women's total (b=-0.0001*), known (b=-0.00005*) stranger (b=-0.0001*), and unknown (b=-0.0001*) homicide rates. These relationships suggest that as white women's mean wage increase, certain forms of white women's homicide rates decrease possibly supporting an amelioration hypothesis. Increases in mean wage seem to protect women against stranger homicides and homicides where the offender's relationship to them cannot be determined. Having a higher wage may indicate that white women are better able to conjure capable guardians (such as personal security measures such as pepper spray and

the willingness to call the police) that may affect the safety of an environment including all of the white women in the environment.

My hypotheses in Chapter Three posit that indicators of absolute status have an amelioration effect on intimate and known violence against white women. I predicted that changes in total women's absolute status would show a backlash effect on stranger violence. The support for these hypotheses is limited to the wage indicator for total, known, and stranger violence.

Black Women

Table 6.5 Results for Hybrid Negative Binomial Regression of Black Women's Status on Violence against Black Women

	Total Violence		**Intimate**		**Known**		**Stranger**		**Unknown**	
	Coef.	S.E.	Coef.	S.E.	Coef.	S.E.	Coef.	S.E.	Coef.	S.E.
Edu Rel	-0.001	0.21	0.13	0.22	0.03	0.24	-0.22	0.37	-0.18	0.26
Emp Rel	-1.19	0.84	-1.15	0.96	-1.55	1.32	-3.96 *	1.91	-0.59	1.01
Wage Rel	-0.79	0.69	-1.47	0.81	-1.52	1.07	-0.55	1.55	-1.03	0.89
Edu Int	-1.88 *	0.56	-1.15	0.71	-2.67 *	0.91	-1	0.96	-1.44 *	0.6
Emp Int	-1.48	1.08	-0.12	1.23	-2.45	1.75	-9.58 *	2.62	-3.4 *	1.5
Wage Int	0.76	1.21	-2.88 *	1.43	0.43	1.99	3.83	3.31	2.22	1.87
Edu Abs	1.31	1.59	-0.53	1.91	1.98	2.73	2.27	4.11	1.19	2.5
Emp Abs	3.39 *	1.01	2.41	1.23	7.02 *	1.76	-3.97	2.86	5.08 *	1.62
Wage Abs	-0.0001 *	2E-05	-0.0001 *	2E-05	-0.0002 *	3E-05	-0.0001 *	5E-05	-0.0001 *	3E-05

Are Changes in Gender Inequality Related to Changes in Fatal Violence Against Black Women?

Changes in Black women's employment relative to Black men's are significantly and negatively related to Black women's known homicide rates (b=-3.96*). This negative relationship suggest that as Black women's employment status relative to Black men's increases, Black women's known homicides rates decrease supporting an amelioration hypothesis. Changes in educational attainment and wage relative to Black men's were not

significantly related to any form of violence against Black women supporting the null hypothesis.

A null relationship was hypothesized between changes in all forms of Black women's homicide rates and changes in Black women's status relative to Black men. There is support for this hypothesis since all but one relationship was insignificant. Amelioration has support in the significant and negative relationship between changes in Black women's employment relative to Black men's and Black women's known homicide rates. This relationship suggests that perhaps Black women gain value amongst the Black men that they know as more Black women are employed relative to the amount of Black men employed. There was not support for the backlash hypothesis.

Are Changes in Intersectional Inequality Related to Changes in Fatal Violence Against Black Women?

When considering Black women's status relative to white men's, findings suggest that increases in intersectional educational attainment, employment, and wages are significantly and negatively related to certain rates of Black women's homicide. Specifically, as Black women's educational attainment increases relative to white men's, total (b=-1.88*), known (b=-2.67*), and unknown (b=-1.44) homicide rates decrease supporting an amelioration hypothesis. Additionally, as Black women's employment increases relative to white men's stranger (b=-9.58*) and unknown (b=-3.4*) homicide rates decrease supporting an amelioration hypothesis. Lastly, when changes in Black women's mean wage increases relative to white men's, intimate (b=-2.88) homicide rates decrease supporting an amelioration hypothesis.

An amelioration relationship was hypothesized between changes in intersectional status and each form of Black women's homicide. Each of the significant relationships found in this investigation support this hypothesis but some indicators were insignificant supporting the null hypothesis. Indeed each type of violence against Black women is significantly related to at least one indicator of Black women's intersectional status. It may be that the relative increases in certain forms of status allow for the greater valuation of Black women by certain types of potential offenders.

Are Changes in Absolute Status Related to Changes in Fatal Violence Against Black Women?

Changes in Black women's employment levels are significantly and positively related to total (b=3.39*), known (b=7.02*), and unknown (b=5.08*) Black women homicide rates. These positive relationships support a backlash hypothesis. Changes in Black women's mean wage are significantly and negatively related to each form of Black women's homicide meaning that as Black women's mean wage increases Black women's homicide rates decreases. These relationships support an amelioration hypothesis. Changes in Black women's educational attainment are not significantly related to any form of violence against Black women supporting the null hypothesis.

In Chapter Three, I hypothesized an amelioration relationship between changes in Black women's absolute status and Black women's intimate and known homicide. I predicted a null relationship between Black women's absolute status and Black women's stranger homicide. The findings provide mixed support for the amelioration hypotheses when examining intimate and known homicide. Specifically, wage had an ameliorative relationship with intimate and known homicide; however, it also had a ameliorative

relationship with stranger violence (contrary to the hypothesis). The other indicators had a null relationship with each form of violence. Hence, it appears that increases in Black women's wages reduces Black women's homicide rates perhaps through changes in how Black women of the state are valued or increased access to capable guardianship that helps to protect all Black women.

Cross-racial Comparisons

Educational Attainment

As shown above, white women's relative educational attainment is significantly and negatively related to unknown homicide rates. Black women's intersectional education attainment is also significantly and negatively related to total, known, and unknown homicide rates. The significant relationships lend support to the amelioration hypothesis. The findings are not consistent across forms of homicide for any of the subgroups.

Conversely absolute status in educational attainment is significantly related to total women's total and unknown homicide rates, white women's total homicide rates. Here the relationship is positive lending support to the backlash explanation.

Employment

Relative status in employment is significantly and positively related to total women's unknown homicide rate. It is significantly and negatively related to Black women's stranger homicide rate. Black women's intersectional status in employment is significantly and negatively related to stranger and unknown homicide rates. Therefore, the employment indicator lends support to the null hypotheses for total and white women's homicide rates with the exception of the total women's unknown homicide rate

which indicates a backlash relationship. The amelioration and null hypotheses gain support from the Black women's homicide rates when Black women's relative and intersectional status in employment is investigate. Hence, disaggregating by race is particularly important here since relative status in employment is positively related to total women's unknown homicide rate while Black women's intersectional status in employment is negatively related to Black women's unknown homicide rate.

In terms of absolute status, employment is not significantly related to any total or white women's homicide rates. Black women's absolute status in employment is significantly and positively related to Black women's total, known, and unknown homicide rates. In terms of absolute status, employment lends support to the backlash and null hypotheses.

Wage

As a relative status indicator, changes in wages are significantly and negatively related to total women's stranger and unknown homicide rates. As an intersectional status indicator, changes in wages are significantly and negatively related to Black women's intimate homicide rates. The sparse significant findings support an amelioration hypothesis.

In terms of absolute status, wage is significantly and negatively related to total women's (total, intimate, known stranger, and unknown), white women's (total, known, stranger, and unknown), and Black women's (total, intimate, known, stranger, and unknown) homicide rates. As an absolute status indicator, wage has a significant relationship with more homicide rates than any other status indicator by being related to all homicide rates except for white women's intimate homicide rates.

CONCLUSION

In response to prior literature that acknowledges the lack of clarity across gender inequality studies, this study investigates the relationship between women's status and women's homicide by incorporating past key measures. Specifically this study disaggregates four decade panels of women's homicide data by victim-offender relationship and race. Additionally, this study investigates relative and absolute indicators of status. To contribute to the existing literature, this study also replicates elements of the existing literature for comparability. For example, the traditional indicators of status are used (e.g. educational attainment, employment, and wage). In addition, total homicide and total women analyses were included for comparison to analyses that did not disaggregate by victim-offender relationship and/or race. Lastly, while applying an intersectional approach to the study of women's homicide by including intersectional status in the Black women's homicide models, the traditional intra-racial relative status is also investigated. These design decisions allowed for an investigation of findings that readers can compare to prior literature. Although the investigation is comprehensive it does not produce a simple story about the relationship between women's status and women's homicide. Rather it contributes by helping clarify some important components for future research. These recommendations will be gleaned from the abundant findings and discussed in the final chapter.

The total women investigations found that educational attainment is the only relative status indicator significantly related to total women's homicide. This relationship is negative and confined to total women's total and known homicide rates. In terms of absolute status, total women's absolute employment is significantly and positively related

to total women's total and intimate homicide rates. Increases in total women's absolute wage is significantly and negatively related to total women's total, intimate, stranger, and unknown homicide rates.

When investigating white women's homicide, only relative status in employment is significantly related to any white women's homicide rates. The relationship is negative and confined to known homicide rates. For white women's absolute status, educational attainment, employment, and wage are significantly related to some white women's homicide rates. Educational attainment is significantly and positively related to white women's total and unknown homicide rates. Employment is significantly and negatively related to white women's known homicide rate. Wage is significantly and negatively related to white women's total, stranger, and unknown homicide rates.

For Black women's homicide, relative status in employment is the only relative status indicator that is significantly related. Relative status in employment is significantly and negatively related to Black women's stranger homicide rates. Employment is significantly and positively related to Black women's known homicide rate. In terms of intersectional status, each indicator is related to some Black women's homicide rates. Educational attainment is significantly and negatively related to Black women's total, known, and unknown homicide rates. Employment is significantly and negatively related to stranger and unknown homicide rates. Wage is significantly and negatively related to Black women's total, intimate, and known homicide rates. For absolute status, only wage is significantly related to any Black women's homicide rates. It is significantly and negatively related to each of Black women's homicide rates.

Ultimately, the clearest findings are that victim-offender relationship and race influence the relationship between women's status and women's homicide. It remains unclear what the precise relationship and the mechanism is for those relationships. Mixed findings are common in past research and may be attributable to numerous factors to be discussed in the next chapter.

CHAPTER SEVEN: DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

Extant research on the relationship between gender inequality and violence against women has been inconclusive. This could be attributed to limited data, underdeveloped theory, and misspecified models, among other reasons. In response, the purpose of this study has been to examine the ever-growing wealth of data to add clarity to our understanding of the relationship between gender inequality and violence against women. Hence, this study proceeded with three primary intents.

The first intent was to investigate this relationship in a way that reflects past findings. Prior literature has suggested that victim-offender relationship matters when studying the relationship between women's status and violence against women (Xie et al., 2012). Additionally, research has suggested that race matters when studying violence in general and against women specifically. Indeed studies that have disaggregated by race when investigating gender inequality have found differences between the subgroups (Vieraitis & Williams, 2002; Eschholz & Vieraitis, 2004; Pridemore & Freilich, 2005). Lastly, prior research has alluded to and found that this relationship is temporal although much of the research has been cross-sectional. Hence, the present study is a longitudinal study that disaggregates violence against women by the race of the victim and the victim-offender relationships.

The second intent of this project was to investigate the scope of the relationship between gender inequality and violence against women. This study approaches this in two ways. First, this study considers the geographic level of the relationship through national-level and state-level analyses. To this point, it has not been determined at which level these relationships function. Second, this study assesses whether the relationship

differs for homicide and non-fatal victimization at the national-level. It is possible that the relationship is specific to certain types of violence.

Finally, this study introduces intersectionality as a theory to this body of empirical research. As noted, this study disaggregates violence against women by the race of the victim; however, going beyond that this study incorporates an intersectionality perspective by including indicators of proposed intersectional status. Intersectional status was used to measure the structural place of women of color in society by indicating their status relative to white men rather than to another racially oppressed group.

Notably, this study includes many models and could be discussed in a variety of ways. I have elected to share first the ways that this study complements the extant literature by reviewing the standard hypotheses and models most similar to those in existing research. Second, I discuss the ways that this study contributes to the literature by incorporating an intersectionality perspective. Lastly, I discuss recommendations for future data collection and research.

STANDARD HYPOTHESES

As a review, the main hypotheses for the relationship between gender inequality and violence against women are backlash and amelioration. Backlash occurs when gender inequality decreases (men and women become more equal in status) and violence against women increases in response. Amelioration occurs when gender inequality decreases and violence against women decreases. Although these hypotheses were originally addressed as competing, they have since been discussed as corollary.

This study like many before found mixed support for the backlash, amelioration, and null hypotheses. These findings will be reviewed in order of their appearance in

earlier chapters excluding the findings regarding intersectional inequality which is discussed in the next section. As a reminder, Chapter Five presents the findings for the national-level analyses while Chapter Six presents the findings for the state-level analyses.

National-Level

The national-level investigation uses correlation analyses to determine whether trends of various race-specific indicators of women's absolute and relative status are related to race-specific trends of total, intimate, known, and stranger victimization (homicide and non-fatal). Table 7.1 is a summary table of the significant correlation findings for women's homicide trends at the national-level. Positive relationships suggest that as inequality decreases and men and women become more equal according to the indicator, violence increases.[37] When considering relative status, these relationships support a backlash hypothesis. The same hypotheses can be applied to the findings regarding absolute status indicators. Some studies have used different hypotheses for absolute status than for gender inequality; however, here for cohesiveness the same hypotheses are considered (Martin et al., 2006; Xie et al., 2012). Insignificant relationships (which are indicated by blank spaces in this table) support the null hypothesis of no relationship. Table 7.1 shows support for each of these possible hypotheses.

[37] When the inequality indicators equal 1, men and women are equal in status according to that indicator. As explained in previous chapters, it is possible for a value to be higher than 1 with women having a higher status than men according to that indicator. This occurred for Black and Hispanic women (when considered relative to men of their race) in terms of educational attainment. Hence, I tend to refer to gender inequality as women's relative status. I believe that this distinction is important because it reflects the purpose of the indicators and correctly distinguishes the indicators from a system of inequality. The dangers of placing all the weight of gender inequality on a small selection of generally socioeconomic indicators are discussed later in this chapter.

Table 7.1 Summary of Correlation results between Indicators of Women's Status and Women's Homicide (1980-2012)

	Relative			Intersectional			Absolute		
Total Women	Edu Att	Emp	Wage				Edu Att	Emp	Wage
Total			0.61				-0.51		
Intimate			0.58				-0.39		
Known	-0.37		0.56				-0.58		
Stranger			0.37					-0.36	
White Women	Edu Att	Emp	Wage				Edu Att	Emp	Wage
Total	-0.41						-0.57		
Intimate	-0.46								
Known	-0.47						-0.56		
Stranger									
Black Women	Edu Att	Emp	Wage	Edu Att	Emp	Wage	Edu Att	Emp	Wage
Total		-0.53	0.37			0.38	-0.41		
Intimate		-0.36	0.38		-0.44	0.54		-0.44	
Known		-0.48							
Stranger	-0.46	-0.44		-0.43	-0.38	0.35	-0.48		

The backlash hypothesis receives support from the wage indicator's relationship with homicide trends for total and Black women. Significant and positive relationships were found between total women's relative status in wage and trends for all forms of total women's homicide and between Black women's relative status in wage and Black women's trends of total and intimate homicide. None of the significant relationships between trends of absolute status and homicide supported the backlash hypothesis.

The amelioration hypothesis receives support from the other indicators of women's status: educational attainment and employment. For total women, amelioration only receives support from the relationship between trends of relative status in educational attainment and total women's trends of known homicide. For white women, the relationships between trends of relative status in educational attainment and white women's trends of total, intimate, and known homicide provide support for the amelioration hypothesis. For Black women, the relationship between trends of relative status in educational attainment and trends of stranger homicide support the amelioration hypothesis. Additionally, the relationship between trends of relative status in employment

and every trend of Black women's homicide support the amelioration hypothesis. In terms of absolute status, trends of educational attainment are related to trends of total women's (total, intimate, and known), white women's (total and known), and Black women's (total and stranger) homicide. Absolute status in employment also supported an amelioration hypothesis with its significant and negative relationship with trends of total women's stranger homicide and Black women's intimate homicide.

In terms of the null hypothesis, trends of relative status in employment are not significantly related to any trend of total women's homicide or white women's homicide. Trends of relative wage are also not significantly related to any trend of white women's homicide. Trends of absolute wage are not significantly related to any trend of homicide.

While these findings do not lend overwhelming support for backlash, amelioration, or the null hypothesis, they do provide some important information that should guide future research. One clear finding is that using race-specific indicators results in different findings. This is exemplified by the differences between the total women models and the models for white and Black women. For instance, changes in total women's relative wage are significantly and positively related to every trend of total women's homicide. It would seem that changes in relative wage are a consistent predictor of changes in women's homicide trends regardless of the victim-offender relationship. Yet when race-specific analyses are investigated, it is revealed that changes in relative wage are not related to any white women's homicide trend and are only related to Black women's trends of total and intimate homicide. These differences suggest that conducting only aggregate analyses may conflate differences amongst the subgroups. This appears to be true for victim-offender relationship as well. Nevertheless, although there were

multiple differences across subgroup, there were also similarities. For instance, when an indicator is significantly related to homicide trends, it is related in the same direction regardless of victim-offender relationship and subgroup. For example, changes in relative wage are positively related to trends of homicide when it was significant regardless of the victim-offender relationship and subgroup. Ultimately, changes in women's relative and absolute status in educational attainment and employment indicate amelioration and changes in women's relative status in wage indicate backlash when investigating women's homicide trends.

Table 7.2 Summary of Correlation results between Indicators of Women's Status and Non-Fatal Violence against Women (1980-2012)

	Relative			Intersectional			Absolute		
Total Women	Edu Att	Emp	Wage				Edu Att	Emp	Wage
Total			0.38				-0.6		
Intimate							-0.49		
Known			0.42				-0.61		
Stranger			0.38				-0.5	-0.36	
White Women	Edu Att	Emp	Wage				Edu Att	Emp	Wage
Total							-0.48		-0.46
Intimate								0.43	
Known							-0.55		
Stranger							-0.41		-0.37
Black Women	Edu Att	Emp	Wage	Edu Att	Emp	Wage	Edu Att	Emp	Wage
Total									-0.39
Intimate									
Known									
Stranger									
Hispanic Women	Edu Att	Emp	Wage	Edu Att	Emp	Wage	Edu Att	Emp	Wage
Total			0.36		-0.41				
Intimate									
Known				-0.49	-0.39		-0.48		
Stranger			0.46		-0.46			-0.46	

Table 7.2 provides a similar summary of findings for the national-level correlations between changes in women's status and changes in trends of non-fatal violence against women. Hispanic women are included in these analyses because the

non-fatal violence data (NCS-NCVS) allows for disaggregation by ethnicity. There is support for the backlash, amelioration, and the null hypothesis. Compared to the homicide investigation, there is much more support for the null hypothesis of no relationship between changes in relative status and changes in trends of non-fatal violence against women. Specifically, no indicator of relative status is significantly related to non-fatal violence against white or Black women and only changes in the relative status of wage are significantly related to some trends of non-fatal violence against total and Hispanic women. For total women and Hispanic women, only changes in relative wage are significantly related to some trends of violence. These relationships were all positive supporting the backlash hypothesis. At the same time, trends of each of the absolute status indicators were significantly related to some trend of non-fatal violence for each subgroup. Each of the significant relationships support an amelioration hypothesis except for the relationship between white women's employment and white women's intimate non-fatal violence trend.

The complexity of these results yields some important conclusions. The relationship between women's status and non-fatal violence against women trends appears to be influenced by several factors at the national-level. For example, the findings differed according to the indicator of status, victim-offender relationship, racial subgroup, and whether the violence investigated was fatal or non-fatal. The influence however would be difficult to calculate with these analyses and the findings do not reveal an obvious pattern. In terms of relative status what does seem true is that increases in women's relative status in educational attainment and employment tend to be associated with decreasing trends of violence that women experience. This is only true for some

trends of violence and primarily for homicide trends since relative status in educational attainment and employment are not significantly related to any trends of non-fatal violence. Additionally, relative status in educational attainment is significantly related to more trends of white women's homicide than Black women's homicide, while relative status in employment is related to more trends of Black women's homicide than white women's homicide. This could suggest educational attainment is more protective for white women in terms of their exposure to potential offenders, ability to advocate and ensure white women's safety, or the value they are assigned. Employment seems to be more protective for Black women perhaps for the same reasons. It is important to note that Black women's educational attainment has exceeded that of Black men since 1999. It is possible that the threshold for the impact of educational attainment has been met and that now it does not influence Black women's victimization outside of stranger victimization, which may be distinct from other forms of violence due to its nature and context. Eschholz and Vieraitis (2004) investigated rape at the city-level respectively. They disaggregated by race but not by victim-offender relationship and found that relative educational attainment was significantly and negatively related to white women's rape rates as well. However, they found that relative educational attainment was significantly and negatively related to Black women's rape rates as well. It is possible that the disaggregation by victim-offender relationship, the geographic-level, and longitudinal design of this analysis is key to unraveling this relationship.

Explaining why relative status was related to more forms of women's homicide than non-fatal violence against women is difficult without further analyses. It appears that

non-fatal violence against women trends are more related to absolute status trends than the trends of the relative status indicators included here.

Most of the gender inequality and violence against women research has been conducted at the subnational level. This is likely attributable to multiple causes including lack of sufficient statistical power at the national-level. At this point, national-level violence data have been available for over three decades and can allow for correlation analyses. Taking advantage of this accruing data was useful and future studies should continue to consider relationships at each level of geographical aggregation. Here, the national-level analyses reveal mixed findings not uncommon in the prior literature; however, they also reveal some important conclusions that should be considered in future research. For example, in the complexity of the findings it becomes apparent that disaggregation matters. Disaggregating the violence trends by the victim-offender relationship revealed differing relationships to relative and absolute status indicators. Importantly, indicators tended to be related in one direction when they were related, but rarely was an indicator related to every form of violence for any one subgroup. No indicator was significantly related to all forms of violence for each subgroup. This suggests the importance of disaggregating by racial/ethnic subgroups. The analyses conducted on white women's and Black women's homicide trends differed from the ones conducted on total women's homicide thereby providing a different picture of how and when trends of relative and absolute status relate to violence. Again amongst these differences, indicators when related were related in the same direction across subgroup except for absolute status in employment and non-fatal violence trends. Hispanic women were included in the investigations of non-fatal violence, which demonstrated the

importance of separating homicide from non-fatal violence when investigating the trends. This consideration was important for including Hispanic women as a subgroup but also showed that the relationship between relative and absolute status and violence differed when the trend reflected fatal or non-fatal violence. Specifically, wage was the only indicator of relative status that was significantly related to non-fatal violence against women trends while there were instances of the relative status in educational attainment, employment, and wage being significantly related to homicide trends. Conversely Eschholz and Vieraitis (2004)'s study of rape (which is a form of non-fatal violence) revealed significant relationships between relative and absolute status indicators. Their study again was conducted at the city-level, without disaggregating by victim-offender relationship, and in 1990 which may have been meaningful.

State-Level

The state-level analysis findings were presented in Chapter Six. These analyses used a panel regression design to investigate the relationship between indicators of relative and absolute status and women's homicide. Since data on the indicators of relative and absolute status were not available annually for as long as it was on the national-level, the state-level analyses use 1980, 1990, 2000, and 2010 as the time points. Table 7.3 provides a summary of the regression findings from the state-level analyses.

Table 7.3 Summary of State-Level Panel Regression Significant Coefficients

	Relative			Intersectional			Absolute		
Total Women	Edu Att	Emp	Wage				Edu Att	Emp	Wage
Total							2.96		-1E-04
Intimate									-3E-05
Known									-7E-05
Stranger			-9.66						-1E-04
Unknown		7.60	-6.10				4.46		-1E-04
White Women	Edu Att	Emp	Wage				Edu Att	Emp	Wage
Total							2.55		-1E-04
Intimate									
Known									-5E-05
Stranger									-1E-04
Unknown	-2.56								-1E-04
Black Women	Edu Att	Emp	Wage	Edu Att	Emp	Wage	Edu Att	Emp	Wage
Total				-1.88				3.39	-1E-04
Intimate						-2.88			-1E-04
Known				-2.67				7.02	-2E-04
Stranger		-3.96			-9.58				-1E-04
Unknown				-1.44	-3.40			5.08	-1E-04

Within the state-level analyses of women's homicide, there is support for each of the hypotheses for the relationship between relative status and violence and absolute status and violence. Moreover, as was found with the national-level analyses, there are obvious differences by victim-offender relationship and racial subgroup. Conversely, the direction of an indicator's relationship with violence can differ by racial subgroup. For instance, changes in relative status in employment is significantly and positively related to total women's unknown homicide rates but negatively related to Black women's stranger homicide rates. This suggests that when total women's employment levels increase relative to total men's their rate of homicide victimization also increases, but when Black women's employment levels increase relative to Black men's their rate of homicide victimization decreases. Changes in white women's relative employment status is not significantly related to changes in any white women's rates of homicide.

Ultimately, the state-level findings have an added layer of complexity again emphasizing the sensitivity of the findings to disaggregation.[38]

The findings in the present study are somewhat reminiscent of findings from Vieraitis and Williams (2002) which investigated city-level women's homicide rates in 1990. Vieraitis and Williams (2002) found no significant relationships between relative inequality and Black women's homicide rates while finding some significant relationships for total women and white women's homicide rates. Here only one significant relationship emerged between Black women's relative status and Black women's homicide. Yet in contrast, Vieraitis and Williams (2002) also found no significantly relationships between Black women's absolute status and Black women's homicide. In the present study, several significant relationships between Black women's absolute status, intersectional status (which was not investigated in the previous study), and Black women's homicide emerged. Moreover, they found no support for the amelioration hypothesis for any racial subgroup or status indicator. The present study provides support for amelioration and backlash depending on the indicator, racial subgroup, and victim-offender relationship. The differences found here may be illuminating the importance of disaggregation and/or the value in incorporating additional time periods.

A notable pattern in the state-level analyses appears regarding the importance of women's absolute status in wage. Changes in the absolute status of women's wage are significantly and negatively related to changes in the level of women's homicide. This relationship exists for each subgroup and each form of homicide with only one exception.

[38] It is important to note that the power of these analyses may place undue influence on outliers and anomalies. These analyses should be replicated with additional time points as data becomes available.

Changes in white women's absolute status in wage is not significantly related to changes in white women's intimate homicide rates. This pattern suggests that women's absolute status in wage is important in explaining changes in women's homicides. Specifically, as women's absolute status in wage increases, women's homicides decrease. Interestingly, as strong as this relationship seems to be in the present study it was not detected in Vieraitis and Williams (2002) or Eschholz and Vieraitis (2004).

A discussion on income inequality and violence has existed within the literature often suggesting that income inequality exacerbates violence and that therefore closing the gap (general, racial, or gender) reduces violence. These findings suggest that changes in absolute wage relate to changes in women's homicide rates more consistently than women's wage relative to men's. Vieraitas, Britto, and Morris (2015) explained that Marxist feminism, which attributes the oppression of women to capitalism, expect this relationship. The simple gains may reflect greater contributions to and value in their homes and communities while also increasing women's ability to protect themselves and one another. Since, gains in women's absolute wage most likely occur with gains in men's absolute wage it does not affect inequality so, as Vieraitis et al. (2015) explain, backlash is less likely. Additionally, they explain that routine activities and lifestyle explanation and the exposure reduction explanation may also explain this type of relationship since low wage women may have more exposure to potential offenders and less access to capable guardianship. Vieraitis et al. (2015) investigated the importance of absolute status in explaining changes in women's homicide disaggregated by victim offender relationship over three time periods. They found some significant relationships between their absolute status measure and female homicide. Since, they did not

disaggregate by the race of the victim and created an index of the three absolute status indicators used here, this dissertation builds upon their theorizing.

Compared to the national-level patterns, the state-level findings illustrate a different understanding of the relationship between changes in relative status, absolute status, and women's homicide. Nevertheless, they indicate that it is useful to disaggregate by victim-offender relationship and victim's race. There is no comparison between women's homicide and non-fatal violence against women at the state-level, because the NCS/NCVS's sampling design does not allow for that type of analysis. According to the findings at the national-level, it would be useful to be able to compare the state-level analyses since it is likely that the findings differ by fatality.

INTERSECTIONALITY

In addition to the disaggregation by victim-offender relationship, race, and fatality, this study contributes to the gender inequality literature by theoretically considering the implications of race on the relationship between trends of women's status and violence. Specifically, this study incorporates an understanding of intersectionality as developed and introduced by Black feminists and scholars. Intersectionality recognizes that all people hold multiple identities by which we are given or denied power within the power structure of society. Our multiple identities may influence our perceptions, experiences, opportunities, and reactions. The weight of our various identities may change according to the context of our environments and situations. Specifically, this study incorporates the identity of race/ethnicity and gender into the understanding of the relationship between gender inequality and violence against women. This was realized by the introduction of what I referred to as "intersectional status," an interracial variation of

relative status. Intersectional status measured Black and Hispanic women's status relative to white men's in an effort to gauge their status in society rather than simply in reference to other disadvantaged groups (Black men and Hispanic men respectively).

The national-level homicide analyses revealed slightly different findings when using intersectional status indicators versus relative status indicators. Specifically, each intersectional status indicator was significantly related to Black women's stranger homicide trend, while relative status in wage was not. Additionally, relative status in employment was related to each trend of Black women's homicide, while intersectional status in employment was only related to Black women's intimate and stranger homicide trends. These differences are subtle in that the indicators were related in the same direction for intersectional and relative status.

When looking at the national-level non-fatal violence findings, relative and intersectional statuses are not significantly related to any form of Black women's non-fatal victimization. However, there were some significant relationships for Hispanic women. In terms of relative status, only wage was related to some forms of Hispanic women's victimization. Conversely, in terms of intersectional status, wage is not related to any trend of non-fatal violence against Hispanic women but educational attainment and employment are.

The findings from the state-level analyses revealed very similar findings for Black women. Indeed, there were only two differences. First, the magnitude of the relationships differed; they were higher for the intersectional status indicators. Second, relative status in employment was significantly and positively related to Black women's known homicide rates and intersectional status in employment was not significantly related to

any form of Black women's homicide. Ultimately, the intersectional status analyses reveal some of the same complexity that the other analyses do. Additionally, they do not differ drastically from the more traditional intra-racial status indicators. The viability of this will be discussed further in the next section regarding the future of gender inequality studies as informed by this study.

THE FUTURE OF GENDER INEQUALITY AND VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN RESEARCH

One of the primary goals of this project was to add clarity to the often mixed findings of gender inequality and violence against women research. The project was designed to clarify the scope of the relationship and incorporate findings from previous research, however complex patterns emerged. In the end, this approach also produced mixed findings with some support for each of the traditional hypotheses including the null hypothesis. Along with the prior body of literature, these findings suggest that the phenomenon of violence against women is itself complex, and should not be over-simplified. Nonetheless, the complexity of the findings yields important implications for future research. Specifically, this study provides support for further study of the relationship between gender inequality, intersectionality, and violence against women but with important caveats. Additionally, this study illustrates the importance of how gender inequality is operationalized. Lastly, this study should encourage the development of new data or expansion of existing data sources to allow for intersectional longitudinal research. Ultimately, I believe that the frequent mixed findings derived from gender inequality and violence against women research does not negate the existence of a relationship, rather it may suggest that the relationship has not been adequately described.

This study does not merely replicate previous analyses, rather it builds upon previous analyses by combining important elements. Specifically, this study disaggregates by victim-offender relationship and race following previous studies that did one or the other. Indeed, this study appears to be the first of its kind in this area of research. In addition, this study follows the recommendation of previous studies by not assuming the relationships operate only at the subnational-level or that the fatality of the incident is not relevant. By attending to these various elements, this study finds that the relationship between trends of women's status and trends of violence against women differ by victim-offender relationship, race, and fatality. It also finds that relationships exist on the national- and state-level and therefore warrant further investigation.

Considering that different indicators of relative and absolute status were related to the same form of violence in different directions, it is important for future research to reconsider the operationalization of gender inequality (or relative status). Bradley and Khor (1993) noted that often sociologists and anthropologists studying the status of women took for granted that economic indicators were the most important, overarching form of gender inequality. Indeed, within criminology the bulk of the literature has used socioeconomic indicators (Titterington, 2006). Gender inequality is typically operationalized using four categories: employment, educational attainment, occupation type, and income (Whaley, 2001), primarily because these are the indicators that are most readily available. Nevertheless, Bradley and Khor (1993) stressed that gender inequality should not be reduced to economic differences between men and women. Rather, they argued that gender inequality is composed of three dimensions: political, economic, and social. Additionally, each dimension has a public and private domain and, thereby,

gender inequality can only be understood once the interrelationships among the dimensions and domains are better understood.

Some studies have incorporated other forms of gender inequality such as legal and political access/participation. For example, the Gender Equality Index, created by Sugarman and Straus (1988), incorporated economic, political, and legal disparity. Titterington (2006) included a dimension for socioeconomic, political, social service, and legislative (in)equality. The socioeconomic, political, and legislative dimensions were similar to those constructed by Sugarman and Straus (1988). The social service dimension measured the availability of services pertaining to reproductive rights and violence against women. Whaley (2001) also included a legal inequality measure. This measure represented whether states had passed a variety of measures deemed as "pro-women" (pp. 540). There was substantial cross-over between the laws that Whaley (2001) included and what Sugarman and Straus (1988) used. Additionally, Xie, Heimer, and Lauritsen (2012) incorporated a political indicator of female voting turnout.

In some studies gender inequality is represented with an index. Indices identify an underlying commonality among variables (McCall, Land, and Parker, 2010). Sometimes this is a theoretical commonality and at other times, it is an empirical commonality as shown by multicollinearity. It is possible that indicators included in an index are related in different ways to the dependent variable. The present study finds that this is the case for the traditional indicators of educational attainment, employment, and wage. Peterson and Bailey (1992) mentioned this issue regarding the mixed findings reported by Baron and Straus (1984) as well. Finding that fairly well-accepted indicators of gender inequality are related to violence against women in different ways within an analysis, as

happened here, adds to the confusion regarding the relationship between gender inequality and violence against women (Peterson and Bailey, 1992). Hence, indices may in fact be suggesting commonality where commonality does not exist or that there are confounding differences (Peterson and Bailey, 1992; Bradley and Khor, 1993; Bailey, 1999).

Importantly, how gender inequality is understood affects how it should be measured. This issue is critical for multiple reasons. Primarily, the relationship between gender inequality and violence against women may disappear due to the decreasing validity of indicators rather than any substantive change in gender stratification. If studies continue to find mixed results or begin to consistently not find a relationship between gender inequality and violence against women, scholars will likely argue that the relationship does not exist; however, it is possible that the indicators of gender inequality that are being used do not represent the elements of gender inequality that are related to violence against women. This is a pertinent concern with the strong concentration on socio-economic indicators of gender inequality. For instance, within the black community, women have already surpassed males according to some socio-economic indicators and for others they are nearly equal (Eschholz and Vieraitis, 2004). Moreover, scholars have noted the closing gender gap in socio-economic status for women in general (Bailey, 1999). If we continue to focus on socio-economic factors as indicators of gender inequality, we will have no choice but to resolve that gender inequality no longer exists well before gender inequality actually dissipates. In reality, the differential allotment of in-home/domestic responsibilities may remain even as women are involved in the workforce on equal footing as men. Women may continue to be discredited without

cause and have their value judged with suspicion even as they achieve equitable levels of education and socioeconomic status. Indeed, white women may continue to be characterized in sexually passive, vulnerable, and weak while Black women are characterized as untrustworthy, emotionally charged, and unprofessional even as they hold positions of power within corporations and perhaps even the government. Moreover, race dynamics, racialized ideologies of gender, and racism may continue to stifle and dampen the socio-economic progress of Black people in general and Black women in particular. For instance, the fact that Black women and Hispanic women are outpacing Black men and Hispanic men, respectively, in educational attainment has not eliminated the inequality that Black women and Hispanic women face. Dettling, Hsu, Jacobs, Moore, and Thompson (2017) investigated data from the Survey of Consumer Finances and found that having a Bachelor's degree did not erase the race gap in net worth for Black, white, and Hispanic families. The net worth for Black households where the head of household has a Bachelor's degree is closer to the net worth of similarly situated white households than for Black households where the head of the household does not have a Bachelor's degree. This is true for Hispanic households too. Nevertheless, the gap is substantial with white households still having over five times as much net worth as Black families and Hispanic families. A report from the Pew Research Center found that in 2015, Black women earned 65 cents for every dollar that white men earned. Black and Hispanic women with Bachelor's degrees or higher earned just under 72 cents per each dollar white men with at least a Bachelor's degree earned (Patten, 2016). In relation to Black and Hispanic men with Bachelor's degrees, Black women and Hispanic women earn 92 and 85 cents per dollar respectively. Clearly certain socio-economic gains such as

educational attainment do not eliminate inequality in other areas for women and households of color. For white women who have a smaller earning gap with white men, they still make 82 cents to each dollar earned by white men. With a Bachelor's degree the gap is slightly larger with white women making 78 cents to each dollar earned by white men. Hence, it is crucial that researchers begin to determine the most valid indicators of intersectional gender inequality. In earlier research, complex and elaborate indices were used to operationalize gender inequality, but now studies, including this one, tend to use more readily available data (Baron and Straus, 1987; Sugarman and Straus, 1988; Titterington, 2006). This represents a limiting acceptance of data limitations. This area of study continues to warrant investigation especially regarding the intersectional elements. In the next section, data limitations and calls for expansion and development will be presented.

This study was designed to complement and expand upon existing research on the relationship between gender inequality and violence against women. Hence, decisions to use traditional indicators of gender inequality and aggregate trends of violence were purposeful in that it allows for comparison between this study and previous studies. The findings from this study could be interpreted as yet another reason to abandon this field of study; however, I would argue that it provides a foundation for future study that can drastically improve our understanding and study of violence against women. All studies face data limitations. In this study, data availability guided the design of the state-level analyses in that it is a panel analysis of four decade time points rather than an annual series of time points. That the state-level analyses were only conducted on homicide trends and thereby could not include Hispanic women was also due to data limitations.

Data development and expansion should be led by multiple factors including relevant findings, some of which can be drawn from this study.

While previous studies often studied a specific type of violence against women such as "wife battering," homicide, etc., this study includes fatal and non-fatal violence in the national-level investigations. The SHR was used for the homicide data and the NCS/NCVS was used for the non-fatal data. Each data set has its own limitations for this study. Notably the SHR can be used to conduct national- and state-level analyses which can be disaggregated by race, sex, and victim-offender relationship. However, the data could not be used to reliably create Hispanic women homicide trends even though this information has been formally included since 1980. It is important to move away from discussing race and ethnicity by only addressing Black and white subgroups. However, the data are sparse, especially for a phenomenon as statistically rare as homicide. Another potential obstacle for scholars seeking to conduct studies like the present one is the SHR data were not available in an inclusive longitudinal form. In order to conduct this study with the necessary subgroups and including as many incidents as possible (such as those with multiple victims), I manually merged many years of data while also recoding them to be in sync with one another. This process was tedious and perhaps has discouraged other scholars from attempting this work. Longitudinal research is only useful when it is conducted and should be encouraged with clear and accessible data. Fortunately, with the completion of this study, longitudinal homicide data that can permit intersectional research will be more readily available.

The NCS/NCVS can be used more easily for longitudinal research and disaggregation by subgroup. For example, within the NCS/NCVS it is possible to create

trends for Hispanic women at the national-level; however, due to the sampling design of the survey it is not possible to create state-level trends. Since this study found notable differences between the homicide and non-fatal victimization findings at the national-level it appears pertinent to investigate those differences further. In addition, the data are rarely used to create trends for other ethnic and racial subgroups such as Indigenous American women (who when studied report high rates of victimization) or Asian women (who if studied as a monolith would likely confound differences by nationality). This is due to small sample sizes and is not distinct to the NCVS. In order to examine subgroup trends, datasets (including the NCVS) should continue to expand in ways that allow for disaggregation by race/ethnicity/sex. Efforts should be made to use purposive sampling techniques to gather longitudinal data on these subgroups since there is reason to believe that many subgroups of the population may be distinct due to distinct histories of migration, assimilation, and opportunity. Large existing collection efforts such as the NCVS could consider this in future expansions and revisions. This study, like others, found that the relationship between women's status and women's victimization differs by race/ethnicity. Future studies that ignore this aspect risk conflating the differences between the subgroups which could lend to inappropriate and ineffective policy recommendations. With the clear data restrictions, future studies should also consider additional research methods including qualitative analyses that consider systems of inequality and comparative analyses.

Moreover, future research would be well served to attend to the possibility that different types of violence against women have different relationships with trends of women's status. This may also be achieved through other research methods.

As noted in the previous section, attending to how gender inequality and women's status is operationalized is an issue of central concern; however, much of the research has been limited in their scope by a lack of data. In this study, the state-level analyses could not be conducted using annual data even with the traditional (and limited) variables of educational attainment, employment, and wage. The homicide data were available annually at the state-level as they were at the national-level; however, the demographic information for the race/ethnicity/sex subgroups was not annually available outside of the decennial census until 2001. In 2001, the American Community Survey began doing a nationally representative survey that can be disaggregated to the state-level that will provide this type of data. However, this study attempted to incorporate the period of the great crime decline, which was a time of dynamic change in violence. In the future these data should be considered when conducting intersectional analyses at the macro-level as additional data sources are amended and created to allow for this type of research as well. There are reasons to suspect that the relationship between phenomena can change over time and so attempts to retroactively find this information should also be made.

In conclusion, this project was designed to replicate and expand upon the existing gender inequality and violence against women research. It was able to do so with the ever growing body of data available. The mixed and complex findings suggest that more attention is needed but that it is not time to disregard this field of study. Specifically, there are notable differences when this relationship is studied by racial/ethnic subgroup, victim-offender relationship, at the national- or state-level, and according to fatality. These important findings should be heeded in future research. Future research should also incorporate assessments of the proper way to operationalize gender inequality and

women's status more broadly. Lastly, as data sources are created and expanded, it is important that the developers of data note the relevance of disaggregating by race/ethnicity/sex to allow for these types of studies. As studies continue to investigate intersectionality and the differences/similarities amongst subgroups, they should do so with theoretical guidance that incorporates an understanding of intersectionality, and not just as a practice in statistical disaggregation.

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APPENDIX A

Figure A.1 List of Measures and Sources for National-Level Analyses

Measure	Years	Source	Calculations
National-Level	**N=32**		
Violence Against Women			
Fatal Violence Against Women	1980-2012	Supplementary Homicide Report	
Non-Fatal Violence Against Women	1980-2012	National Crime Survey/National Crime Victimization Survey	
Gender Inequality			
Educational Attainment Inequality	1980-2012	Current Population Survey	% of women 25+ / % of men 25+ who completed bachelor's degree
Unemployment Inequality	1980-2012	Current Population Survey	% of men / % of women who were unemployed
Median Income Inequality	1980-2012	Bureau of Labor Statistics	women's median income / men's median income
Women's Absolute Status			
Women's Educational Attainment	1980-2012	Current Population Survey	% of women 25+ who completed bachelor's degree
Women's Unemployment	1980-2012	Current Population Survey	% of women who were unemployed
Women's Median Income	1980-2012	Bureau of Labor Statistics	women's median income
Control Variables			
Gross Domestic Product	1980-2012	Bureau of Economic Analysis	
Percent in Poverty	1980-2012	Current Population Survey	
Consumer Sentiment Index	1980-2012	Survey of Consumers	

Figure A.2 List of Measures and Sources for State-level Analyses

Measure	Years	Source	Calculations
State-level	**N=204**		
Violence against Women			
Fatal Violence Against Women	1980-2012	Supplementary Homicide Report	
Gender Inequality			
Educational Attainment Inequality	1980, 1990, 2000, 2010	American Community Survey, Decennial Census (IPUMS)	% of women 25+ / % of men 25+ who completed bachelor's degree
Unemployment Inequality	1980, 1990, 2000, 2010	American Community Survey, Decennial Census (IPUMS)	% of men / % of women who were unemployed
Median Income Inequality	1980, 1990, 2000, 2010	American Community Survey, Decennial Census (IPUMS)	women's median income / men's median income
Women's Absolute Status			
Women's Educational Attainment	1980, 1990, 2000, 2010	American Community Survey, Decennial Census (IPUMS)	% of women 25+ who completed bachelor's degree
Women's Unemployment	1980, 1990, 2000, 2010	American Community Survey, Decennial Census (IPUMS)	% of women who were unemployed
Women's Median Income	1980, 1990, 2000, 2010	American Community Survey, Decennial Census (IPUMS)	women's median income
Control Variables			
Occupation Inequality	1980, 1990, 2000, 2010	American Community Survey, Decennial Census (IPUMS)	% of professional and managerial jobs that are held by women
Ratio single women to single men	1980, 1990, 2000, 2010	American Community Survey, Decennial Census (IPUMS)	% of women who are single /% of men who are single
Age distribution for men	1980, 1990, 2000, 2010	American Community Survey, Decennial Census (IPUMS)	% of men aged 18-24 years old

APPENDIX B

Table B.1 Bivariate Statistics for Violence against Total Women at the National-level (1980-2012)

	Total Women						
	Total Homicide	Intimate Homicide	Known Homicide	Stranger Homicide	Total Non-Fatal	Intimate Non-Fatal	Known Non-Fatal
Total Homicide							
Intimate Homicide	0.84 *						
Known Homicide	0.90 *	0.75 *					
Stranger Homicide	0.54 *	0.40 *	0.46 *				
Total Non-Fatal	0.58 *	0.35	0.63 *	0.34			
Intimate Non-Fatal	0.42 *	0.27	0.57 *	0.16	0.50 *		
Known Non-Fatal	0.53 *	0.33	0.58	0.19	0.87 *	0.69 *	
Stranger Non-Fatal	0.56 *	0.31	0.53 *	0.55 *	0.76 *	0.36 *	0.60 *

Table B.2 Bivariate Statistics for Total Women's Status at the National-level (1980-2012)

	Total Women									
	Rel Educ		Rel Emp		Rel Wage		Abs Educ		Abs Emp	
Rel Educ										
Rel Emp	-0.03									
Rel Wage	0.04		0.10							
Abs Educ	0.68	*	-0.19		-0.24					
Abs Emp	0.07		-0.01		-0.17		-0.03			
Abs Wage	-0.01		0.49	*	0.56	*	-0.05		-0.26	

Table B.3 Bivariate Statistics for Violence against White Women at the National-level (1980-2012)

	White Women						
	Total Homicide	Intimate Homicide	Known Homicide	Stranger Homicide	Total Non-Fatal	Intimate Non-Fatal	Known Non-Fatal
Total Homicide							
Intimate Homicide	0.84 *						
Known Homicide	0.84 *	0.66 *					
Stranger Homicide	0.49 *	0.39 *	0.60 *				
Total Non-Fatal	0.34	0.18	0.33	0.09			
Intimate Non-Fatal	0.20	0.17	0.25	-0.06	0.73 *		
Known Non-Fatal	0.30	0.20	0.30 *	0.00	0.88 *	0.69 *	
Stranger Non-Fatal	0.25	0.10	0.18	0.25	0.74 *	0.15	0.46 *

Table B.4 Bivariate Statistics for White Women's Status at the National-level (1980-2012)

	White Women				
	Rel Educ	Rel Emp	Rel Wage	Abs Educ	Abs Emp
Rel Educ					
Rel Emp	-0.08				
Rel Wage	0.22	0.03			
Abs Educ	0.59 *	-0.19	-0.01		
Abs Emp	0.11	0.08	-0.20	-0.02	
Abs Wage	0.00	0.49 *	0.54 *	-0.30	-0.24

Table B.5 Bivariate Statistics for Violence against Black Women at the National-level (1980-2012)

	Black Women						
	Total Homicide	Intimate Homicide	Known Homicide	Stranger Homicide	Total Non-Fatal	Intimate Non-Fatal	Known Non-Fatal
Total Homicide							
Intimate Homicide	0.77 *						
Known Homicide	0.88 *	0.59 *					
Stranger Homicide	0.58 *	0.38 *	0.32				
Total Non-Fatal	0.63 *	0.38 *	0.58 *	0.38 *			
Intimate Non-Fatal	0.30	0.12	0.39 *	-0.08	0.60 *		
Known Non-Fatal	0.47 *	0.22	0.43 *	0.38 *	0.82 *	0.22	
Stranger Non-Fatal	0.54 *	0.48 *	0.43 *	0.47 *	0.86 *	0.31	0.70 *

Table B.6 Bivariate Statistics for Black Women's Status at the National-level (1980-2012)

	Black Women							
	Rel Educ	Rel Emp	Rel Wage	Int Edu	Int Emp	Int Wage	Abs Educ	Abs Emp
Rel Educ								
Rel Emp	0.10							
Rel Wage	0.16	0.15						
Int Educ	0.65 *	0.01	0.12					
Int Emp	0.02	0.46 *	-0.20	0.16				
Int Wage	0.05	-0.05	0.36 *	0.03	-0.28			
Abs Educ	0.60 *	-0.01	0.03	0.95 *	0.15	-0.01		
Abs Emp	-0.40	0.05	-0.39 *	0.16	0.81 *	-0.35	0.13	
Abs Wage	0.01	0.27	0.40 *	0.03	0.04	0.90 *	0.05	-0.26

Table B.7 Bivariate Statistics for Violence against Hispanic Women at the National-level (1980-2012)

	Hispanic Women		
	Total Non-Fatal	Intimate Non-Fatal	Known Non-Fatal
Total Non-Fatal			
Intimate Non-Fatal	0.81 *		
Known Non-Fatal	0.85 *	0.64 *	
Stranger Non-Fatal	0.82 *	0.56 *	0.46 *

Table B.8 Bivariate Statistics for Hispanic Women's Status at the National-level (1980-2012)

	Hispanic Women							
	Rel Educ	Rel Emp	Rel Wage	Int Edu	Int Emp	Int Wage	Abs Educ	Abs Emp
Rel Educ								
Rel Emp	-0.04							
Rel Wage	0.09	-0.12						
Int Educ	0.64 *	0.12	-0.05					
Int Emp	-0.05	0.84 *	-0.07	0.17				
Int Wage	0.07	-0.23	0.63 *	0.03	-0.18			
Abs Educ	0.64 *	0.09	-0.10	0.96 *	0.13	-0.02		
Abs Emp	-0.02	0.47 *	-0.10	0.18	0.83 *	-0.21	0.15	
Abs Wage	0.03	0.04	0.50 *	0.01	0.03	0.78 *	-0.01	-0.18

APPENDIX C

Table C.1 Bivariate Results for Violence against Total Women and Total Women's Status (Logged)

	Total Women															
	Homicide								Non-Fatal							
	Total		Intimate		Known		Stranger		Total		Intimate		Known		Stranger	
Rel Status																
Educ Att	-0.18		-0.18		-0.29		-0.11		-0.22		0.02		-0.14		-0.29	
Emp	0.17		0.12		0.14		0.09		-0.02		0.25		-0.08		-0.12	
Wage	0.60	*	0.59	*	0.55	*	0.36	*	0.27		0.13		0.33		0.38	*
Abs Status																
Educ Att	-0.42	*	-0.4	*	-0.43	*	-0.04		-0.36	*	-0.10		-0.28		-0.40	*
Emp	-0.07		-0.27		-0.07		-0.12		0.23		0.46	*	0.29		-0.08	
Wage	-0.07		-0.26		-0.11		-0.12		0.14		-0.15		0.17		0.25	
Controls																
GDP	-0.15		-0.16		-0.11		-0.12		0.01		0.30		0.13		-0.32	
% Poverty	0.41	*	0.42	*	0.45	*	0.46	*	0.39	*	0.19		0.24		0.61	*
CSI	-0.41	*	-0.29		-0.12		-0.20		-0.04		0.17		0.15		-0.29	

Table C.2 Bivariate Results for Violence against White Women and White Women's Status (Logged)

	White Women							
	Homicide				Non-Fatal			
	Total	Intimate	Known	Stranger	Total	Intimate	Known	Stranger
Rel Status								
Educ Att	-0.38 *	-0.45 *	-0.42 *	-0.21	-0.07	0.22	-0.06	-0.30
Emp	0.18	0.15	0.12	0.22	-0.04	0.25	0.08	-0.19
Wage	0.24	0.24	0.14	0.24	0.22	0.03	0.25	0.31
Abs Status								
Educ Att	-0.52 *	-0.49 *	-0.44 *	-0.09	-0.19	0.06	-0.24	-0.32
Emp	-0.09	-0.14	-0.09	-0.04	0.31	0.51 *	0.29	-0.01
Wage	-0.08	-0.15	-0.19	-0.25	0.20	-0.11	0.17	0.34
Controls								
GDP	-0.19	-0.08	-0.13	-0.15	0.04	0.30	0.18	-0.37 *
% Poverty	0.27	0.24	0.33	0.41 *	0.35 *	0.10	0.29	0.50 *
CSI	-0.25	-0.05	0.08	-0.01	-0.08	0	0.18	-0.29

Table C.3 Bivariate Results for Violence against Black Women and Black Women's Status (Logged)

Black Women															
	Homicide								Non-Fatal						
	Total		Intimate		Known		Stranger		Total		Intimate		Known		Stranger
Rel Status															
Educ Att	-0.21		-0.07		-0.01		-0.58	*	-0.10		0.05		0.01		-0.04
Emp	-0.50	*	-0.28		-0.41	*	-0.47	*	-0.31		-0.09		-0.27		-0.02
Wage	0.42	*	0.58	*	0.20		0.26		-0.10		0.14		-0.25		0.19
Int Status															
Educ Att	-0.26		-0.07		-0.11		-0.39	*	-0.01		-0.06		-0.01		0.16
Emp	-0.22		-0.32		-0.21		-0.28		-0.08		-0.08		-0.10		-0.02
Wage	0.29		0.54	*	0.14		0.20		-0.17		-0.29		0.02		0.07
Abs Status															
Educ Att	-0.37	*	-0.25		-0.17		-0.39	*	-0.08		-0.14		-0.03		0.08
Emp	-0.11		-0.35	*	-0.09		-0.20		0.06		0.01		0.00		-0.03
Wage	0.11		-0.20		0.11		0.06		0.04		-0.26		0.20		-0.24
Controls															
GDP	-0.06		-0.28		-0.09		-0.06		-0.01		-0.05		0.00		0.00
% Poverty	0.30		0.44	*	0.26		0.34		0.31		0.09		0.30		0.54 *
CSI	-0.46	*	-0.58	*	-0.27		-0.36	*	0.04		0.14		0.15		-0.04

Table C.4 Bivariate Results for Violence against Hispanic Women and Hispanic Women's Status (Logged)

	Hispanic Women			
		Non-Fatal		
	Total	Intimate	Known	Stranger
Rel Status				
Educ Att	-0.17	0.09	-0.21	-0.22
Emp	-0.30	-0.15	-0.24	-0.33
Wage	0.27	0.25	0.03	0.37 *
Int Status				
Educ Att	-0.31	-0.12	-0.38 *	-0.33
Emp	-0.38 *	-0.23	-0.30	-0.49 *
Wage	0.05	0.19	-0.14	0.11
Abs Status				
Educ Att	-0.29	-0.05	-0.34	-0.34
Emp	-0.19	-0.18	-0.09	-0.38 *
Wage	0.09	-0.08	-0.04	0.17
Controls				
GDP	0.01	0.15	0.09	-0.22
% Poverty	0.49 *	0.39 *	0.33	0.58 *
CSI	0.11	0.26	0.40 *	-0.29

APPENDIX D

Table D.1 Rankings for Lowest Rate of Violence against Total Women

year	state	total	Rank	state	int	Rank	state	kn	Rank	state	str	Rank	state	unk	Rank
1980	VT	0.25	1	VT	0.13	1	MT	0.08	1	DE	0.00	3.5	ND	0.00	2
1980	MT	0.67	2	IA	0.33	2	VT	0.13	2	HI	0.00	3.5	SD	0.00	2
1980	ND	0.71	3	SD	0.38	3	NH	0.14	3	ID	0.00	3.5	VT	0.00	2
1980	SD	0.76	4	MA	0.39	4	SD	0.28	4	MT	0.00	3.5	MT	0.08	4
1980	IA	1.02	5	ND	0.41	5	ND	0.31	5	ND	0.00	3.5	ID	0.14	5
1980										VT	0.00	3.5			
1990	ND	0.42	1	ND	0.10	1	MT	0.00	1	HI	0.00	2	MT	0.00	3
1990	SD	0.75	2	SD	0.38	2	NH	0.18	2	NE	0.00	2	ND	0.00	3
1990	MT	0.82	3	MA	0.43	3	ID	0.20	3	ND	0.00	2	SD	0.00	3
1990	VT	0.94	4	MN	0.45	4	MA	0.20	4	IA	0.03	4	VT	0.00	3
1990	ID	1.06	5	NE	0.45	5	UT	0.27	5	KY	0.07	5	WY	0.00	3
2000	ND	0.31	1	MT	0.29	1	ND	0.00	1	ID	0.00	3.5	ND	0.00	1
2000	MT	0.58	2	IL	0.30	2	DE	0.08	2	ND	0.00	3.5	MT	0.07	2
2000	MA	0.70	3	ND	0.31	3	MT	0.15	3	OR	0.00	3.5	SD	0.09	3
2000	WY	0.81	4	NH	0.32	4	MA	0.15	4	SD	0.00	3.5	NH	0.11	4
2000	NE	0.84	5	KY	0.32	5	KY	0.18	5	VT	0.00	3.5	VT	0.11	5
2010	IL	0.60	1	IL	0.14	1	ND	0.00	1	MN	0.00	4	HI	0.00	1.5
2010	MN	0.67	2	NH	0.35	2	IL	0.11	2	MT	0.00	4	MT	0.00	1.5
2010	WY	0.72	3	WY	0.36	3	WY	0.12	3	ND	0.00	4	ID	0.04	3
2010	NH	0.75	4	MN	0.40	4	MA	0.19	4	RI	0.00	4	MN	0.06	4
2010	IA	0.93	5	MA	0.40	5	MT	0.20	5	VT	0.00	4	OR	0.07	5

Table D.2 Rankings for Highest Rate of Violence against Total Women

Year	State	Total	Rank	State	Int	Rank	State	Kn	Rank	State	Str	Rank	State	Unk	Rank
1980	DC	10.50	51	AL	2.21	51	DC	2.79	51	DC	1.54	51	DC	4.72	51
1980	NV	8.68	50	SC	2.20	50	NV	1.92	50	NV	0.83	50	NV	3.76	50
1980	AK	5.55	49	NV	2.17	49	AL	1.72	49	WY	0.72	49	AK	1.91	49
1980	FL	5.30	48	AK	2.08	48	SC	1.58	48	LA	0.72	48	FL	1.86	48
1980	LA	4.93	47	NC	1.99	47	OK	1.46	47	AK	0.69	47	CA	1.73	47
1990	DC	16.05	50	SC	2.35	50	GA	1.53	50	DC	1.96	50	DC	11.84	50
1990	SC	4.73	49	AR	1.96	49	MD	1.51	49	AK	0.64	49	KY	1.72	49
1990	TX	4.68	48	AK	1.91	48	AR	1.49	48	AL	0.61	48	NY	1.66	48
1990	GA	4.67	47	DC	1.75	47	AL	1.47	47	CA	0.56	47	NV	1.59	47
1990	NV	4.60	46	AL	1.67	46	SC	1.41	46	LA	0.46	46	TX	1.46	46
2000	LA	3.39	49	SC	1.81	49	LA	1.01	49	AZ	0.35	49	MD	1.09	49
2000	NV	3.32	48	NV	1.49	48	OK	0.91	48	NV	0.34	48	LA	1.05	48
2000	SC	3.18	47	AK	1.32	47	NV	0.81	47	NM	0.29	47	MI	0.94	47
2000	TN	2.90	46	LA	1.20	46	NM	0.79	46	OK	0.28	46	AK	0.88	46
2000	AK	2.86	45	TN	1.13	45	AR	0.78	45	NY	0.26	45	NC	0.82	45
2010	DC	3.65	50	SC	1.41	50	DC	0.94	50	DC	0.31	50	DC	1.98	50
2010	NV	2.64	49	NV	1.37	49	NM	0.92	49	HI	0.29	49	AL	0.81	49
2010	LA	2.62	48	OK	1.10	48	AK	0.88	48	NV	0.25	48	AR	0.81	48
2010	NM	2.55	47	TN	1.08	47	MS	0.78	47	TX	0.21	47	MI	0.78	47
2010	SC	2.52	46	LA	1.04	46	TN	0.77	46	AZ	0.19	46	LA	0.76	46

Table D.3 Rankings for Lowest Rate of Violence against White Women

Year	State	Total	Rank	State	Int	Rank	State	Kn	Rank	State	Str	Rank	State	Unk	Rank
1980	VT	0.26	1	VT	0.13	1	MT	0.09	1	DE	0.00	3.5	MT	0.00	2.5
1980	SD	0.41	2	SD	0.21	2	SD	0.10	2	HI	0.00	3.5	ND	0.00	2.5
1980	MT	0.63	3	IA	0.30	3	VT	0.13	3	ID	0.00	3.5	SD	0.00	2.5
1980	ND	0.64	4	MA	0.32	4	NH	0.14	4	MT	0.00	3.5	VT	0.00	2.5
1980	IA	0.98	5	MN	0.35	5	MS	0.20	5	ND	0.00	3.5	ID	0.15	5
1980										VT	0.00	3.5			
1990	ND	0.45	1	ND	0.11	1	DE	0.00	2	HI	0.00	2	MT	0.00	3
1990	SD	0.72	2	NE	0.27	2	DC	0.00	2	NE	0.00	2	ND	0.00	3
1990	MA	0.81	3	MA	0.34	3	MT	0.00	2	ND	0.00	2	SD	0.00	3
1990	MT	0.89	4	MN	0.37	4	NH	0.12	4	IA	0.04	4	VT	0.00	3
1990	NE	0.94	5	KY	0.39	5	MA	0.13	5	MA	0.04	5	WY	0.00	3
2000	ND	0.23	1	IL	0.14	1	ND	0.00	1	AK	0.00	4.5	ND	0.00	1
2000	IL	0.46	2	ND	0.23	2	KY	0.05	2	ID	0.00	4.5	MT	0.08	2
2000	KY	0.52	3	KY	0.23	3	IL	0.06	3	MT	0.00	4.5	MN	0.09	3
2000	MT	0.57	4	NE	0.31	4	NE	0.09	4	ND	0.00	4.5	SD	0.10	4
2000	MA	0.67	5	MT	0.33	5	DE	0.11	5	OR	0.00	4.5	UT	0.10	5
2000										SD	0.00	4.5			
2000										VT	0.00	4.5			
2000										WY	0.00	4.5			
2010	IL	0.27	1	IL	0.08	1	DC	0.00	2	AK	0.00	5	AK	0.00	2.5
2010	MN	0.57	2	AK	0.15	2	ND	0.00	2	DC	0.00	5	HI	0.00	2.5
2010	SD	0.67	3	SD	0.29	3	VT	0.00	2	MN	0.00	5	MT	0.00	2.5
2010	NY	0.81	4	DC	0.31	4	IL	0.05	4	MT	0.00	5	ND	0.00	2.5
2010	NH	0.81	5	MN	0.37	5	WY	0.14	5	ND	0.00	5	MN	0.03	5
2010										RI	0.00	5			
2010										VT	0.00	5			
2010										WV	0.00	5			
2010										WY	0.00	5			

Table D.4 Rankings for Highest Rate of Violence against White Women

Year	State	Total	Rank	State	Int	Rank	State	Kn	Rank	State	Str	Rank	State	Unk	Rank
1980	NV	8.32	51	NV	2.00	51	NV	1.50	51	DC	2.64	51	DC	4.14	51
1980	DC	7.91	50	WY	1.72	50	OK	1.27	50	NV	0.90	50	NV	3.91	50
1980	OK	4.13	49	SC	1.70	49	WY	0.94	49	WY	0.78	49	CA	1.52	49
1980	WY	3.92	48	HI	1.63	48	MD	0.92	48	AK	0.69	48	FL	1.42	48
1980	AK	3.90	47	AK	1.61	47	TX	0.85	47	LA	0.58	47	AK	1.38	47
1990	DC	7.88	50	SC	1.73	50	NV	1.01	49	DC	1.58	50	DC	5.91	50
1990	NV	4.18	49	AR	1.52	49	NM	0.94	48	AK	0.87	49	KY	1.50	49
1990	NM	3.50	48	AK	1.40	48	AR	0.91	47	AZ	0.37	48	NV	1.44	48
1990	TX	3.40	47	NV	1.37	47	SC	0.85	46	MS	0.36	47	NM	1.28	47
1990	SC	3.24	46	AZ	1.35	45	OK	0.76	45	NV	0.36	46	TX	1.16	46
2000	NM	4.45	49	NV	1.81	49	NM	1.43	49	NM	0.56	49	HI	1.30	49
2000	HI	3.63	48	NM	1.67	48	HI	1.04	48	NV	0.36	48	NM	0.80	48
2000	NV	3.62	47	SC	1.60	47	NV	0.93	47	AZ	0.36	47	LA	0.68	47
2000	SC	2.76	46	DE	1.36	46	OK	0.86	46	HI	0.26	46	MD	0.57	46
2000	AZ	2.52	45	HI	1.04	45	AZ	0.72	45	NY	0.23	45	TX	0.53	45
2010	NM	5.27	50	HI	2.12	50	HI	1.88	50	HI	1.18	50	NM	1.57	50
2010	HI	5.18	49	NV	1.81	49	NM	1.81	49	NV	0.37	49	DC	0.63	49
2010	NV	3.53	48	NM	1.57	48	AK	1.08	48	NM	0.31	48	AL	0.61	48
2010	SC	2.37	47	SC	1.32	47	NV	1.02	47	DE	0.22	47	AR	0.60	47
2010	AZ	1.98	46	OK	1.07	46	KY	0.68	46	OK	0.18	46	NC	0.43	46

Table D.5 States with a Rate of 0 Fatal Violence Against Black Women

Total		Intimate		Known		Stranger				Unknown	
Year	State	Year	State	Year	State	Year	State	Year	State	Year	State
1980	ID	1980	HI	1980	HI	1980	AK	2000	AK	1980	AK
1980	MT	1980	ID	1980	ID	1980	AZ	2000	AR	1980	DE
1980	ND	1980	MT	1980	IA	1980	CO	2000	CT	1980	ID
1980	SD	1980	NM	1980	ME	1980	DE	2000	HI	1980	ME
1980	VT	1980	ND	1980	MT	1980	HI	2000	ID	1980	MN
1990	ID	1980	SD	1980	NH	1980	ID	2000	KS	1980	MT
1990	ME	1980	VT	1980	NM	1980	IA	2000	KY	1980	NE
1990	MT	1980	WY	1980	ND	1980	ME	2000	ME	1980	NH
1990	ND	1990	AK	1980	SD	1980	MN	2000	MA	1980	ND
1990	SD	1990	HI	1980	VT	1980	MT	2000	MT	1980	SD
1990	UT	1990	ID	1990	AK	1980	NE	2000	NE	1980	UT
1990	VT	1990	IA	1990	HI	1980	NH	2000	NH	1980	VT
1990	WY	1990	ME	1990	ID	1980	NM	2000	NM	1980	WY
2000	HI	1990	MT	1990	ME	1980	ND	2000	ND	1990	ID
2000	ID	1990	NH	1990	MT	1980	OR	2000	OR	1990	ME
2000	ME	1990	ND	1990	ND	1980	SD	2000	RI	1990	MT
2000	MT	1990	RI	1990	SD	1980	UT	2000	SD	1990	NH
2000	NH	1990	SD	1990	UT	1980	VT	2000	UT	1990	ND
2000	ND	1990	UT	1990	VT	1980	WA	2000	VT	1990	SD
2000	OR	1990	VT	1990	WY	1980	WV	2000	WV	1990	UT
2000	SD	1990	WY	2000	AK	1980	WY	2000	WY	1990	VT
2000	VT	2000	HI	2000	DE	1990	AK	2010	AK	1990	WY
2000	WY	2000	ID	2000	HI	1990	CO	2010	CO	2000	HI
2010	ID	2000	IA	2000	ID	1990	HI	2010	CT	2000	ID
2010	MT	2000	ME	2000	KS	1990	ID	2010	DE	2000	ME
2010	NH	2000	MT	2000	ME	1990	IA	2010	HI	2000	MT
2010	ND	2000	NH	2000	MT	1990	KY	2010	ID	2000	NE
2010	UT	2000	NM	2000	NH	1990	ME	2010	IA	2000	NH
2010	WY	2000	ND	2000	ND	1990	MN	2010	ME	2000	ND
		2000	OR	2000	OR	1990	MT	2010	MN	2000	OR
		2000	SD	2000	SD	1990	NE	2010	MT	2000	RI
		2000	VT	2000	UT	1990	NV	2010	NE	2000	SD
		2000	WY	2000	VT	1990	NH	2010	NH	2000	UT
		2010	AK	2000	WY	1990	NM	2010	NM	2000	VT
		2010	ID	2010	AK	1990	ND	2010	ND	2000	WY
		2010	IA	2010	HI	1990	SD	2010	RI	2010	HI
		2010	ME	2010	ID	1990	UT	2010	SD	2010	ID
		2010	MT	2010	IA	1990	VT	2010	UT	2010	MT
		2010	NH	2010	ME	1990	WV	2010	VT	2010	NH
		2010	ND	2010	MA	1990	WY	2010	WV	2010	ND
		2010	UT	2010	MT			2010	WY	2010	OR

Table D.6 Rankings for Highest Rate of Violence against Black Women

Year	State	Total	Rank	State	Int	Rank	State	Known	Rank	State	Str	Rank	State	Unk	Rank
1980	WY	24.5098	51	ME	23.80952	51	WY	24.5098	51	RI	2.23114	51	CO	8.82552	51
1980	NV	23.9234	50	NH	16.50165	50	NV	10.6326	50	NV	1.32908	50	RI	6.69344	50
1980	ME	23.8095	49	UT	8.68055	49	UT	8.68055	49	NY	1.32176	49	NV	6.64540	49
1980	UT	17.3611	48	MN	8.13008	48	NE	6.83060	48	LA	1.11067	48	HI	5.74712	48
1980	NH	16.5016	47	FL	5.77454	47	KS	6.51678	47	DC	1.09532	47	CA	5.53325	47
1990	DC	20.4692	50	DE	4.60500	50	NH	12.0076	50	OR	4.78766	50	DC	14.97001	50
1990	OR	19.1506	49	NE	4.55715	49	OR	6.38355	49	DC	2.29132	49	RI	10.03835	49
1990	RI	16.0613	48	NV	4.53811	48	MI	5.84387	48	CA	2.28798	48	MO	7.67531	48
1990	MI	15.1253	47	KS	4.37956	47	CA	4.85805	47	RI	2.00766	47	OR	6.38355	47
1990	CA	14.9189	46	AR	4.35193	46	TX	4.76737	46	KS	1.94647	46	NY	6.24579	46
2000	NV	11.0563	49	UT	5.08595	49	NM	4.82637	49	OK	1.29478	49	NM	4.82637	49
2000	AZ	10.1689	48	AZ	3.87388	48	WI	3.90543	48	IA	1.20803	48	NV	4.73843	48
2000	IN	9.92950	47	NV	3.68545	47	MI	3.02059	47	NV	1.05298	47	IN	4.65052	47
2000	NM	9.65274	46	AK	3.16706	46	AZ	2.90541	46	CA	0.93468	46	MO	4.53244	46
2000	MO	9.56850	45	TN	2.98424	45	MN	2.88561	45	MO	0.80576	45	MI	4.21052	45
2010	SD	22.9568	50	SD	22.9568	50	VT	18.2798	50	OR	1.09329	50	ME	4.58253	50

0		4			4			7			1			1	
201		18.2798			4.44622			3.14414			0.75911			3.45862	
0	VT	7	49	HI	3	49	AZ	2	49	CA	5	49	NE	2	49
201		6.85994			3.46979			2.47000						3.45113	
0	AZ	6	48	OK	5	48	PA	5	48	WI	0.74575	48	RI	2	48
201		6.44103			3.27987			1.93231			0.57467			3.44816	
0	NV	7	47	OR	1	47	NV	1	47	TX	3	47	MI	6	47
201		6.34462			2.89846			1.88955			0.57166			3.40025	
0	MI	6	46	NV	7	46	CO	9	46	AZ	2	46	DC	8	46

Year	State	Edu IE	Edu Per	Rank	State	Emp IE	Emp Per	Rank	State	Wage IE	Mean Wage	Rank
1980	Utah	0.37	5%	1	West Virginia	0.54	34%	1	West Virginia	0.27	2675.36	1
1980	South Dakota	0.42	3%	2	Louisiana	0.59	41%	2	Wyoming	0.29	3827.63	2
1980	North Dakota	0.43	3%	3	New Mexico	0.61	43%	3	Utah	0.29	3422.87	3
1980	Idaho	0.43	4%	4	Kentucky	0.62	40%	4	Louisiana	0.30	3196.01	4
1980	Delaware	0.44	5%	5	Alabama	0.62	41%	5	Ohio	0.31	3675.04	5
1990	Utah	0.63	17%	1	West Virginia	0.67	39%	1	West Virginia	0.37	5160.15	1
1990	Idaho	0.69	15%	2	Louisiana	0.72	45%	2	Wyoming	0.39	6899.16	2
1990	Florida	0.70	15%	3	Alabama	0.72	48%	3	Utah	0.39	7136.23	3
1990	Oklahoma	0.72	15%	4	Kentucky	0.73	48%	4	Michigan	0.41	8413.47	4
1990	Nevada	0.72	13%	5	Oklahoma	0.74	50%	5	Louisiana	0.41	6232.31	5
2000	Utah	0.74	22%	1	Alabama	0.77	49%	1	Utah	0.43	11630.10	1
2000	Idaho	0.79	19%	2	West Virginia	0.78	44%	2	Wyoming	0.45	10576.50	2
2000	Florida	0.81	20%	3	Texas	0.78	52%	3	West Virginia	0.47	8960.99	3
2000	Ohio	0.84	19%	4	Oklahoma	0.78	52%	4	Idaho	0.47	10701.52	4
2000	New Jersey	0.84	27%	5	Tennessee	0.79	53%	5	Michigan	0.48	14126.15	5
2010	Utah	0.81	26%	1	Utah	0.79	55%	1	Utah	0.46	15040.34	1

2010	Idaho	0.90	23%	2	Texas	0.82	54%	2	Wyoming	0.54	17937.00	2
2010	Nevada	0.91	20%	3	California	0.83	51%	3	Oklahoma	0.54	14465.09	3
2010	Arizona	0.92	25%	4	Wyoming	0.83	57%	4	West Virginia	0.55	12649.12	4
2010	South Dakota	0.92	27%	5	Alabama	0.83	48%	5	Louisiana	0.55	15782.79	5

Table D.7 Rankings for the Lowest Relative Status for Total Women

Table D.8 Rankings for the Highest Relative Status for Total Women

Year	State	Edu IE	Edu Per	Rank	State	Emp IE	Emp Per	Rank	State	Wage IE	Mean Wage	Rank
1980	Hawaii	0.72	8%	51	D.C.	0.85	55%	51	D.C.	0.64	6463.43	51
1980	Alaska	0.67	8%	50	Alaska	0.74	55%	50	Hawaii	0.45	4930.41	50
1980	Indiana	0.64	5%	49	Nevada	0.74	56%	49	North Carolina	0.43	3818.41	49
1980	Kentucky	0.62	4%	48	Hawaii	0.73	55%	48	Alaska	0.42	6911.99	48
1980	D.C.	0.61	13%	47	Minnesota	0.71	52%	47	Nevada	0.42	5003.63	47
1990	Alaska	0.95	22%	51	D.C.	0.89	58%	51	D.C.	0.70	13663.98	51
1990	Vermont	0.90	23%	50	Vermont	0.83	60%	50	Hawaii	0.54	10584.66	50
1990	Hawaii	0.86	21%	49	Minnesota	0.82	60%	49	Vermont	0.51	8684.21	49
1990	Maine	0.86	17%	48	Alaska	0.82	62%	48	Nevada	0.51	9916.19	48
1990	North Dakota	0.85	17%	47	Hawaii	0.82	61%	47	Maryland	0.50	11946.59	47
2000	Alaska	1.05	25%	51	D.C.	0.89	54%	51	D.C.	0.70	21047.17	51
2000	Vermont	1.01	30%	50	Alaska	0.88	61%	50	Hawaii	0.61	14589.83	50
2000	North Dakota	1.01	22%	49	South Dakota	0.88	61%	49	Maryland	0.58	18789.17	49
2000	Maine	0.96	23%	48	North Dakota	0.88	60%	48	South Dakota	0.58	11414.52	48
2000	Wisconsin	0.96	22%	47	Minnesota	0.87	64%	47	Alaska	0.58	16403.11	47
2010	North	1.17	31%	51	Maine	0.94	57%	51	D.C.	0.72	32835.43	51

0	Dakota										
2010	Mississippi	1.12	21%	50	Montana	0.93	58%	50	Vermont	0.69	18771.53	50
2010	Maine	1.11	28%	49	D.C.	0.93	57%	49	Rhode Island	0.68	20369.49	49
2010	Vermont	1.10	36%	48	Minnesota	0.92	62%	48	Maine	0.66	16826.18	48
2010	Louisiana	1.09	22%	47	Wisconsin	0.92	60%	47	Maryland	0.66	26824.17	47

Table D.9 Rankings for the Lowest Absolute Status for Total Women

Year	State	Edu IE	Edu Per	Rank	State	Emp IE	Emp Per	Rank	State	Wage IE	Mean Wage	Rank
1980	South Dakota	0.42	3%	1	West Virginia	0.54	34%	1	West Virginia	0.27	2675.36	1
1980	Arkansas	0.52	3%	2	Kentucky	0.62	40%	2	Arkansas	0.37	2877.77	2
1980	North Dakota	0.43	3%	3	Louisiana	0.59	41%	3	South Dakota	0.40	2916.56	3
1980	Maine	0.49	4%	4	Arkansas	0.65	41%	4	Mississippi	0.37	2937.23	4
1980	North Carolina	0.53	4%	5	Alabama	0.62	41%	5	North Dakota	0.35	2980.65	5
1990	West Virginia	0.81	11%	1	West Virginia	0.67	39%	1	West Virginia	0.37	5160.15	1
1990	Arkansas	0.78	12%	2	Louisiana	0.72	45%	2	Montana	0.44	6021.66	2

1990	Kentucky	0.79	12%	3	Mississippi	0.74	47%	3	Mississippi	0.45	6051.03	3
1990	Nevada	0.72	13%	4	Kentucky	0.73	48%	4	Arkansas	0.46	6089.61	4
1990	Mississippi	0.80	13%	5	Alabama	0.72	48%	5	South Dakota	0.50	6100.85	5
2000	West Virginia	0.89	14%	1	West Virginia	0.78	44%	1	West Virginia	0.47	8960.99	1
2000	Arkansas	0.90	16%	2	Alabama	0.77	49%	2	Montana	0.51	9675.80	2
2000	Kentucky	0.91	16%	3	Mississippi	0.80	49%	3	North Dakota	0.51	10438.35	3
2000	Mississippi	0.95	16%	4	Louisiana	0.81	49%	4	Mississippi	0.53	10445.38	4
2000	Nevada	0.86	17%	5	Florida	0.81	50%	5	Arkansas	0.52	10501.53	5
2010	West Virginia	1.07	18%	1	West Virginia	0.86	46%	1	West Virginia	0.55	12649.12	1
2010	Arkansas	0.95	19%	2	Mississippi	0.86	48%	2	Mississippi	0.59	13498.62	2
2010	Nevada	0.91	20%	3	Alabama	0.83	48%	3	Idaho	0.56	14145.72	3
2010	Mississippi	1.12	21%	4	Florida	0.88	49%	4	Arkansas	0.62	14277.18	4
2010	Kentucky	1.04	21%	5	Kentucky	0.86	50%	5	Oklahoma	0.54	14465.09	5

Table D.10 Rankings for the Highest Absolute Status for Total Women

Year	State	Edu IE	Edu Per	Rank	State	Emp IE	Emp Per	Rank	State	Wage IE	Mean Wage	Rank
1980	D.C.	0.61	13%	51	Nevada	0.74	56%	51	Alaska	0.42	6911.99	51
1980	Alaska	0.67	8%	50	Alaska	0.74	55%	50	D.C.	0.64	6463.43	50
1980	Hawaii	0.72	8%	49	Hawaii	0.73	55%	49	Nevada	0.42	5003.63	49
1980	Maryland	0.51	7%	48	D.C.	0.85	55%	48	Hawaii	0.45	4930.41	48
1980	California	0.55	7%	47	Colorado	0.68	52%	47	Maryland	0.39	4868.55	47
1990	D.C.	0.84	31%	51	Alaska	0.82	62%	51	D.C.	0.70	13663.98	51
1990	MA	0.78	24%	50	Hawaii	0.82	61%	50	Alaska	0.49	12463.81	50
1990	Connecticut	0.76	24%	49	NH	0.82	61%	49	Maryland	0.50	11946.59	49
1990	Colorado	0.76	23%	48	Maryland	0.81	61%	48	Connecticut	0.45	11915.22	48
1990	Vermont	0.90	23%	47	Minnesota	0.82	60%	47	New Jersey	0.44	11234.92	47
2000	D.C.	0.88	36%	51	Minnesota	0.87	64%	51	D.C.	0.70	21047.17	51
2000	MA	0.89	31%	50	Vermont	0.87	62%	50	Maryland	0.58	18789.17	50
2000	Colorado	0.89	31%	49	NH	0.84	62%	49	Connecticut	0.49	18420.83	49
2000	Vermont	1.01	30%	48	Nebraska	0.85	62%	48	New Jersey	0.49	17826.60	48
2000	Maryland	0.88	30%	47	Wisconsin	0.87	62%	47	MA	0.52	17321.07	47
2010	D.C.	0.97	49%	51	North Dakota	0.90	64%	51	D.C.	0.72	32835.43	51
2010	MA	0.98	39%	50	Nebraska	0.91	63%	50	Maryland	0.66	26824.17	50
2010	Colorado	0.99	36%	49	Minnesota	0.92	62%	49	New Jersey	0.57	23999.51	49
2010	Vermont	1.10	36%	48	NH	0.90	61%	48	Connecticut	0.55	23755.41	48
2010	Maryland	0.97	36%	47	Iowa	0.89	60%	47	Alaska	0.63	23714.12	47

Table D.11 Rankings for the Lowest Relative Status for White Women

Year	State	Edu IE	Edu Per	Rank	State	Emp IE	Emp Per	Rank	State	Wage IE	Mean Wage	Rank
1980	Utah	0.37	5%	1	West Virginia	0.54	34%	1	West Virginia	0.27	2668.32	1
1980	South Dakota	0.41	3%	2	Louisiana	0.56	41%	2	Louisiana	0.28	3378.35	2
1980	Delaware	0.42	5%	3	Alabama	0.60	42%	3	Utah	0.29	3426.61	3
1980	New Jersey	0.42	5%	4	Kentucky	0.61	40%	4	Wyoming	0.29	3888.95	4
1980	Virginia	0.43	6%	5	Utah	0.61	47%	5	Ohio	0.30	3626.38	5
1990	Utah	0.63	18%	1	West Virginia	0.66	39%	1	West Virginia	0.37	5131.33	1
1990	Florida	0.67	16%	2	Louisiana	0.67	46%	2	Louisiana	0.37	6707.87	2
1990	Idaho	0.68	15%	3	Alabama	0.69	49%	3	Utah	0.39	7161.81	3
1990	Nevada	0.69	13%	4	Mississippi	0.71	49%	4	Michigan	0.39	8432.26	4
1990	New Jersey	0.70	22%	5	Kentucky	0.72	47%	5	Wyoming	0.39	7009.29	5
2000	Utah	0.72	23%	1	Alabama	0.73	50%	1	Utah	0.42	11794.61	1
2000	Florida	0.76	22%	2	Louisiana	0.75	50%	2	Louisiana	0.43	11385.45	2
2000	Idaho	0.76	19%	3	Mississippi	0.75	50%	3	Alabama	0.44	11409.51	3
2000	Nevada	0.80	18%	4	Georgia	0.76	56%	4	Michigan	0.44	14030.47	4
2000	Texas	0.81	27%	5	Tennessee	0.77	53%	5	Wyoming	0.44	10741.83	5
201	Utah	0.77	28%	1	Mississippi	0.77	47%	1	Utah	0.44	15531.66	1

0											
2010	Florida	0.87	27%	2	Hawaii	0.78	55%	2	Louisiana	0.49	16839.80	2
2010	Nevada	0.87	23%	3	Alabama	0.78	47%	3	Alabama	0.51	15152.98	3
2010	Arizona	0.88	30%	4	Utah	0.78	55%	4	Texas	0.51	20360.84	4
2010	Idaho	0.88	24%	5	Louisiana	0.80	52%	5	Mississippi	0.52	14632.32	5

Table D.12 Rankings for the Highest Relative Status for White Women

Year	State	Edu IE	Edu Per	Rank	State	Emp IE	Emp Per	Rank	State	Wage IE	Mean Wage	Rank
1980	Alaska	0.68	0.10	51	D.C.	0.78	0.57	51	D.C.	0.53	8003.04	51
1980	Indiana	0.62	0.05	50	Alaska	0.73	0.58	50	Alaska	0.42	7470.75	50
1980	Kentucky	0.62	0.04	49	Nevada	0.73	0.56	49	North Carolina	0.41	3967.61	49
1980	West Virginia	0.61	0.04	48	Minnesota	0.71	0.52	48	Nevada	0.40	5013.76	48
1980	New York	0.59	0.08	47	Massachusetts	0.70	0.51	47	South Dakota	0.39	2938.50	47
1990	Alaska	0.95	0.26	51	D.C.	0.85	0.66	51	D.C.	0.62	19533.68	51
1990	Vermont	0.90	0.23	50	Vermont	0.83	0.60	50	Vermont	0.51	8702.06	50
1990	D.C.	0.88	0.67	49	Minnesota	0.82	0.60	49	Hawaii	0.50	11096.05	49
1990	Maine	0.86	0.17	48	NH	0.82	0.61	48	South Dakota	0.49	6203.52	48
1990	North Dakota	0.86	0.17	47	Alaska	0.80	0.64	47	Nevada	0.49	10139.48	47
2000	Alaska	1.05	0.30	51	D.C.	0.88	0.67	51	D.C.	0.63	32407.48	51
2000	Vermont	1.01	0.30	50	North Dakota	0.88	0.61	50	Vermont	0.58	13287.78	50
2000	North Dakota	1.01	0.22	49	Minnesota	0.87	0.64	49	South Dakota	0.56	11588.01	49
2000	Wisconsin	0.96	0.23	48	Vermont	0.87	0.63	48	Alaska	0.55	17913.71	48
2000	Maine	0.95	0.23	47	South Dakota	0.87	0.62	47	Hawaii	0.55	16341.81	47
2010	North Dakota	1.17	0.32	51	D.C.	0.94	0.70	51	Vermont	0.69	19067.66	51
2010	Maine	1.12	0.28	50	Maine	0.93	0.57	50	Rhode Island	0.66	21861.41	50
2010	Vermont	1.09	0.35	49	Montana	0.93	0.59	49	Maine	0.65	16866.98	49
2010	West Virginia	1.07	0.18	48	Minnesota	0.92	0.63	48	D.C.	0.64	47657.46	48
2010	Alaska	1.07	0.35	47	Wisconsin	0.92	0.61	47	Wisconsin	0.63	19349.60	47

Table D.13 Rankings for the Lowest Absolute Status for White Women

Year	State	Edu IE	Edu Per	Rank	State	Emp IE	Emp Per	Rank	State	Wage IE	Mean Wage	Rank
1980	South Dakota	0.41	3%	1	West Virginia	0.54	34%	1	West Virginia	0.27	2668.32	1
1980	North Dakota	0.43	3%	2	Kentucky	0.61	40%	2	Arkansas	0.36	2975.36	2
1980	Arkansas	0.50	3%	3	Florida	0.65	41%	3	South Dakota	0.39	2938.50	3
1980	Maine	0.49	4%	4	Louisiana	0.56	41%	4	Mississippi	0.34	3182.25	4
1980	Iowa	0.46	4%	5	Arkansas	0.64	42%	5	North Dakota	0.35	2964.01	5
1990	West Virginia	0.81	11%	1	West Virginia	0.66	39%	1	West Virginia	0.37	5131.33	1
1990	Arkansas	0.76	12%	2	Louisiana	0.67	46%	2	Montana	0.43	6055.63	2
1990	Kentucky	0.79	12%	3	Kentucky	0.72	47%	3	Mississippi	0.42	6691.10	3
1990	Nevada	0.69	13%	4	Florida	0.75	48%	4	Arkansas	0.45	6285.07	4
1990	Indiana	0.73	14%	5	Alabama	0.69	49%	5	South Dakota	0.49	6203.52	5
2000	West Virginia	0.89	14%	1	West Virginia	0.77	44%	1	West Virginia	0.47	8875.33	1
2000	Kentucky	0.90	17%	2	Florida	0.79	49%	2	Montana	0.50	9831.69	2
2000	Arkansas	0.87	17%	3	Alabama	0.73	50%	3	North Dakota	0.51	10559.92	3
2000	Indiana	0.85	18%	4	Louisiana	0.75	50%	4	Mississippi	0.47	11242.33	4
2000	Nevada	0.80	18%	5	Mississippi	0.75	50%	5	Arkansas	0.49	10663.88	5
2010	West	1.07	18%	1	West	0.85	46%	1	West	0.54	12680.02	1

0	Virginia				Virginia				Virginia			
2010	Arkansas	0.95	21%	2	Mississippi	0.77	47%	2	Mississippi	0.52	14632.32	2
2010	Kentucky	1.03	21%	3	Florida	0.87	47%	3	Idaho	0.56	14551.97	3
2010	Nevada	0.87	23%	4	Alabama	0.78	47%	4	Arkansas	0.58	14492.31	4
2010	Indiana	0.97	23%	5	Kentucky	0.86	49%	5	Oklahoma	0.52	14982.76	5

Table D.14 Rankings for the Highest Absolute Status for White Women

Year	State	Edu IE	Edu Per	Rank	State	Emp IE	Emp Per	Rank	State	Wage IE	Mean Wage	Rank
1980	D.C.	0.56	0.28	51	Nevada	0.73	0.56	51	Alaska	0.42	7470.75	51
1980	Alaska	0.68	0.10	50	Alaska	0.73	0.58	50	D.C.	0.53	8003.04	50
1980	Hawaii	0.57	0.11	49	Hawaii	0.63	0.51	49	Nevada	0.40	5013.76	49
1980	Maryland	0.47	0.07	48	D.C.	0.78	0.57	48	Hawaii	0.38	4527.58	48
1980	California	0.53	0.08	47	Colorado	0.68	0.53	47	Maryland	0.34	4647.95	47
1990	D.C.	0.88	0.67	51	Alaska	0.80	0.64	51	D.C.	0.62	19533.68	51
1990	Massachusetts	0.78	0.25	50	Hawaii	0.77	0.62	50	Alaska	0.48	13474.80	50
1990	Connecticut	0.76	0.25	49	NH	0.82	0.61	49	Maryland	0.44	11605.96	49
1990	Colorado	0.76	0.26	48	Maryland	0.77	0.59	48	Connecticut	0.43	12096.98	48
1990	Vermont	0.90	0.23	47	Minnesota	0.82	0.60	47	New Jersey	0.40	11350.22	47
2000	D.C.	0.95	0.77	51	Minnesota	0.87	0.64	51	D.C.	0.63	32407.48	51
2000	Massachusetts	0.88	0.32	50	Vermont	0.87	0.63	50	Maryland	0.51	18589.25	50
2000	Colorado	0.87	0.34	49	NH	0.84	0.62	49	Connecticut	0.46	19036.45	49
2000	Vermont	1.01	0.30	48	Nebraska	0.84	0.63	48	New Jersey	0.45	18494.91	48
2000	Maryland	0.84	0.32	47	Wisconsin	0.86	0.62	47	Massachusetts	0.51	17866.40	47
2010	D.C.	1.02	0.87	51	North Dakota	0.88	0.64	51	D.C.	0.64	47657.46	51
2010	Massachusetts	0.98	0.41	50	Nebraska	0.90	0.63	50	Maryland	0.57	27450.25	50
2010	Colorado	0.97	0.42	49	Minnesota	0.92	0.63	49	New Jersey	0.52	25436.37	49
2010	Vermont	1.09	0.35	48	NH	0.91	0.62	48	Connecticut	0.52	25348.04	48
2010	Maryland	0.94	0.39	47	Iowa	0.89	0.61	47	Alaska	0.60	26516.24	47

Table D.15 Rankings for the Lowest Relative Status for Black Women

Year	State	Edu IE	Edu Per	Rank	State	Emp IE	Emp Per	Rank	State	Wage IE	Mean Wage	Rank
1980	Montana	0.00	0%	1.5	Idaho	0.49	37%	1	Maine	0.41	2518.69	1
1980	Wyoming	0.00	0%	1.5	Maine	0.57	48%	2	South Dakota	0.41	3085.19	2
1980	Utah	0.15	1%	3	Wyoming	0.59	48%	3	Louisiana	0.45	2765.60	3
1980	Rhode Island	0.28	1%	4	Hawaii	0.61	57%	4	NH	0.45	4370.00	4
1980	Minnesota	0.49	5%	5	New Mexico	0.64	43%	5	West Virginia	0.45	2778.24	5
1990	South Dakota	0.36	9%	1	South Dakota	0.74	54%	1	South Dakota	0.43	6703.47	1
1990	Maine	0.45	12%	2	Utah	0.74	44%	2	New Mexico	0.49	6789.07	2
1990	Idaho	0.48	12%	3	Hawaii	0.75	69%	3	Idaho	0.50	6290.68	3
1990	North Dakota	0.55	10%	4	Minnesota	0.78	47%	4	Maine	0.52	9142.20	4
1990	Iowa	0.57	10%	5	North Dakota	0.81	73%	5	Hawaii	0.54	9061.61	5
2000	Idaho	0.69	20%	1	Montana	0.73	47%	1	North Dakota	0.20	4700.00	1
2000	Nebraska	0.71	12%	2	Maine	0.76	53%	2	Maine	0.38	8941.87	2
2000	Minnesota	0.82	17%	3	Idaho	0.79	55%	3	Montana	0.48	9425.67	3
2000	Oregon	0.83	16%	4	Hawaii	0.84	68%	4	NH	0.55	14710.47	4
2000	Rhode Island	0.93	17%	5	Vermont	0.85	60%	5	Wyoming	0.63	14054.27	5
2010	South	0.26	13%	1	Idaho	0.53	41%	1	Idaho	0.44	6911.72	1

0	Dakota										
2010	Maine	0.36	7%	2	NH	0.66	56%	2	South Dakota	0.46	6590.58	2
2010	NH	0.53	14%	3	Hawaii	0.73	61%	3	Hawaii	0.49	17696.09	3
2010	New Mexico	0.87	25%	4	Utah	0.76	46%	4	NH	0.55	17121.25	4
2010	Washington	0.88	20%	5	South Dakota	0.83	53%	5	Iowa	0.60	10084.94	5

Table D.16 Rankings for the Lowest Intersectional Status for Black Women

Year	State	Edu Int	Edu Per	Rank	State	Emp Int	Emp Per	Rank	State	Wage Int	Mean Wage	Rank
1980	Montana	0.00	0%	1.5	Idaho	0.52	37%	1	Louisiana	0.23	2765.60	1
1980	Wyoming	0.00	0%	1.5	Louisiana	0.55	41%	2	Alabama	0.26	2648.52	2
1980	Utah	0.08	1%	3	WV	0.55	35%	3	Mississippi	0.26	2455.82	3
1980	Rhode Island	0.12	1%	4	Alabama	0.56	39%	4	WV	0.28	2778.24	4
1980	D.C.	0.13	7%	5	Arkansas	0.56	37%	5	Arkansas	0.28	2335.17	5
1990	D.C.	0.20	15%	1	Utah	0.60	44%	1	Louisiana	0.29	5158.53	1
1990	Utah	0.26	8%	2	Louisiana	0.62	43%	2	Mississippi	0.30	4855.01	2
1990	New Mexico	0.32	11%	3	Michigan	0.63	44%	3	Alabama	0.32	5825.83	3
1990	Connecticut	0.37	12%	4	Minnesota	0.64	47%	4	South Carolina	0.34	6359.84	4
1990	South Carolina	0.37	8%	5	Mississippi	0.64	44%	5	Arkansas	0.35	4968.93	5
2000	D.C.	0.22	18%	1	D.C.	0.61	46%	1	North Dakota	0.23	4700.00	1
2000	Connecticut	0.40	14%	2	Alabama	0.69	47%	2	D.C.	0.31	16009.18	2
2000	South Carolina	0.44	11%	3	Montana	0.70	47%	3	Louisiana	0.35	9147.26	3
2000	Nebraska	0.44	12%	4	Mississippi	0.70	47%	4	Mississippi	0.38	9079.27	4
2000	Virginia	0.45	16%	5	Illinois	0.71	50%	5	Maine	0.40	8941.87	5
201	Montana	0.00	0%	1	Wyoming	0.48	33%	1	South Dakota	0.24	6590.58	1

0											
2010	Maine	0.27	7%	2	D.C.	0.62	46%	2	Idaho	0.27	6911.72	2
2010	D.C.	0.28	24%	3	Maine	0.64	40%	3	D.C.	0.29	21769.32	3
2010	South Dakota	0.41	13%	4	Utah	0.66	46%	4	Utah	0.31	10697.42	4
2010	New Hampshire	0.43	14%	5	Idaho	0.66	41%	5	Iowa	0.35	10084.94	5

Table D.17 Rankings for the Highest Relative Status for Black Women

Year	State	Edu IE	Edu Per	Rank	State	Emp IE	Emp Per	Rank	State	Wage IE	Mean Wage	Rank
1980	Vermont	2.18	18%	51	Montana	1.04	65%	51	D.C.	0.75	5818.79	51
1980	North Dakota	1.53	11%	50	Utah	0.91	52%	50	Vermont	0.69	4518.75	50
1980	Maine	1.44	8%	49	Nevada	0.90	63%	49	Maryland	0.66	5585.40	49
1980	NH	1.34	14%	48	Missouri	0.90	51%	48	New York	0.64	4601.80	48
1980	Louisiana	1.31	4%	47	D.C.	0.90	53%	47	Alaska	0.64	8049.60	47
1990	Montana	2.37	30%	51	Vermont	1.28	81%	51	Wyoming	1.07	11786.46	51
1990	Wyoming	2.34	16%	50	Wyoming	1.01	65%	50	Montana	0.93	8916.75	50
1990	SC	1.44	8%	49	Connecticut	0.99	61%	49	D.C.	0.84	11320.81	49
1990	Vermont	1.43	40%	48	Missouri	0.98	54%	48	New York	0.81	11168.72	48
1990	Louisiana	1.42	11%	47	Maryland	0.96	64%	47	Maryland	0.79	12963.03	47
2000	Vermont	1.95	50%	51	Wisconsin	1.13	53%	51	D.C.	0.89	16009.18	51
2000	North Dakota	1.61	37%	50	Wyoming	1.11	68%	50	Alaska	0.89	19759.73	50
2000	Louisiana	1.49	13%	49	Alaska	1.06	72%	49	Missouri	0.88	14136.70	49
2000	Mississippi	1.47	12%	48	Illinois	1.04	50%	48	West Virginia	0.88	10705.61	48
2000	Maine	1.43	28%	47	Michigan	1.04	52%	47	New York	0.88	15935.74	47
201	Idaho	8.67	22%	50	Vermont	2.25	67%	51	Montana	1.18	14561.17	51

0												
201									North			
0	Wyoming	2.45	50%	49	Montana	1.58	65%	50	Dakota	1.13	26264.12	50
201					Rhode							
0	Mississippi	1.88	16%	48	Island	1.23	53%	49	Maine	1.09	10151.78	49
201												
0	SC	1.67	17%	47	Nebraska	1.20	64%	48	Rhode Island	1.09	14282.48	48
201												
0	Louisiana	1.64	16%	46*	Wisconsin	1.18	53%	47	Michigan	1.04	15013.29	47

* Montana had a missing value because 0 Black women and 0 Black men were recorded as having completed 4 or more years of college

Table D.18 Rankings for the Highest Intersectional Status for Black Women

Year	State	Edu Int	Edu Per	Rank	State	Emp Int	Emp Per	Rank	State	Wage Int	Mean Wage	Rank
1980	South Dakota	2.41	0.18	51	North Dakota	0.99	0.71	51	North Dakota	0.56	4814.46	51
1980	Vermont	1.68	0.18	50	Montana	0.93	0.65	50	Vermont	0.53	4518.75	50
1980	North Dakota	1.39	0.11	49	Vermont	0.90	0.63	49	Alaska	0.45	8049.60	49
1980	NH	1.36	0.14	48	Alaska	0.86	0.68	48	Nebraska	0.45	4329.79	48
1980	Maine	1.10	0.08	47	NH	0.83	0.62	47	Minnesota	0.44	4979.03	47
1990	Vermont	1.55	0.40	51	Vermont	1.12	0.81	51	North Dakota	0.76	10461.40	51
1990	Montana	1.28	0.30	50	Maine	1.04	0.72	50	Wyoming	0.66	11786.46	50
1990	NH	1.00	0.27	49	North Dakota	1.03	0.73	49	Montana	0.64	8916.75	49
1990	West Virginia	0.75	0.10	48	NH	0.96	0.71	48	Maine	0.55	9142.20	48
1990	Wyoming	0.75	0.16	47	Wyoming	0.89	0.65	47	South Dakota	0.53	6703.47	47
2000	Montana	1.79	0.47	51	Alaska	0.98	0.72	51	Alaska	0.61	19759.73	51
2000	North Dakota	1.71	0.37	50	Wyoming	0.97	0.68	50	Vermont	0.61	13940.67	50
2000	Vermont	1.69	0.50	49	Hawaii	0.93	0.68	49	Idaho	0.59	13678.52	49
2000	Maine	1.15	0.28	48	North Dakota	0.93	0.65	48	Wyoming	0.58	14054.27	48
2000	Wyoming	1.04	0.25	47	Arizona	0.90	0.59	47	West Virginia	0.56	10705.61	47
2010	North	1.93	0.52	51	North	1.20	0.87	51	North	0.93	26264.12	51

0	Dakota				Dakota				Dakota			
2010	Wyoming	1.89	0.50	50	Alaska	1.08	0.79	50	Alaska	0.71	31263.08	50
2010	Vermont	1.48	0.48	49	Montana	1.02	0.65	49	Oregon	0.62	17254.21	49
2010	West Virginia	0.99	0.16	48	Vermont	1.00	0.67	48	Arizona	0.60	18888.91	48
2010	Oklahoma	0.87	0.22	47	Florida	0.97	0.53	47	New Mexico	0.58	17564.62	47

Table D.19 Rankings for the Lowest Absolute Status for Black Women

Year	State	Edu IE	Edu Int	Edu Per	Rank	State	Emp IE	Emp Int	Emp Per	Rank	State	Wage IE	Wage Int	Mean Wage	Rank
1980	MT	0.00	0.00	0%	1.5	WV	0.78	0.55	35%	1	AR	0.50	0.28	2335.17	1
1980	WY	0.00	0.00	0%	1.5	AR	0.74	0.56	37%	2	MS	0.55	0.26	2455.82	2
1980	Utah	0.15	0.08	1%	3	Idaho	0.49	0.52	37%	3	Maine	0.41	0.30	2518.69	3
1980	RI	0.28	0.12	1%	4	AL	0.72	0.56	39%	4	AL	0.49	0.26	2648.52	4
1980	AR	0.93	0.39	3%	5	MS	0.76	0.57	40%	5	LA	0.45	0.23	2765.60	5
1990	Utah	0.61	0.26	8%	1	WV	0.90	0.65	38%	1	MS	0.64	0.30	4855.01	1
1990	WI	0.78	0.38	8%	2	LA	0.88	0.62	43%	2	AR	0.59	0.35	4968.93	2
1990	KY	0.93	0.49	8%	3	MI	0.93	0.63	44%	3	LA	0.62	0.29	5158.53	3
1990	SC	1.44	0.37	8%	4	MS	0.86	0.64	44%	4	WV	0.62	0.41	5752.00	4
1990	Ohio	0.98	0.44	9%	5	Utah	0.74	0.60	44%	5	AL	0.63	0.32	5825.83	5
2000	KY	1.04	0.59	11%	1	WV	1.04	0.73	42%	1	ND	0.20	0.23	4700.00	1
2000	WV	1.03	0.70	11%	2	D.C.	0.94	0.61	46%	2	Maine	0.38	0.40	8941.87	2
2000	WI	1.05	0.46	11%	3	AL	0.94	0.69	47%	3	MS	0.74	0.38	9079.27	3
2000	SC	1.43	0.44	11%	4	MT	0.73	0.70	47%	4	LA	0.71	0.35	9147.26	4
2000	NE	0.71	0.44	12%	5	MS	0.96	0.70	47%	5	MT	0.48	0.48	9425.67	5
2010	MT	.	0.00	0%	1	WY	0.87	0.48	33%	1	SD	0.46	0.24	6590.58	1
2010	Maine	0.36	0.27	7%	2	Maine	1.12	0.64	40%	2	Idaho	0.44	0.27	6911.72	2
2010	SD	0.26	0.41	13%	3	Idaho	0.53	0.66	41%	3	Iowa	0.60	0.35	10084.94	3
2010	WI	0.99	0.48	13%	4	WV	1.01	0.82	44%	4	Maine	1.09	0.39	10151.78	4
2010	AR	1.19	0.62	13%	5	MI	1.16	0.79	46%	5	Utah	0.61	0.31	10697.42	5

Table D.20 Rankings for the Highest Absolute Status for Black Women

Year	State	Edu IE	Edu Int	Edu Per	Rank	State	Emp IE	Emp Int	Emp Per	Rank	State	Wage IE	Wage Int	Mean Wage	Rank
1980	SD	1.09	2.41	18%	50.5	ND	0.82	0.99	71%	51	Alaska	0.64	0.45	8049.60	51
1980	VT	2.18	1.68	18%	50.5	Alaska	0.79	0.86	68%	50	D.C.	0.75	0.39	5818.79	50
1980	NH	1.34	1.36	14%	49	MT	1.04	0.93	65%	49	MD	0.66	0.41	5585.40	49
1980	ND	1.53	1.39	11%	48	NV	0.90	0.82	63%	48	NV	0.62	0.44	5471.45	48
1980	Maine	1.44	1.10	8%	47	VT	0.83	0.90	63%	47	Colorado	0.59	0.40	5023.45	47
1990	VT	1.43	1.55	40%	51	VT	1.28	1.12	81%	51	Alaska	0.73	0.47	13287.86	51
1990	MT	2.37	1.28	30%	50	ND	0.81	1.03	73%	50	MD	0.79	0.50	12963.03	50
1990	NH	1.02	1.00	27%	49	Maine	0.86	1.04	72%	49	CT	0.74	0.44	12251.88	49
1990	Hawaii	1.34	0.60	21%	48	NH	0.94	0.96	71%	48	WY	1.07	0.66	11786.46	48
1990	OR	1.08	0.74	18%	47	Alaska	0.86	0.86	69%	47	NJ	0.74	0.42	11711.22	47
2000	VT	1.95	1.69	50%	51	Alaska	1.06	0.98	72%	51	MD	0.87	0.54	19780.12	51
2000	MT	1.33	1.79	47%	50	WY	1.11	0.97	68%	50	Alaska	0.89	0.61	19759.73	50
2000	ND	1.61	1.71	37%	49	Hawaii	0.84	0.93	68%	49	CT	0.86	0.44	17843.04	49
2000	NH	1.07	1.04	31%	48	ND	0.98	0.93	65%	48	NJ	0.82	0.43	17560.66	48
2000	Maine	1.43	1.15	28%	47	NH	0.91	0.83	62%	47	Colorado	0.79	0.51	17250.33	47
2010	ND	1.18	1.93	52%	51	ND	1.06	1.20	87%	51	Alaska	0.96	0.71	31263.08	51
2010	WY	2.45	1.89	50%	50	Alaska	1.09	1.08	79%	50	MD	0.97	0.57	27347.99	50
2010	VT	1.21	1.48	48%	49	VT	2.25	1.00	67%	49	ND	1.13	0.93	26264.12	49
2010	Hawaii	1.45	0.69	29%	48	MT	1.58	1.02	65%	48	NJ	0.88	0.45	22109.97	48
2010	Alaska	1.07	0.82	27%	47	NE	1.20	0.90	64%	47	D.C.	1.02	0.29	21769.32	47

APPENDIX E

Figure E.1 Boxplots for Rate and Count of Total Women's Total Homicide

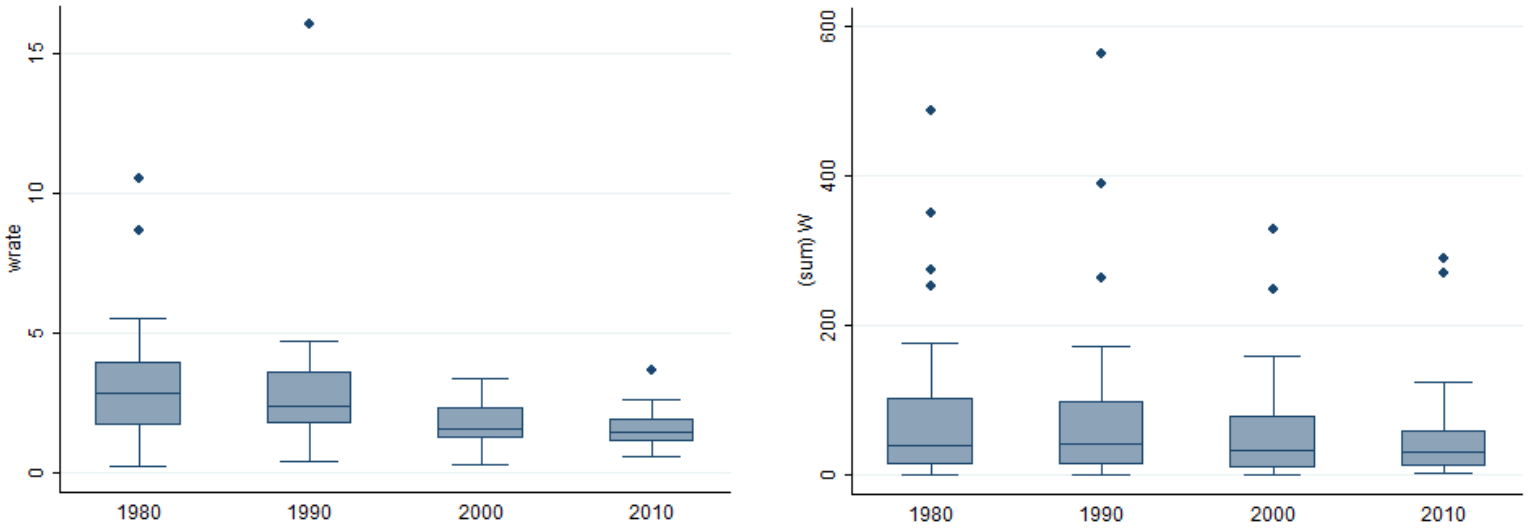


Figure E.2 Boxplots for Rate and Count of Total Women's Intimate Homicide

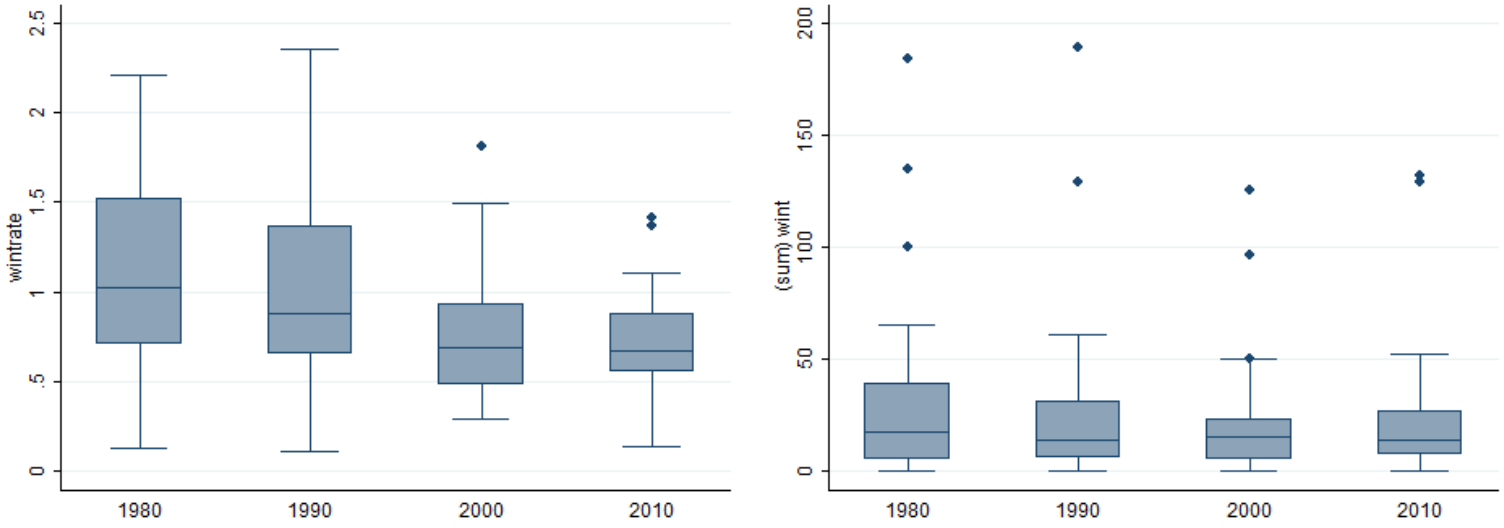


Figure E.3 Boxplots for Rate and Count of Total Women's Known Homicide

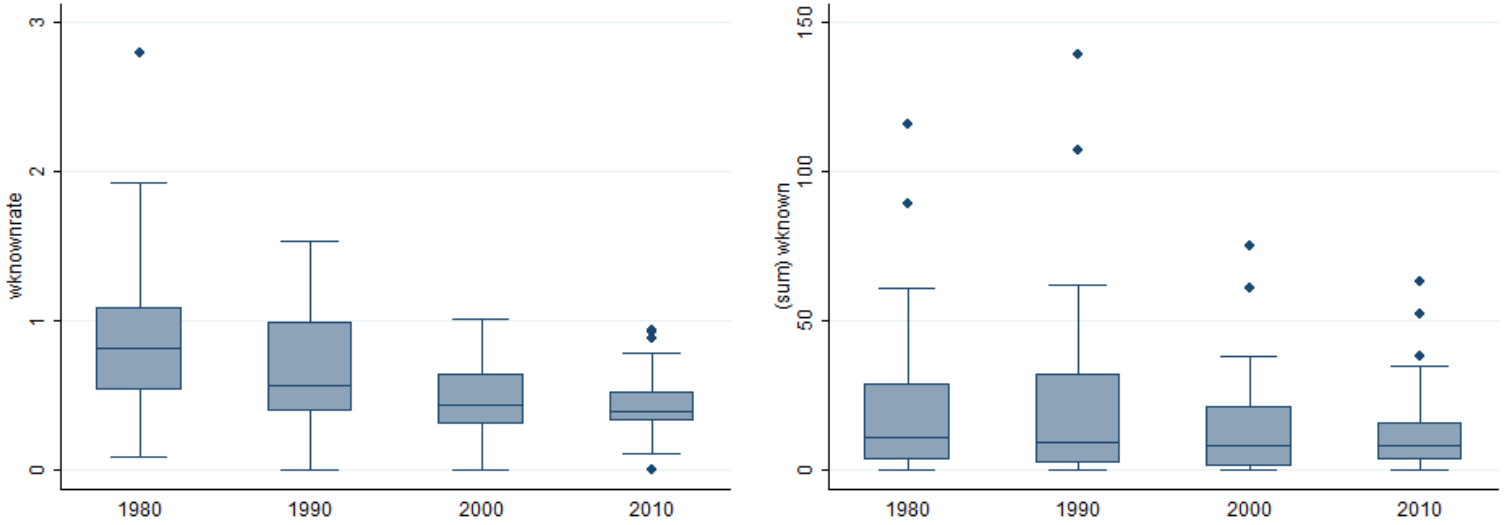


Figure E.4 Boxplots for Rate and Count of Total Women's Stranger Homicide

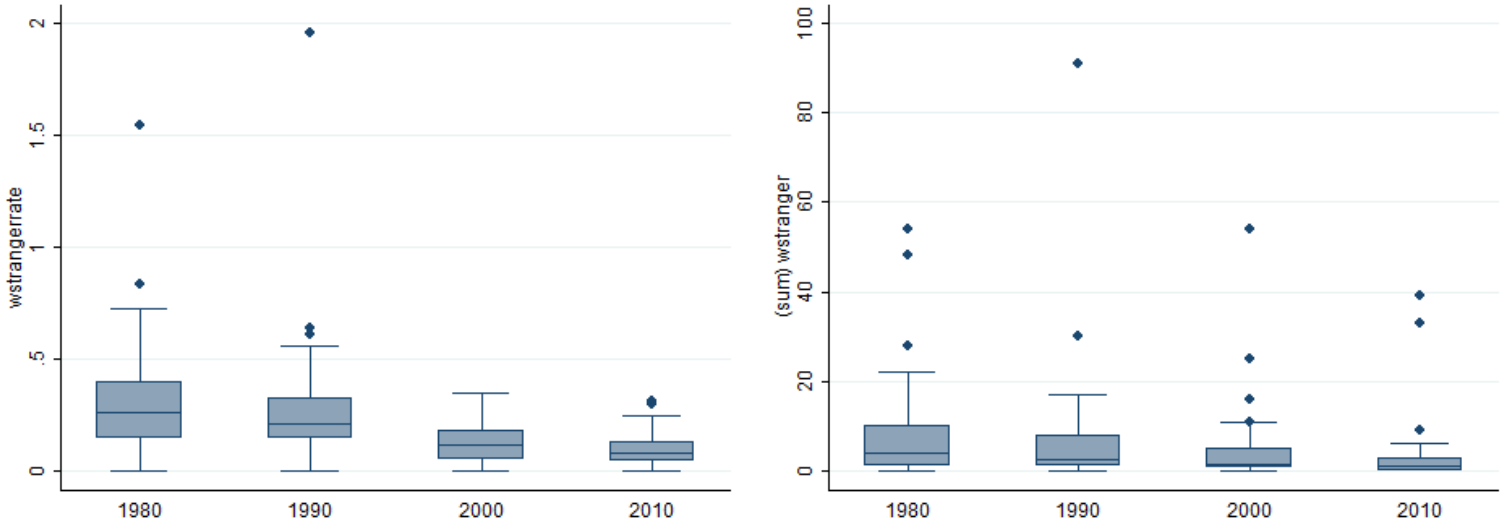


Figure E.5 Boxplots for Rate and Count of Total Women's Unknown Homicide

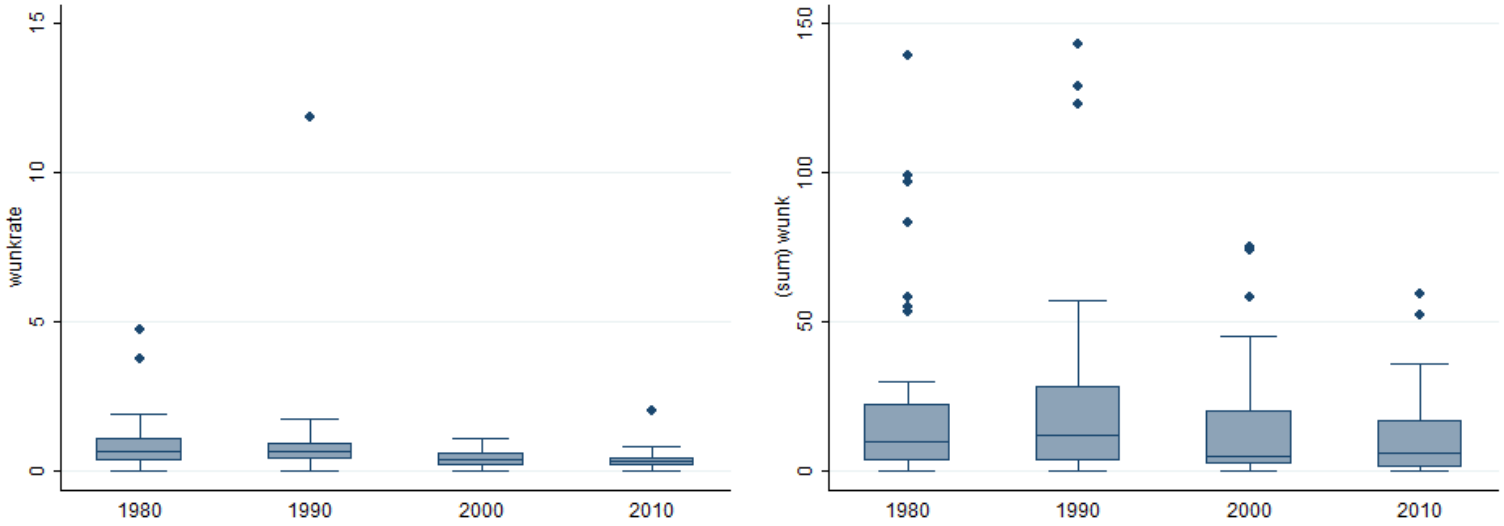


Figure E.6 Boxplots for Total Women's Relative Status Indicators (Educational Attainment, Employment, Wage)

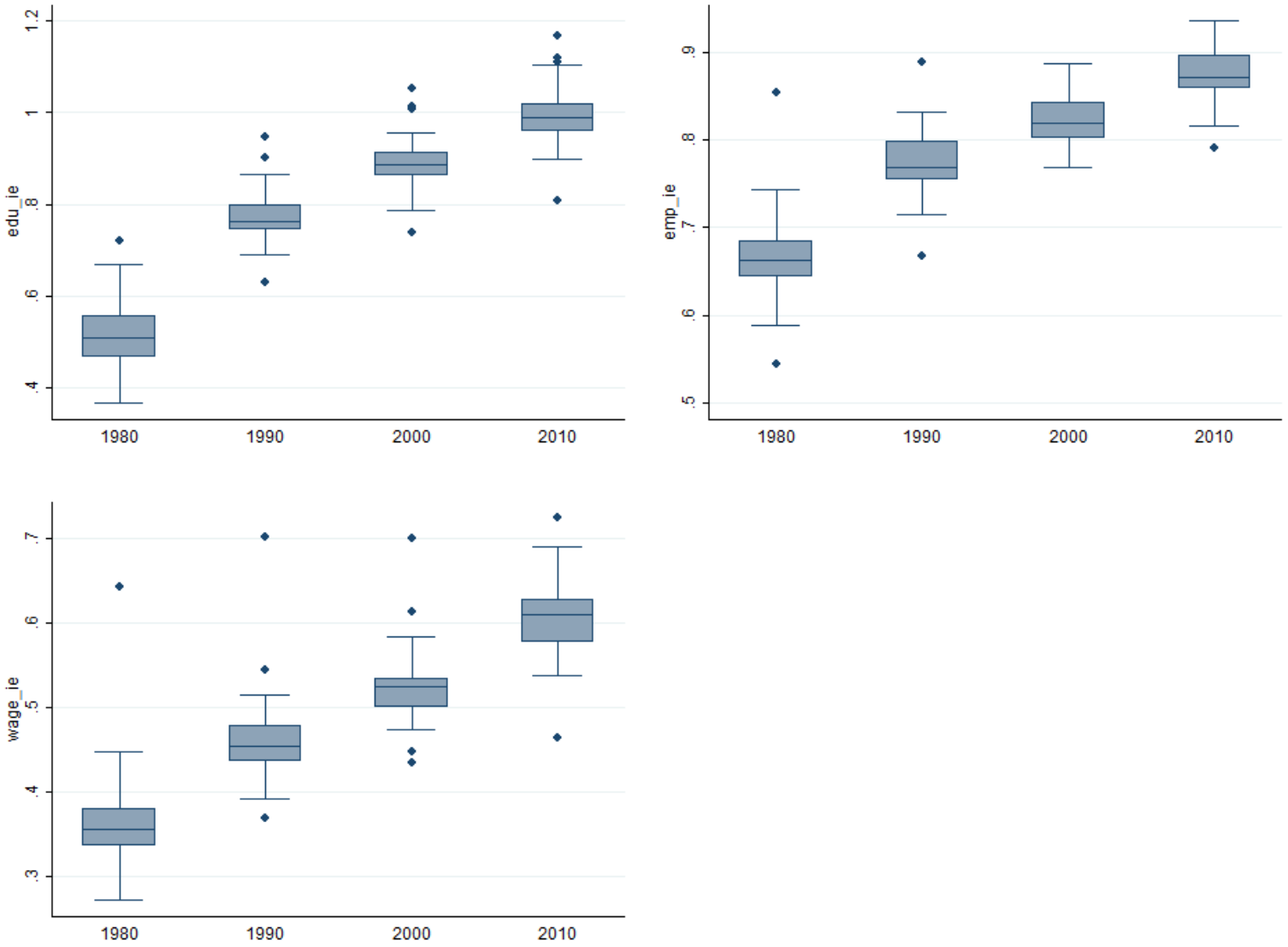


Figure E.7 Boxplots for Total Women's Absolute Status Indicators (Educational Attainment, Employment, Wage)

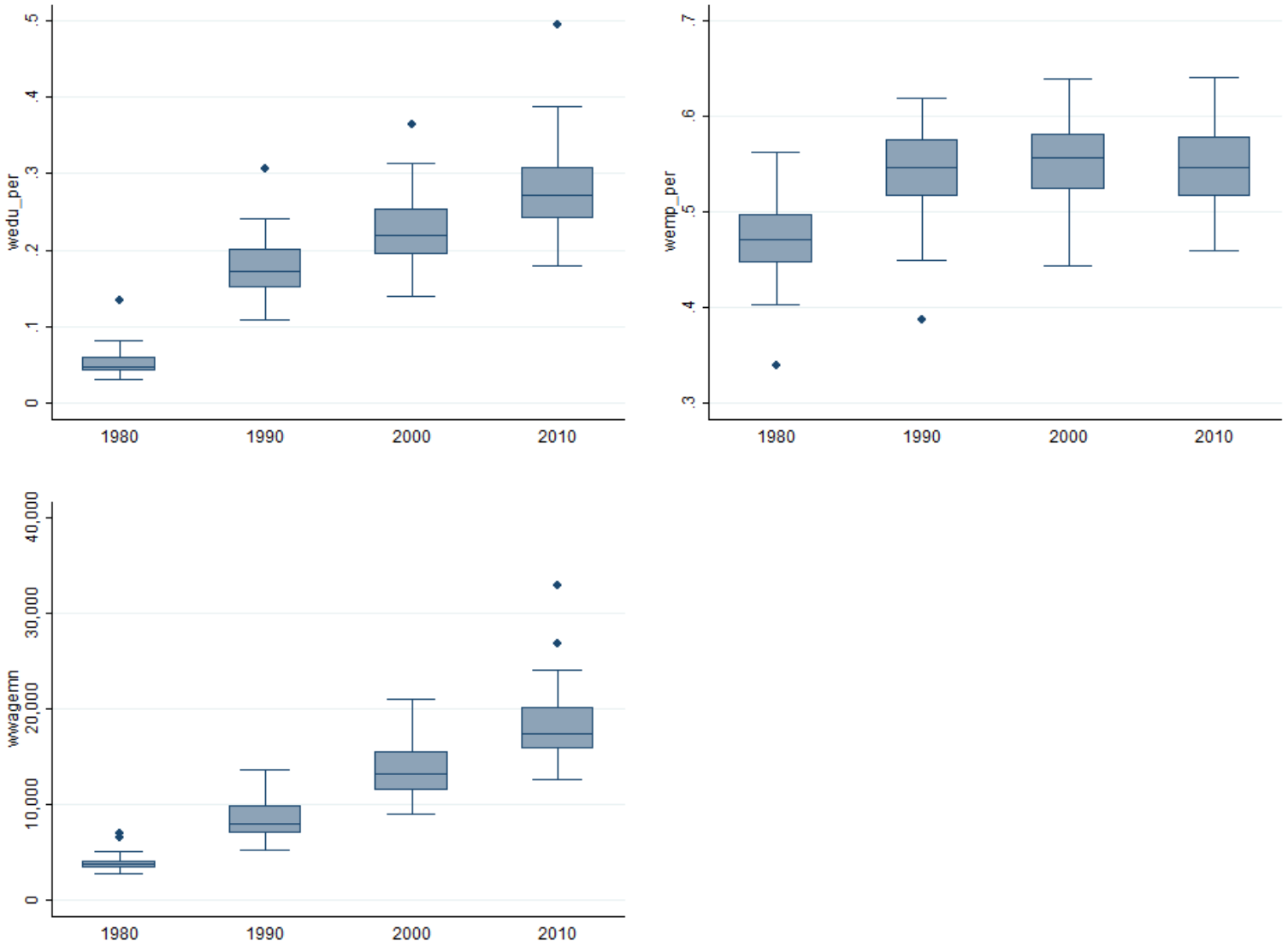


Figure E.8 Boxplots for Rate and Count of White Women's Total Homicide

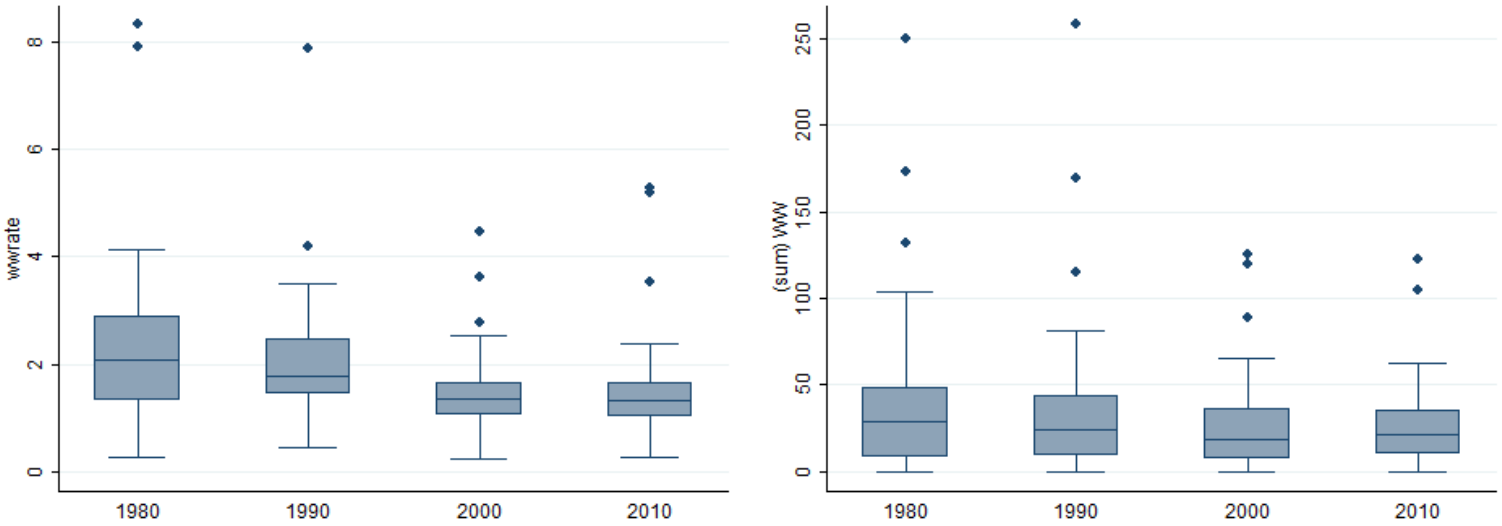


Figure E.9 Boxplots for Rate and Count of White Women's Intimate Homicide

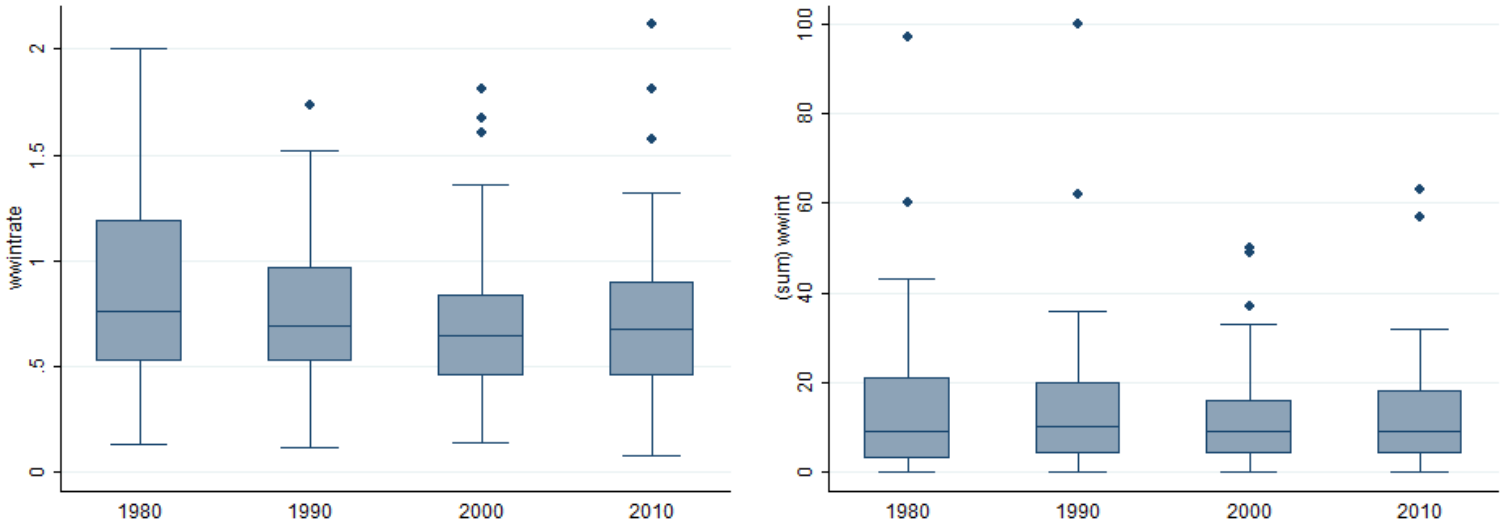


Figure E.10 Boxplots for Rate and Count of White Women's Known Homicide

Figure E.11 Boxplots for Rate and Count of White Women's Stranger Homicide

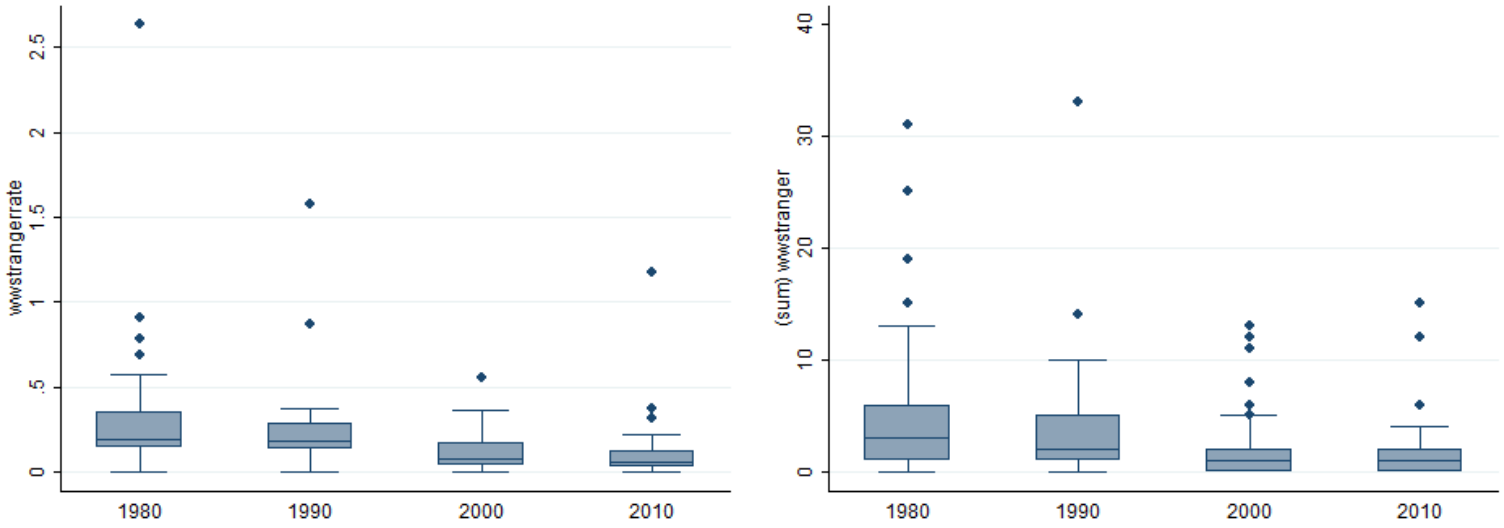


Figure E.12 Boxplots for Rate and Count of White Women's Unknown Homicide

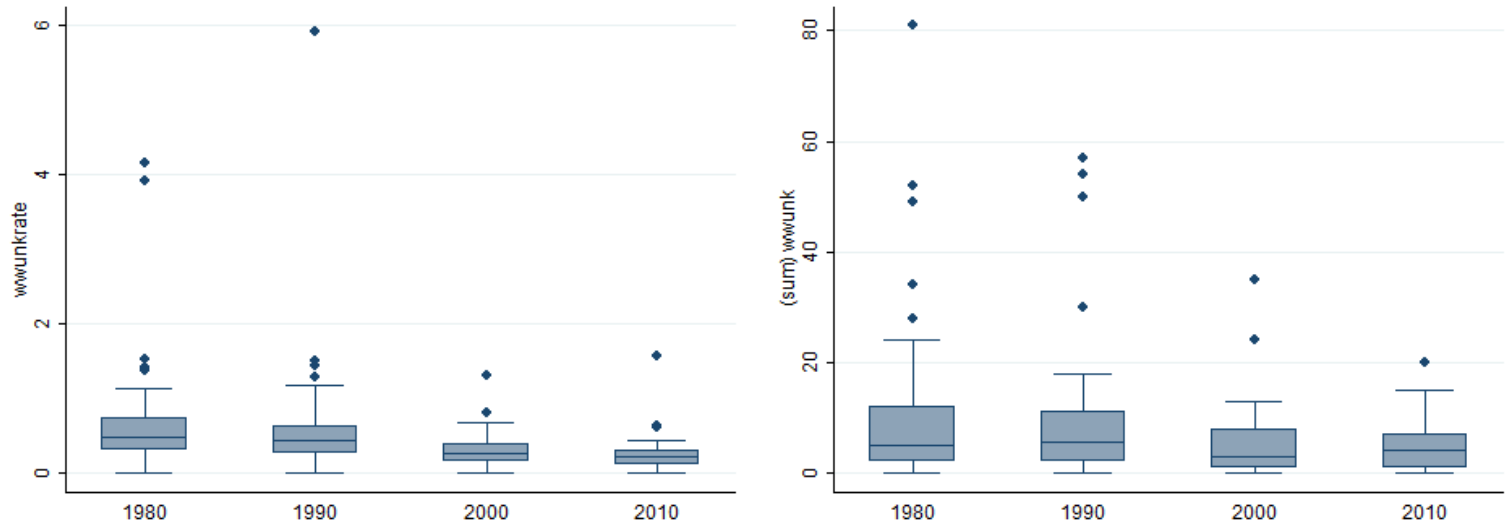


Figure E.13 Boxplots for White Women's Relative Status Indicators (Educational Attainment, Employment, Wage)

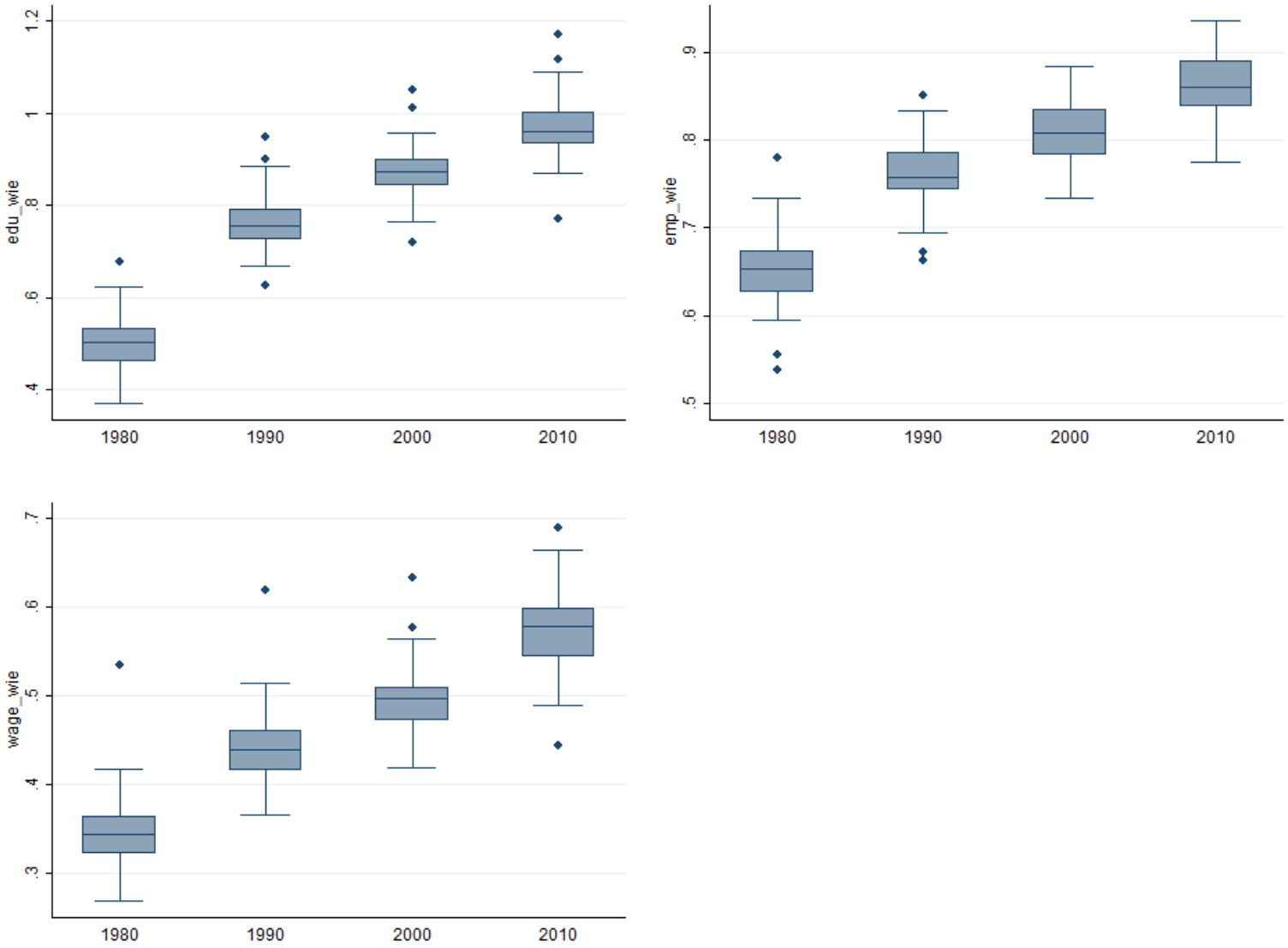


Figure E.14 Boxplots for White Women's Absolute Status Indicators (Educational Attainment, Employment, Wage)

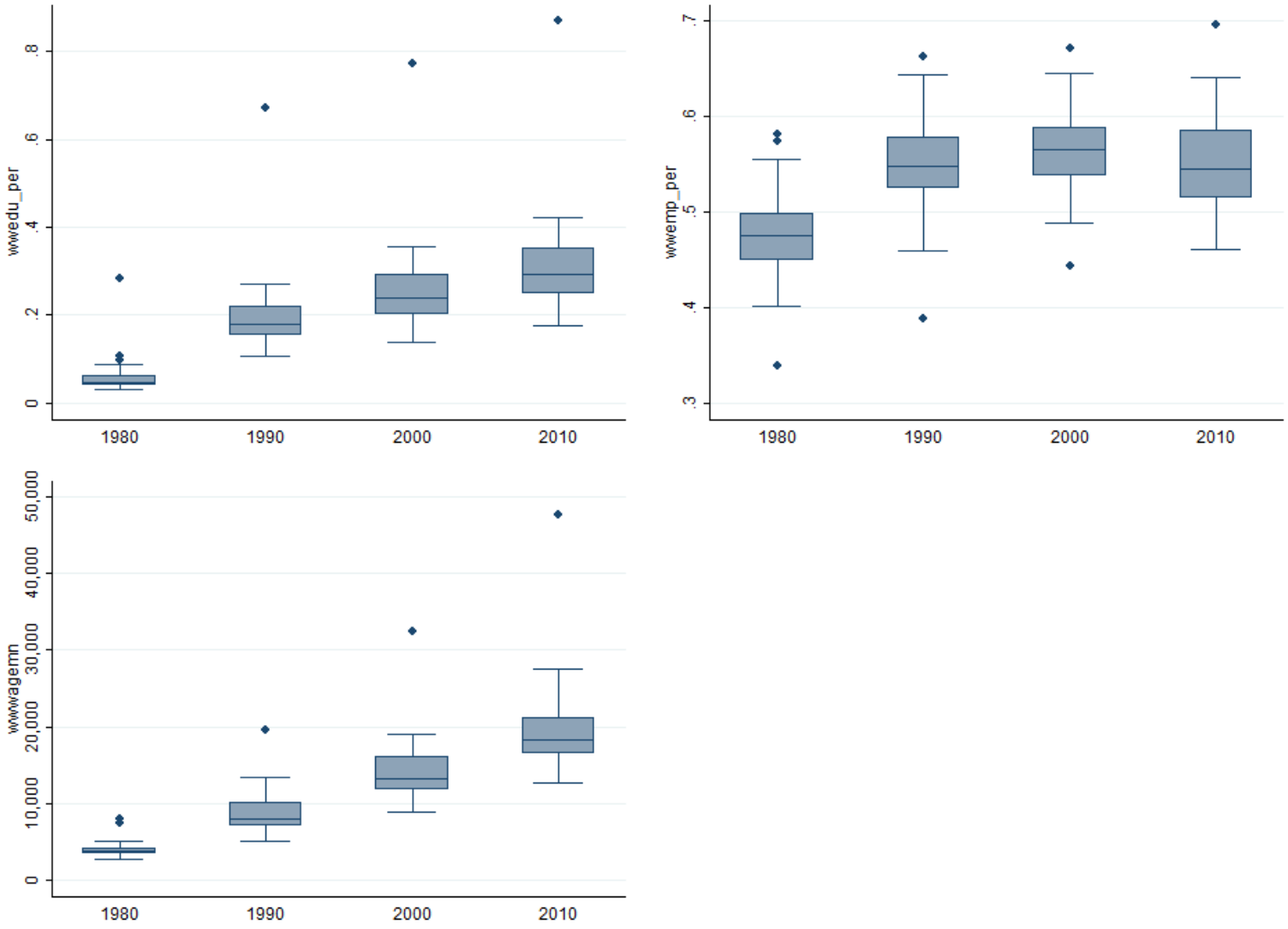


Figure E.15 Boxplots for Rate and Count of Black Women's Total Homicide

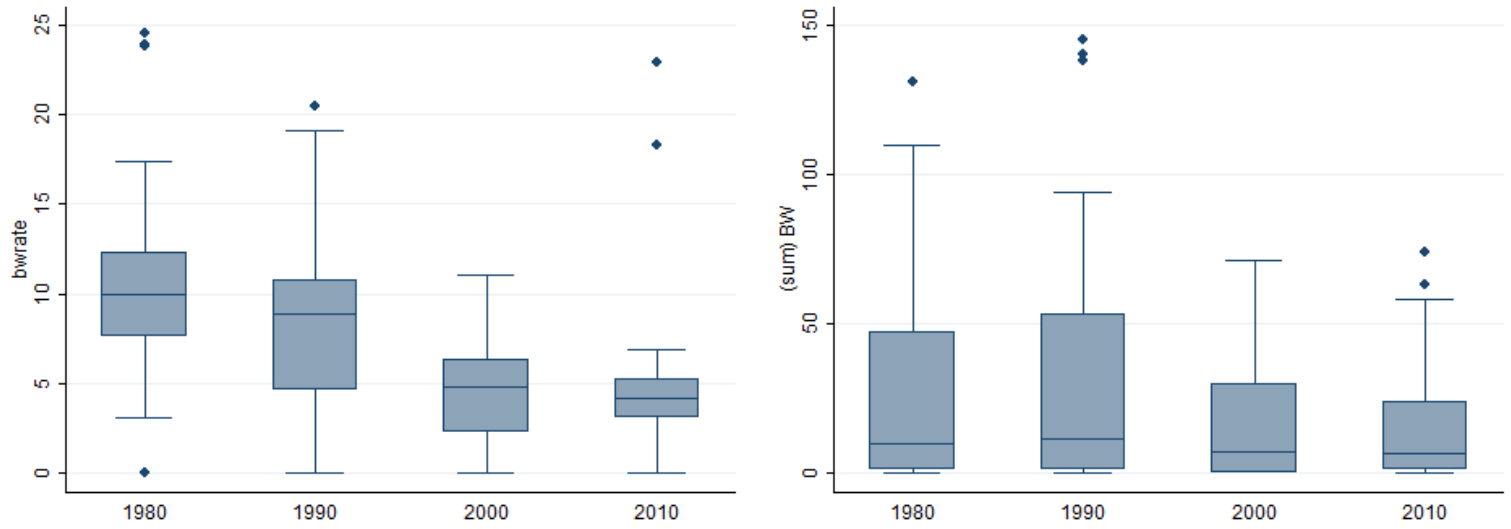


Figure E.16 Boxplots for Rate and Count of Black Women's Intimate Homicide

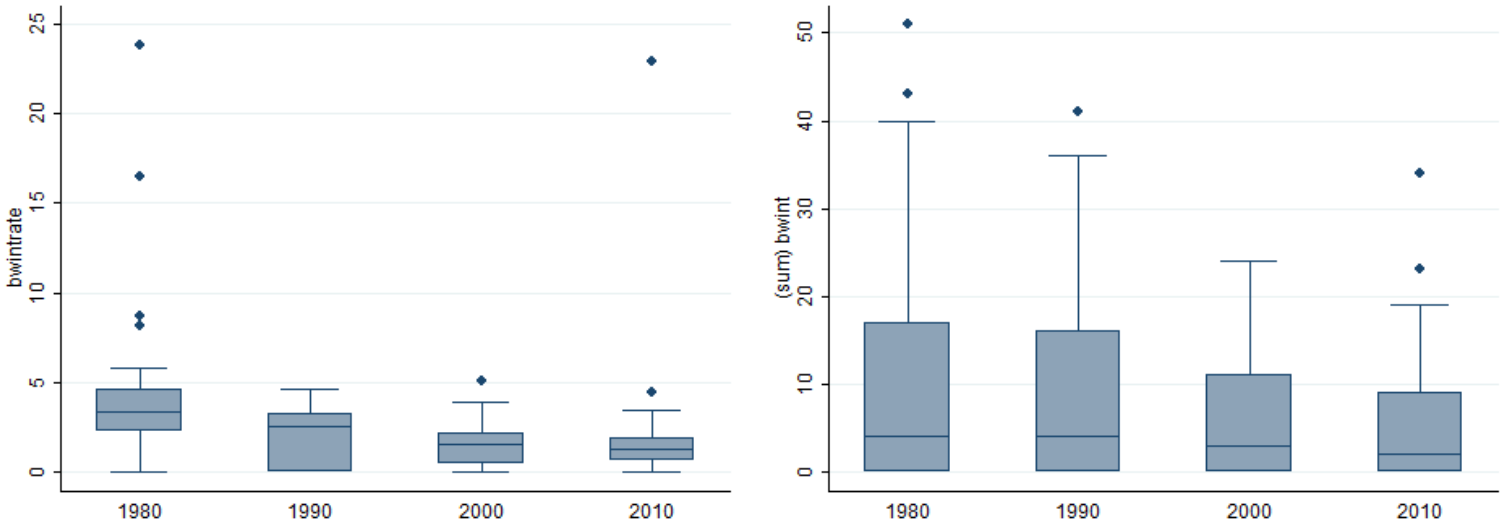


Figure E.17 Boxplots for Rate and Count of Black Women's Known Homicide

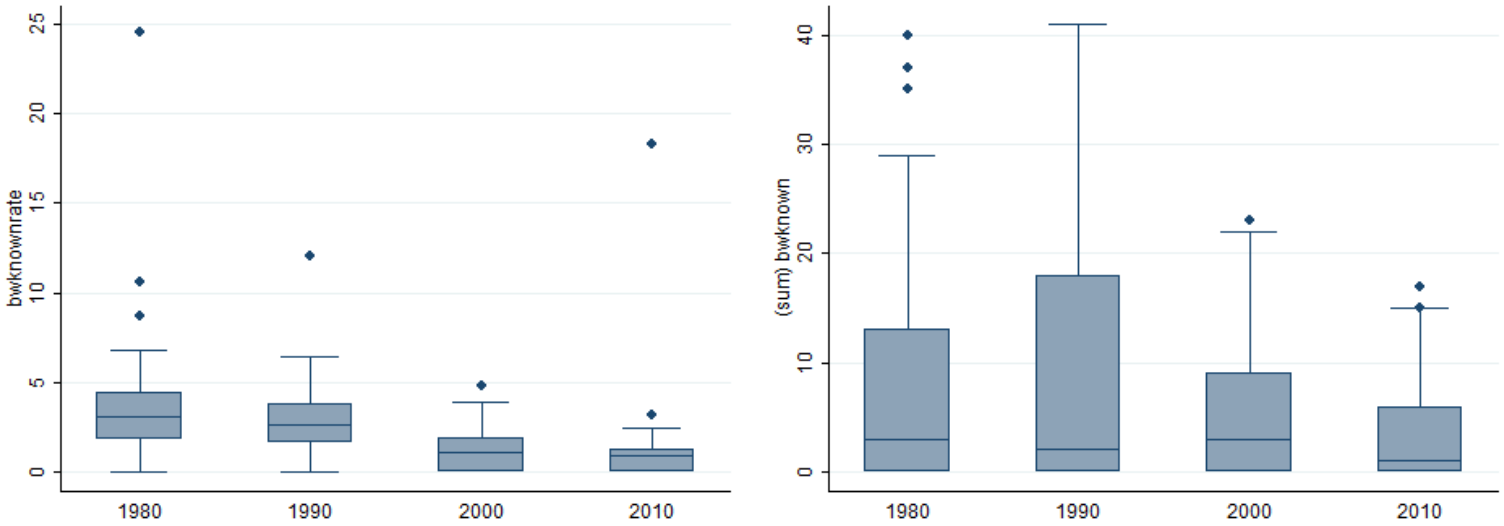


Figure E.18 Boxplots for Rate and Count of Black Women's Stranger Homicide

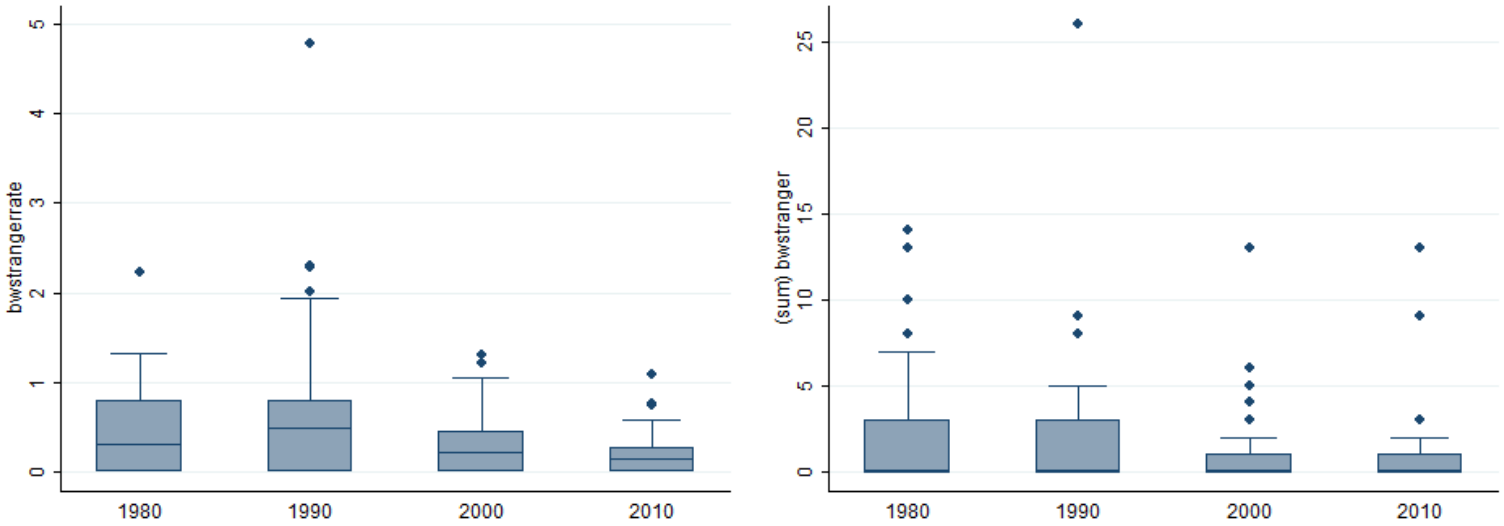


Figure E.19 Boxplots for Rate and Count of Black Women's Unknown Homicide

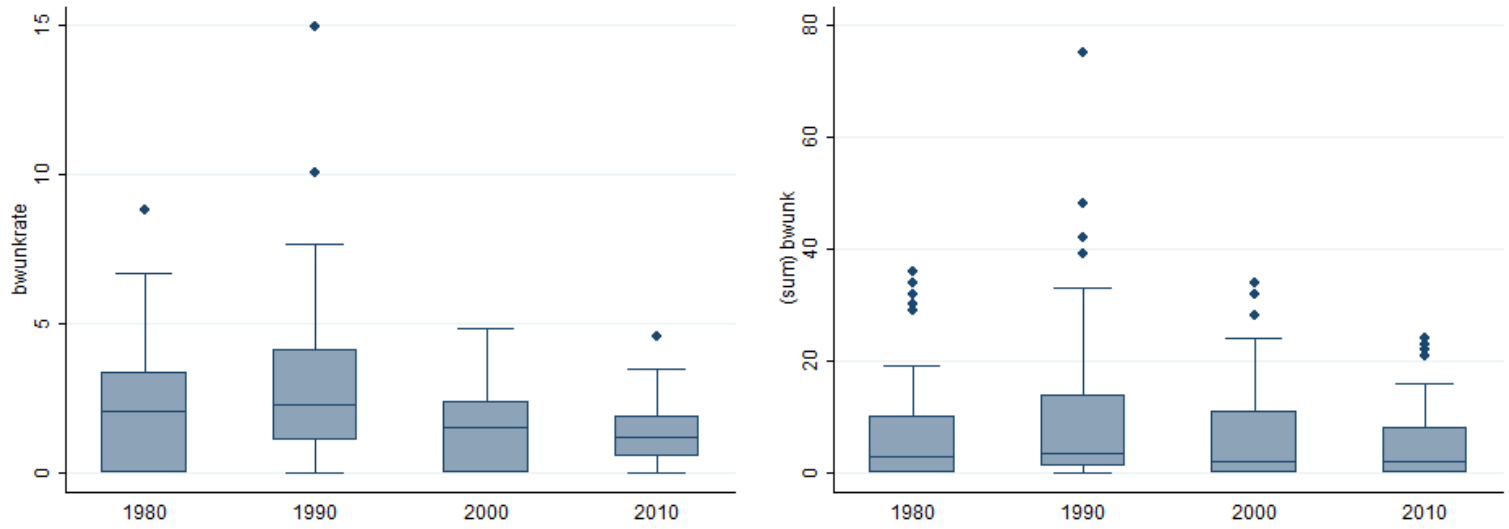


Figure E.20 Boxplots for Black Women's Relative Status Indicators (Educational Attainment, Employment, Wage)

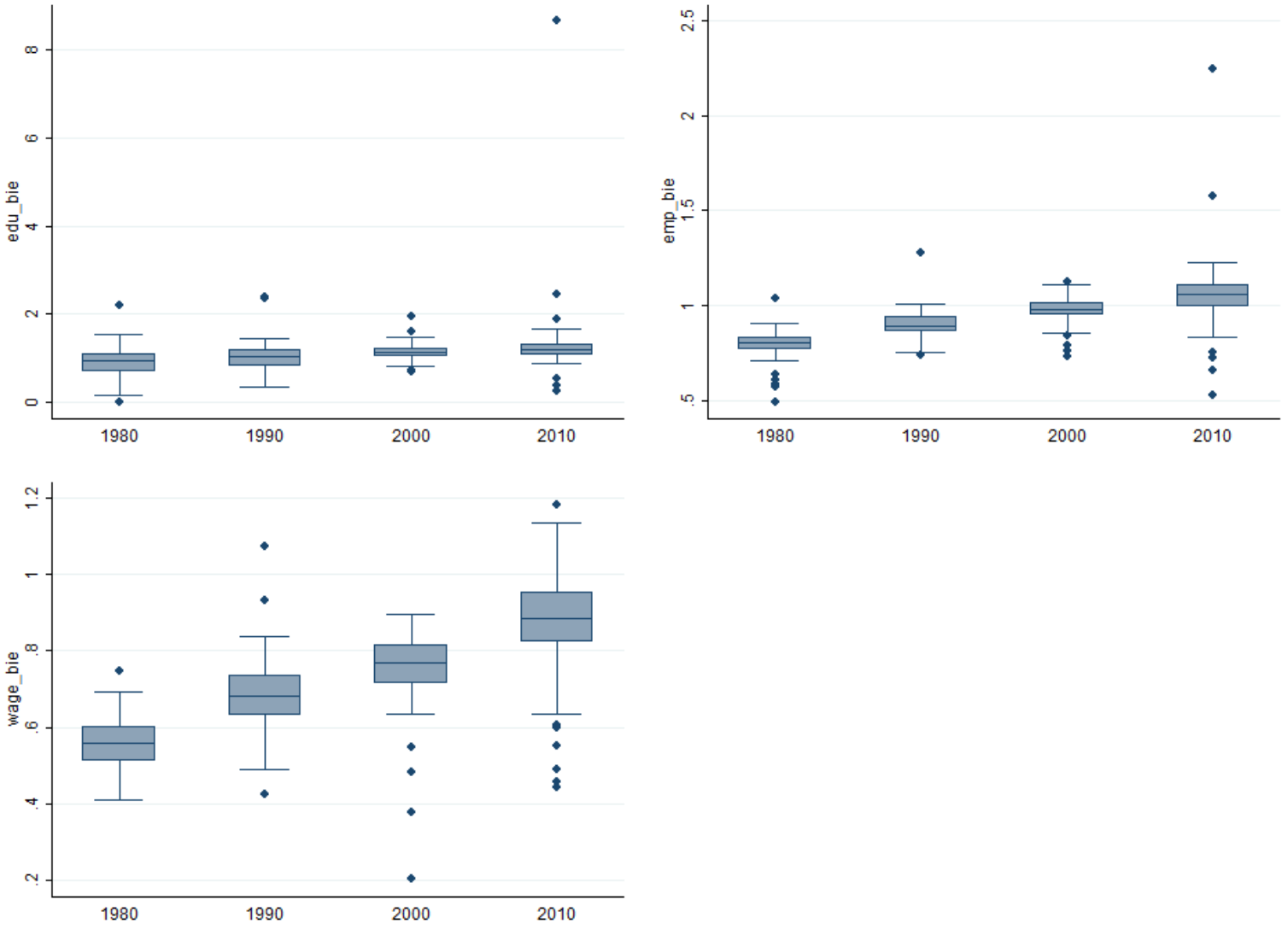


Figure E.21 Boxplots for Black Women's Intersectional Status Indicators (Educational Attainment, Employment, Wage)

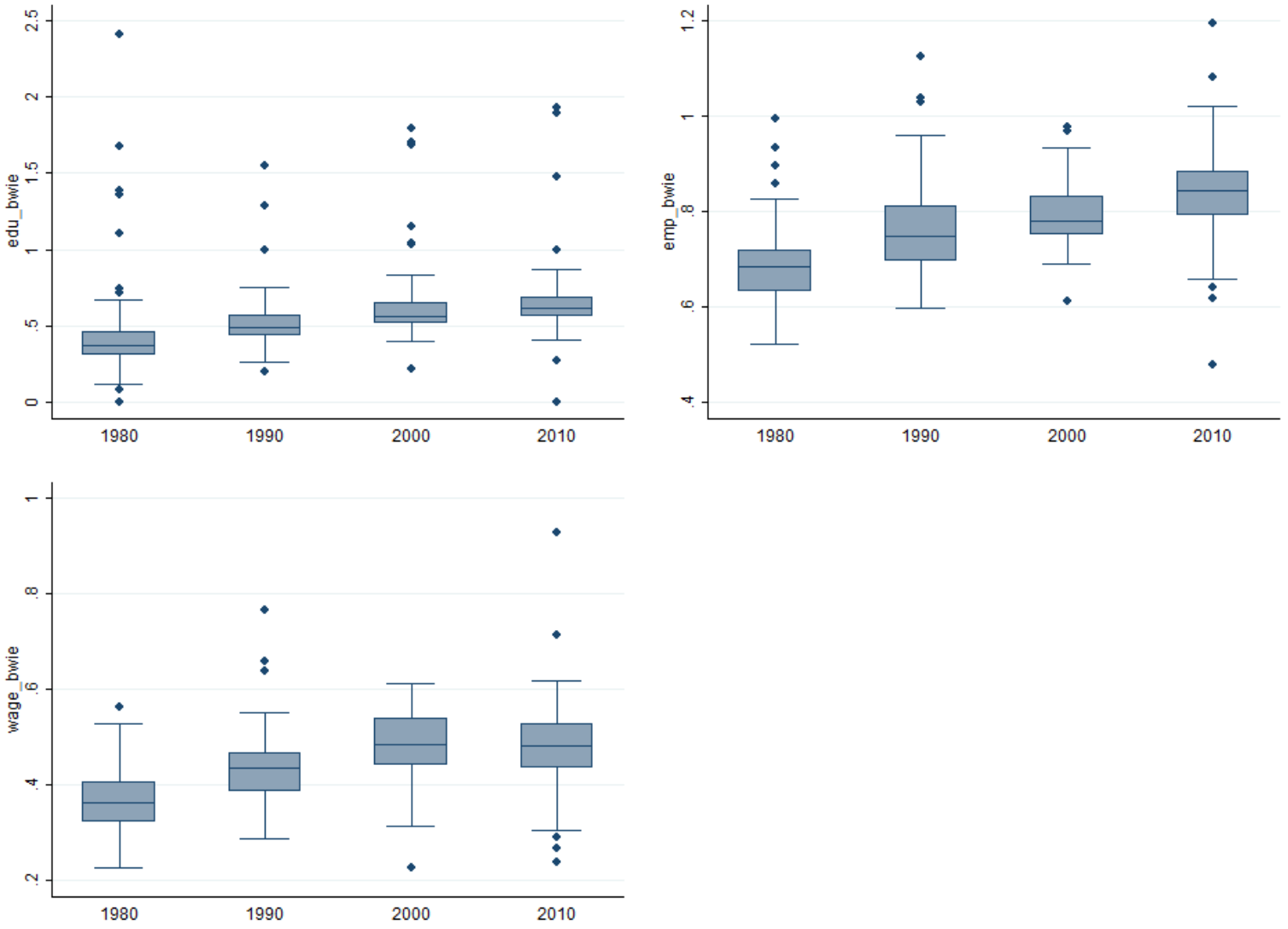
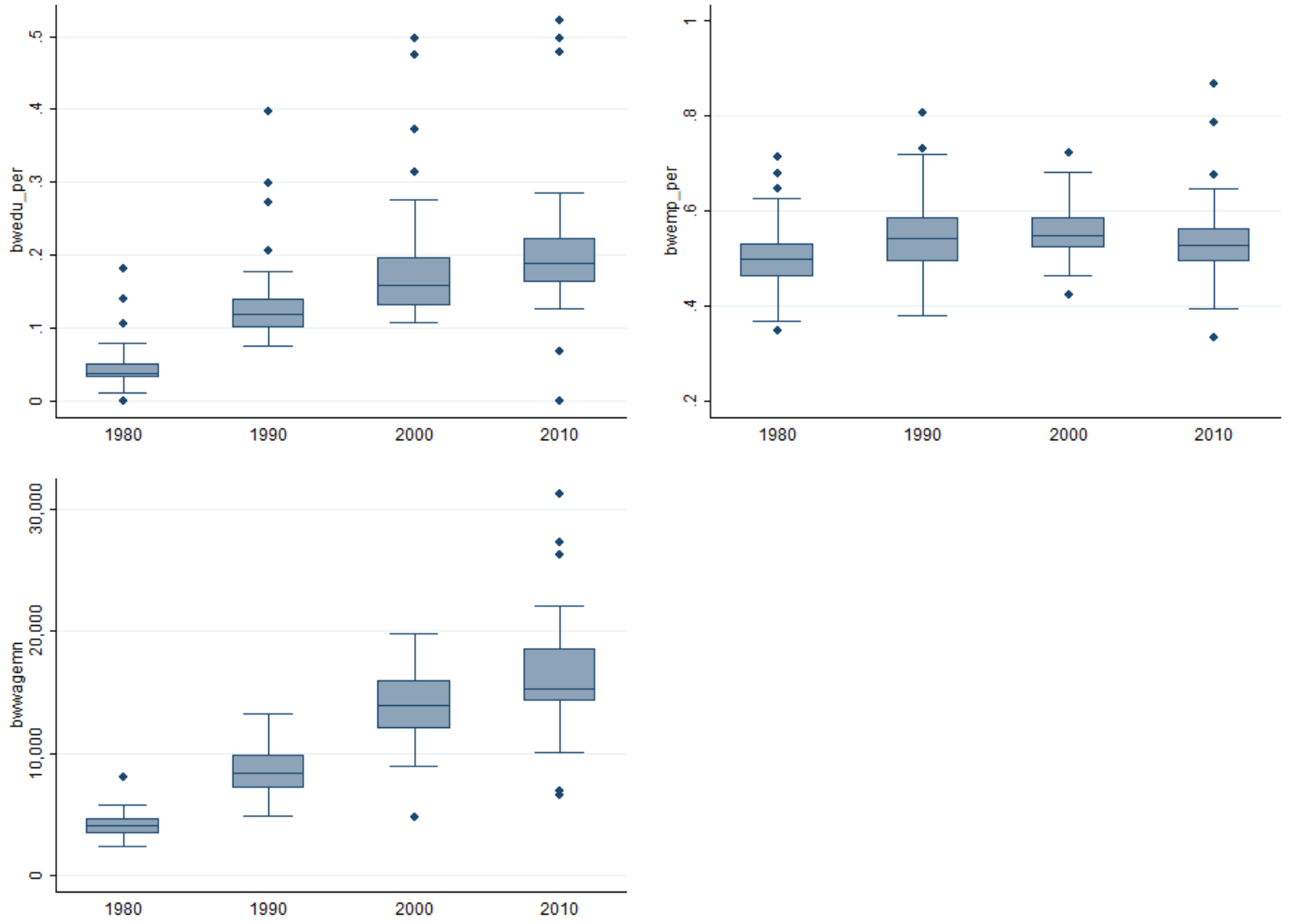


Figure E.22 Boxplots for Black Women's Absolute Status Indicators (Educational Attainment, Employment, Wage)



APPENDIX F

Table F.1 Results for OLS Regression of White Women's Status on Violence against White Women with Fixed Effects

	Total Violence		**Intimate**		**Known**		**Stranger**		**Unknown**	
	Coef.	S.E.	Coef.	S.E.	Coef.	S.E.	Coef.	S.E.	Coef.	S.E.
Edu Rel	-3.59 *	1.72	-0.89	0.47	-1.05 *	0.48	-0.24	0.26	-1.42	1.18
Emp Rel	8.59	4.82	2.19	1.31	1.34	1.33	0.50	0.73	4.55	3.30
Wage Rel	-6.21	3.55	-1.78	0.97	-0.85	0.98	0.79	0.53	-2.79	2.43
Edu Abs	2.56	3.62	-0.16	1.08	-1.08	1.13	0.62	0.56	3.19	2.66
Emp Abs	7.73 *	3.16	1.94 *	0.94	1.43	0.99	0.69	0.49	3.68	2.33
Wage Abs	1E-04 *	4E-05	-4E-05 *	1E-05	-2E-05	1E-05	-3E-05 *	7E-05	-1E-04 *	3E-05

Table F.2 Results for OLS Regression of Total Women's Status on Violence against Total Women with Random Effects

	Total Violence			**Intimate**			**Known**			**Stranger**			**Unknown**		
	Coef.		S.E.	Coef.		S.E.	Coef.		S.E.	Coef.		S.E.	Coef.		S.E.
Edu Rel	-5.22	*	1.47	-0.53		0.40	-0.79	*	0.35	-0.70	*	0.20	-3.60	*	0.91
Emp Rel	-0.92		4.35	-0.84		1.17	-2.28	*	1.06	-0.43		0.61	0.67		2.72
Wage Rel	5.85		3.55	0.23		0.88	1.89	*	0.81	1.02	*	0.46	5.32	*	2.08
Edu Abs	3.17		3.47	-0.32		0.98	-1.07		0.95	0.62		0.51	3.81		2.40
Emp Abs	5.05		2.92	1.09		0.81	0.03		0.50	0.45		0.42	2.60		1.98
Wage Abs	-0.0002	*	0.00004	-0.00003	*	0.00001	-0.00001		0.00001	-0.00002	*	0.00007	-0.0001	*	0.00003

Table F.3 Results for OLS Regression of White Women's Status on Violence against White Women with Fixed Effects

	Total Violence		**Intimate**		**Known**		**Stranger**		**Unknown**	
	Coef.	S.E.	Coef.	S.E.	Coef.	S.E.	Coef.	S.E.	Coef.	S.E.
Edu Rel	-1.17	1.31	0.26	0.44	0.05	0.36	-0.23	0.35	-1.25	0.76
Emp Rel	-4.32	4.00	-1.05	1.35	-2.47 *	1.11	-0.99	1.07	0.20	2.31
Wage Rel	3.09	2.98	-0.02	1.01	1.63	0.83	0.58	0.80	0.90	1.72
Edu Abs	3.15 *	0.97	0.73	0.87	0.66	0.72	0.82	0.63	3.81 *	1.30
Emp Abs	-3.84	2.50	-0.44	0.85	-1.75 *	0.70	-0.05	0.61	0.56	1.26
Wage Abs	-1E-04 *	2E-05	-2E-05	1E-05	-1E-04	1E-04	-3E-05 *	8E-05	-9E-05 *	1E-04

Table F.4 Results for OLS Regression of White Women's Status on Violence against White Women with Random Effects

	Total Violence			**Intimate**			**Known**			**Stranger**			**Unknown**		
	Coef.		S.E.	Coef.		S.E.	Coef.		S.E.	Coef.		S.E.	Coef.		S.E.
Edu Rel	-1.96		1.06	0.31		0.36	0.12		0.28	-0.67	*	0.25	-1.91	*	0.59
Emp Rel	-7.73	*	3.22	-2.30	*	1.08	-3.13	*	0.83	-1.38		0.76	-1.35		1.78
Wage Rel	8.00	*	2.67	1.00		0.90	2.06	*	0.70	1.93	*	0.66	3.83	*	1.50
Edu Abs	8.77	*	1.96	0.62		0.70	0.68		0.54	2.26	*	0.46	6.28	*	1.03
Emp Abs	-3.80	*	1.92	-0.80		0.69	-1.85	*	0.53	-0.54		0.45	-1.08		1.02
Wage Abs	-0.0001	*	0.00003	-0.0001		0.00001	-0.000009		0.000008	-0.00004	*	0.000007	-0.0001	*	0.00001

Table F.5 Results for OLS Regression with Fixed Effects of Black Women's Status on Violence against Black Women

	Total Violence			**Intimate**			**Known**			**Stranger**			**Unknown**		
	Coef.		S.E.	Coef.		S.E.	Coef.		S.E.	Coef.		S.E.	Coef.		S.E.
Edu Rel	-0.97	*	0.57	0.03		0.37	-0.79	*	0.33	-0.01		0.06	-0.2		0.21
Emp Rel	3.15		3.2	-1.11		2.06	5.46	*	1.88	-0.23		0.35	-0.96		1.16
Wage Rel	-15.91	*	3.19	-5.02	*	2.06	-9.11	*	1.87	-0.63		0.35	-1.14		1.16
Edu Int	-3.47	*	1.34	0.15		0.87	-2.76	*	0.81	-0.08		0.15	-0.78		0.49
Emp Int	-4.33		5.33	1.08		3.47	-1.15		3.21	-0.94		0.6	-3.31		1.96
Wage Int	-20.28	*	5.71	-12.33	*	3.71	-7.82	*	3.43	0.05		0.64	-0.19		2.1
Edu Abs	0.38		6.1	0.8		4.14	-1.93		3.9	1		0.7	0.51		2.27
Emp Abs	9.24		6.93	0.22		4.7	4.16		4.44	0.97		0.79	3.88		2.58
Wage Abs	-0.0005	*	0.0001	-0.0002	*	0.00007	-0.0002	*	0.00006	-0.00004	*	0.00001	-0.0001	*	0.00004

Table F.6 Results for OLS Regression of Black Women's Status on Violence against Black Women with Random Effects

	Total Violence			**Intimate**			**Known**			**Stranger**			**Unknown**		
	Coef.		S.E.	Coef.		S.E.	Coef.		S.E.	Coef.		S.E.	Coef.		S.E.
Edu Rel	-1.63	*	0.54	-0.44		0.31	-0.65	*	0.29	-0.05		0.06	-0.39		0.21
Emp Rel	2.89		2.98	-1.14		1.70	6.39	*	1.60	-0.22		0.33	-1.60		1.16
Wage Rel	-9.91	*	3.04	-4.40	*	1.74	-7.38	*	1.65	-0.15		0.34	0.84		1.17
Edu Int	-3.59	*	1.07	0.04		0.63	-1.20		0.62	-0.25	*	0.13	-1.52	*	0.44
Emp Int	-3.72		4.38	1.20		2.58	-1.68		2.53	-0.94		0.51	-3.30		1.77
Wage Int	-14.24	*	5.08	-10.77	*	3.04	-3.79		2.98	0.19		0.58	0.77		1.99
Edu Abs	-13.87	*	4.80	-5.20		2.78	-2.55		2.73	-0.44		0.57	-3.99	*	2.02
Emp Abs	1.68		4.77	0.47		2.71	1.56		2.65	-0.39		0.58	0.95		2.11
Wage Abs	-0.0003	*	0.00008	-0.0001	*	0.00005	-0.0001	*	0.00005	-0.00001		0.000001	-0.00003		0.00003

APPENDIX G

Table G.1 Results for Negative Binomial Regression with Fixed Effects of Total Women's Status on Violence against Total Women

	Total Violence		**Intimate**		**Known**		**Stranger**		**Unknown**	
	Coef.	S.E.	Coef.	S.E.	Coef.	S.E.	Coef.	S.E.	Coef.	S.E.
Edu Rel	-0.19	0.57	-0.21	0.62	-0.03	0.91	1.00	1.37	-0.45	0.86
Emp Rel	1.54	1.81	0.22	1.98	0.51	2.76	-0.33	4.07	7.14 *	2.92
Wage Rel	-2.43	1.40	-0.50	1.45	2.31	2.21	-6.54 *	3.24	-7.31 *	2.18
Edu Abs	2.29	1.21	1.22	1.34	0.19	1.94	1.71	2.75	3.65	2.03
Emp Abs	0.06	1.13	-0.07	1.25	1.34	1.84	2.10	3.05	0.66	1.79
Wage Abs	-1E-04 *	2E-05	-3E-05	2E-05	-4E-05	3E-05	-1E-04 *	4E-05	-9E-05 *	3E-05

Table G.2 Results for Negative Binomial Regression with Fixed Effects of White Women's Status on Violence against White Women

	Total Violence		**Intimate**		**Known**		**Stranger**		**Unknown**	
	Coef.	S.E.	Coef.	S.E.	Coef.	S.E.	Coef.	S.E.	Coef.	S.E.
Edu Rel	-0.33	0.69	-0.37	0.75	-0.21	0.99	0.53	1.45	-1.78	1.11
Emp Rel	-0.28	2.37	1.50	2.59	-1.43	3.52	-1.24	5.29	5.37	4.01
Wage Rel	-0.81	1.73	-1.17	1.85	0.23	2.79	-5.31	4.49	-4.64	3.12
Edu Abs	2.31	1.26	1.50	1.49	1.56	1.88	2.99	2.62	4.18	2.15
Emp Abs	-0.95	1.18	0.16	1.25	-1.31	1.71	-2.93	2.60	-1.91	2.14
Wage Abs	-1E-04 *	2E-05	-3E-05	2E-05	-4E-05	3E-05	-1E-04 *	4E-05	-1E-04 *	3E-05

Table G.3 Results for Negative Binomial Regression with Fixed Effects of Black Women's Status on Violence against Black Women

	Total Violence			**Intimate**			**Known**			**Stranger**			**Unknown**		
	Coef.		S.E.	Coef.		S.E.	Coef.		S.E.	Coef.		S.E.	Coef.		S.E.
Edu Rel	0.2		0.31	0.39		0.4	0.6		0.53	-0.15		0.93	-0.54		0.48
Emp Rel	-0.82		0.91	-0.49		1.12	-1.02		1.55	-9.51	*	3.14	1.57		1.45
Wage Rel	-1.05		0.78	-1.63		1	-2.03		1.36	5.49	*	2.54	-1.4		1.2
Edu Int	-1.38	*	0.63	-0.78		0.87	-2.32	*	1.13	0.92		2.07	-1.36		0.87
Emp Int	-1.31		1.13	0.29		1.39	-1.45		1.91	-13.41	*	3.94	-1.16		1.72
Wage Int	0.75		1.22	-2.39		1.52	0.78		2.09	8.88	*	3.89	2.47		1.86
Edu Abs	2.86		1.68	1.38		2	3.77		2.76	5.78		5.57	2.47		2.79
Emp Abs	2.45	*	1.01	1.2		1.24	5.05	*	1.72	-6.44	*	3.23	3.49	*	1.62
Wage Abs	-0.0001	*	2E-05	-0.0001	*	2E-05	-0.0001	*	3E-05	-0.0001		1E-04	-0.0001		3E-05