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Experiences, Attitudes And Beliefs About Interpersonal Violence: A Study On Costa Rican Adolescents

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EXPERIENCES, ATTITUDES AND BELIEFS ABOUT INTERPERSONAL VIOLENCE: A STUDY ON COSTA RICAN ADOLESCENTS

by

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ABSTRACT

Research in Latin America regarding interpersonal violence and adolescents is rare if not nonexistent. In a collaborative effort with the Costa Rican Ministry of Education and the National Institute of Women (INAMU), qualitative data were collected from three high schools and one after-school program from rural and urban locations of the Central Valley. The discussion groups/open-ended questionnaires were done with a total of 154 students ranging from ages 14 to 17 and grade levels 8th to 12th. Information was obtained concerning students' perceptions, definitions and opinions on issues relating to interpersonal violence and gender roles and rules. The results show that the students made distinctions between acceptable and unacceptable uses of violence, supporting the idea behind a dichotomy of deviant and non-deviant interpersonal violence behaviors. In addition, students also recognized the overarching and detrimental existence of the machismo culture in society, which, in their eyes, perpetuates interpersonal violence. They were also generally unaware of any help that existed for abused adults, adolescents or children. Results show that the machismo culture that affects the socialization of adolescents is well recognized among adolescents and perceived as a detriment to people through gender role expectations and the use and perpetuation of interpersonal violence.

This dissertation is dedicated to my family and friends, all of whom have supported my efforts and endeavors throughout my studies. I would not have been able to complete my dissertation, let alone my doctoral degree, without their endless understanding and encouragement.

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INTRODUCTION

…even more widespread, is the legacy of day-to-day, individual suffering. The pain of children who are abused by people who should protect them, women injured or humiliated by violent partners, elderly persons maltreated by their caregivers.... This suffering is a legacy that reproduces itself, as new generations learn from the violence of generations past, as victims learn from victimizers, and as the social conditions that nurture violence are allowed to continue.

--Nelson Mandela, 2002

In their 2002 World Report on Violence and Health, the World Health Organization set up a model to prevent violence across the globe. It created five distinct avenues for tackling the overall problem of violence, including the following

- Addressing individual risk factors and taking steps to modify individual risk behaviors
- Influencing close personal relationships and working to create healthy family environments, as well as providing professional help and support for dysfunctional families
- Monitoring public places such as schools, workplaces and neighborhoods and taking steps to address problems that might lead to violence
- Addressing gender inequality and adverse cultural attitudes and practices
- Addressing the larger cultural, social and economic factors that contribute to violence and taking steps to change them, including measures to close the gap between the rich and poor and to ensure equitable access to goods, services and opportunities (16)

These five decrees mention various social changes that need to occur in order to prevent violence in any general context. Importantly, among the mentioned suggestions creating healthy family and interpersonal environments, monitoring public places such as schools, and addressing gender inequality and adverse cultural attitudes and practices were included as vital to the ending of violence. In addition, the mention of individual risk factors and risk behaviors and social, cultural and economic factors are also important as they recognize the fundamental significance of the micro- and macro-structural environments in creating the right situations for violence.

These decrees support the idea that social change is necessary in order to create more peaceful environments. Several countries have attempted to tackle many of these issues, including providing protection for equal opportunities, the creation of services for dysfunctional families, and the increase in vigilance in public places (World Health Organization, 2002). One population, however, remains continuously plagued by the problem of violence. Our future generations, our adolescents and minors who are being raised in violent environments around the world, are not getting the necessary attention or developmental guidance in the struggle to end violence. The purpose of this research is to gather information that will show what types of societal forces are affecting adolescents' decisions to use violence as a viable tool in interpersonal relationships while making it acceptable to use such force. Of particular importance to the current research is the issue of the role of gender roles and rules that may or may not influence adolescents' perspectives of interpersonal

violence. The current project gathers information on the perceptions of Costa Rican adolescents on interpersonal violence, its meaning, and acceptance through different types of intergenerational learning, especially that of gender roles and rules. In other words, a key question in the research is whether experiencing or witnessing violence within the home is related both to further victimizations in different spheres of their lives and perpetration by the adolescents onto dating partners and other intimates. Particularly important to this question is the issue of socialization that is directly or indirectly gained by adolescents within the home, through interpersonal violence, in school, and from cultural and traditional norms.

In an attempt to add to the information and knowledge about adolescent violence, the current research focuses on a combination of aspects in the five aforementioned decrees. It combines a multidimensional perspective on issues of interpersonal violence, gender inequalities, adverse cultural attitudes and practices, and the social structures that may help perpetuate such violence. The current study entails the use qualitative methods to gather information on perspective and views of adolescents in high schools in Costa Rica regarding interpersonal violence and gender. I hope to provide a first look at the perceptions that may guide behaviors that could perpetuate interpersonal violence from an early age. The results of the project will be used to help organizations in Costa Rica take the first necessary steps in the creation of educational campaigns for gender equality and against interpersonal violence.

The focus on interpersonal violence comes from research that shows that experiencing or witnessing interpersonal violence is a risk factor to many adverse behaviors, health problems, and future propagation of other types of violence (Bennet, Manderson, & Astbury, 2000; Borowsky, Hogan & Ireland, 1997; Bourgois, 1996; Crowell & Burgess, 1996; Heise, Moore & Toubia, 1995; Lipsey & Derzon, 1998; Rozee, 1993; Thornberry, Huizinga, & Loeber, 1995; Tolan & Guerra, 1994; World Health Organization, 2002). Because there is not a lot of research on the topic of interpersonal violence and adolescents in non-industrialized countries, the project will center on perspectives of adolescents regarding gender roles and rules and interpersonal violence. More specifically, the research will look at whether adolescents perceive any connections between interpersonal violence and gender roles in one of the more stable countries in Latin America, Costa Rica. This country was chosen because of its democratic stability, thus allowing the exclusion of extenuating circumstances, such as civil wars and extreme government corruption, which may influence adolescents' perceptions of violence and help seeking (Fournier, 1999; Sagot, 2005). The project will serve as the starting point and base for future research on adolescents and interpersonal violence.

CHAPTER 1
ADOLESCENCE, EDUCATION AND VIOLENCE

In a recent Costa Rican newspaper article by Jorge Woodbridge (2007), an engineer and well known columnist, there was a desperate call to the nation to pay attention to and get to the bottom of an alarming increase in violence in Costa Rican society, especially to that of juvenile violence (Organización Panamericana de la Salud, 2004). Woodbridge made mention of how society was failing, primarily in fortifying the family and the educational system and, thus, resulting in juveniles' lack of direction and discipline. There is a fear that the juvenile populations, which are dropping out of school at alarming rates (Comición Económica para América Latina y el Caribe, 2002), are becoming more violent. Although the deterioration of the educational system and the social infrastructures of Costa Rica had been previously recorded (Proyecto Estado de la Nación, 1995; 1996; 1997), the National newspaper editorials have recently focused in the last couple of years on asking why Costa Rica's youth are behaving so violently, acting out against their own classmates, the police and other schools.

Within their editorials, people of all ranks and disciplines have appealed to legislators, educational experts, sociologists and psychologists to find a solution to the problem. For example, Eliseo Valverde Monge (2007), an editorialist, claims that "Necesitamos con urgencia una encuesta seria victimológica que suministre información a la estadística oficial acerca de la criminalidad y que llegue a constituirse en un instrumento para conocer la magnitud del problema

[we need with urgency a survey about victimology that obtains statistical information about (juvenile) criminality and which can serve as an instrument to see the magnitude of the problem]." In another article, Julio Rodriguez (2005) asked that specialists in the areas dealing with crime answer questions referring to why atrocious crimes continued to plague Costa Rica, claiming that "les corresponde decirnos qué está pasando en Costa Rica y, si fuera posible, cuáles son nuestras vías de retorno y redención [it corresponds to them to tell us what is happening in Costa Rica and, if possible, tell us which are our ways of return and redemption]." He especially points to types of crimes that are plaguing Costa Rica that show the least respect for life, naming domestic violence and child neglect as among the most despicable of crimes.

In spite of the fact that the country boasts high figures in the areas of the education and, in fact, is recognized internationally by the achievements carried out in this area, there is a marked deterioration of the educational system depicted through the numerous acts of violence that have begun to plague schools. This deterioration has been presented in news outlets that have reported on fights and physical aggression with weapons, especially among female high school students. Of equal importance, news media report that there are fights between schools and violent demonstrations against the property of third parties, such as school administrators. All these incidents have been the object of analysis in columns and editorials of the main news media of the country. These circumstances are further complicated when other factors are considered in the equation such as socioeconomic problems, incidences of interpersonal violence in individual family

units, easy access and proliferation of firearms, the extensive availability and use of drugs and liquor, and above all, the indifference of parents with respect to their children's behavior (Gillham, Tanner & Cheyne, 1998).

The present educational programs are not able to respond, even if indirectly through disciplinary measures, to the urgent need to endow students with the understanding of the importance of respect to the emotional and physical integrity of their peers. As a result of the increase in juvenile violence (Organización Panamericana de Salud, 2004), there is a need for educational institutions to implement programs that may help curb or end violence among juveniles. As the World Health Organization 2002 report shows, one of the most important avenues toward ending the violence is tackling the problem of interpersonal violence that adolescents experience and inflict as a result of their lack of socialization in the home and in school, both their micro and macro environments. The present research is meant to contribute to the current knowledge about adolescents and interpersonal violence from the wide perspective delineated by the World Health Organization.

Relationships among Socialization, Violence and Education

Research has shown that three to five children in every classroom witness interpersonal violence in the home (Kincaid, 1982). Moreover, numerous international studies have identified dating violence in adolescent relationships as prevalent occurrences (Henton, Koval, Lloyd, & Christopher, 1983; O'Keeffe, Brockopp, & Chew, 1986; Sudarman & Jaffe, 1993). Finally, various studies have found that witnessing violence in the home and experiencing severe violence in the home are important risk factors to youths exhibiting violence, including

physical violence, sexual violence and sexual harassment, in other contexts (Bennet, Manderson, & Astbury, 2000; Borowsky, Hogan & Ireland, 1997; Bourgois, 1996; Crowell & Burgess, 1996; Heise, Moore & Toubia, 1995; Lipsey & Derzon, 1998; Kolbo, Blakely & Engleman, 1996; Rozee, 1993; Thornberry, Huizinga, & Loeber, 1995; Tolan & Guerra, 1994).

The educational system plays a large role in the socialization of adolescents. In Western countries, such as Canada and the United States, it has been suggested that "a nonviolent future lays in the education system and the development of prevention programs" (Jaffe, Suderman & Schieck, 1999: 159). The idea that the educational system can contribute to the termination of violence is not new, but the use of the educational system as a venue for developmental guidance in non-industrialized countries is uncommon. In fact, a study by Sagot (2005) which looked at various institutions in ten countries in Latin America, one of which was the education sector, found that educational institutions did not have any programs for students and their parents and provided no training for teachers on the issue of domestic violence. Even though teachers had to deal with the issue from time to time, they were not prepared to handle the situations and some did not care to get involved.

The logic behind the idea of using the school system as a space for implementing programs for intervention and prevention of interpersonal violence is that children and adolescents spend a long time in this setting and are socialized within it. Since children and adolescents cannot be disconnected from their home experiences once they enter school, it is logical to assume that they

bring their positive and negative home experiences to these environments, which, in turn, shape their actions and behaviors within the educational system. A study by Meneghal (1998) confirms that the experiences in the home can influence those in the schools. He found that students in both public and private schools in Brazil tended to be more aggressive and misbehave more within school if they came from families in which domestic violence was present. Teachers in the study reported more misbehavior from students who were in violent families than from those who were not.

In addition to educational institutions serving as environments for the perpetuation of violence, it is also important to take into consideration the larger society (Cárdenas de Santamaría, 1990; Martín-Baró, 1994; Perilla, 1999; Ramírez, 1983). This means exploring the cultural norms and value systems that may affect attitudes toward violence and the use and receiving of violence among male and female adolescents. It is necessary to find out if there is a need to resocialize youths regarding their possible notions of inherited gender rights. This way, educational institutions could create developmental guidance programs which can help adolescents surpass the stereotypical patriarchal beliefs that can lead to physical, sexual and verbal violence. In fact, various researchers have argued that gender inequalities, rigid gender roles, masculine entitlement and weak sanctions against interpersonal violence can increase the likelihood of its existence (Adames & Campbell, 2005; Counts, Brown & Campbell, 1994; Levinson, 1989). When adolescents are socialized in households that uphold such value systems and behaviors, they are likely to carry them in other settings, such as schools and among

peers. Educational institutions are likely to encounter such situations, but if they do not know how to counter these value systems and behaviors, violence among adolescents may well continue, especially among intimates and toward women in general.

It is important to demonstrate to the youth that there are consequences and impacts of the physical and/or emotional abuse that they inflict. Educational campaigns geared toward educating the youth about interpersonal violence are vitally important in preparing future generations for a higher quality of life (Jaffee, Suderman & Schieck, 1999). Dealing with one of the most prevalent risk factors to future violence (i.e. interpersonal violence in the home) (Gwartney-Gibbs, Stockard & Brohmer, 1987; Kalmus, 1984; Marshall & Rose, 1988; O'Keeffe, Brockopp, & Chew, 1986; Riggs, O'Leary, & Breslin 1990; Salas Bohamón, 2005), which may be perpetuated by adverse social and cultural norms, is an important aspect of ending violence among youth. In order to gauge the severity of youth violence, however, it is important to study the attitudes of adolescents toward cultural norms, gender inequalities and interpersonal violence in order to establish if the micro and/or macro structures of society are truly the media for future generations of violent offenders.

Except for a few studies (Fontes, 2002; Douglas, 2006) that focus on quantitative methodologies to gather data, to date, there have not been any qualitative studies in Latin America that look at youths' perceptions of a possibile relationship between socialization through gender roles and rules and the acceptance of interpersonal violence. The present research provides the necessary foundations for any future study of adolescent socialization and intimate violence as

it looks at adolescents' views, regardless of whether they are correct or incorrect, of interpersonal violence and gender. It continues to be important to study these beliefs that guide the adolescents' behaviors.

One manner of studying this aspect is to research Costa Rican adolescents and record their views on gender equality, violence in intimate relationships and their own experiences with this social phenomenon, as well as the consequences of experiencing such interpersonal violence, such as drug and alcohol use and other behavioral problems. These are important aspects to research because they further complicate the lives of these young adults and may serve as risk factors for future perpetration. As the World Health Organization decrees pointed out (WHO, 2002), studying these factors in order to implement an educational campaign against violence in general may well lead to the eradication of youth violence.

CHAPTER 2
INTERPERSONAL VIOLENCE: A SOCIAL ISSUE
IN LATIN AMERICA

In Latin America, interpersonal violence affects one in every three women

(Sagot, Carcedo & Guido, 2000). Even though international institutions, such as the

United Nations, non-governmental institutions, governmental institutions and non-

profit organizations have attempted to aid in the process of intervention and

prevention of interpersonal violence, it is still rampant in Latin America, as in many

other regions of the world, and affects millions of women, adolescents and children.

Moreover, although laws and social remedies, such as shelters and municipalities,

have been developed to attempt to confront the issue for adults, formal tools,

evaluations, methodological instruments and plans for tackling the problem for the

younger populations are almost nonexistent (INAMU, 2002). Thus, there are no

national programs directed at intervention and prevention of interpersonal violence

for adolescents and children. Why could this lack of youth intervention be a problem

for the epidemic of interpersonal violence in Costa Rica? We know that interpersonal

violence is intergenerational and can cause severe problems in a society that is not

equipped with the proper tools to combat it, let alone handle, such a cycle of

violence. In order to tackle the problem, it is necessary to include all sectors and

factions of society, including adolescents and the educational system.

Because the existence and continuation of interpersonal violence is clearly

perpetuated by social structural beliefs related to gender roles and rules (Sagot,

1995), it is necessary to research the impact of the social structures that create

and facilitate the circumstances that lead to interpersonal violence. The current research hopes to examine the social structures that perpetuate interpersonal violence from the perspective of the adolescent in Costa Rica. Because little attention is currently being paid to younger populations, the current research adds to the literature by obtaining information regarding adolescent's perceptions of what constitutes interpersonal violence and whether gender roles may help prevent or perpetuate such violence. I hypothesize that the social structures pertaining to the intergenerational transmission of the historically-constructed acceptance of gender roles and rules allow Costa Rican adolescents to hold certain perspectives regarding violence against women and, more specifically, interpersonal violence.

The purpose of examining the perspectives of Costa Rican adolescents is to add a second dimension to the current literature of violence in Latin America from the standpoint of adolescents living in one of the most progressive countries in the area of interpersonal violence legislation and social institutions. Obtaining such information will allow government institutions, such as INAMU, PANI and non-governmental organizations to create intervention, prevention and educational programs directed at adolescents who are engaging in or exposed to interpersonal violence, approve of its use or are suffering the consequences of it. Because interpersonal violence is not just a woman's issue, it is important to create legislation and social institutions that take into consideration the role that males have in violence and the context under which violence occurs. I believe that, by obtaining the perspectives from male and female adolescents regarding

different aspects of interpersonal violence, dating violence and gender role beliefs, Costa Rica will be able to respond to this social and health problem in a primary prevention manner.

History of the Region

In order to better understand the multiple facets of socialization that affect people in this region today, I will begin by providing a brief overview of the cultural and political backgrounds that principally shaped this region of the world. We can begin about 500 years ago when, according to Powers (2005), who explored the origins of the impact of colonialism on gender, and Hardin (2002), who studied the *machismo* culture that is said to dominate over Latino societies, the Spanish Conquest became the source of what we now see as the predominant ideology in Latin American countries. Specifically, both authors refer to the rise of patriarchal beliefs, which plagued the pre-colonial indigenous peoples of Latin America and established the unequal, strict gender roles which transformed and devalued the status of women.

Before the Spanish conquests, there existed types of gender parallelism in many Latin American indigenous civilizations in which the gender roles of both males and females were complimentary to each other and in which women shared almost equal rights as men in different spheres of life (Powers, 2005). In the realms of work, home, and religion, women and men held equal, although at times separate, statuses. Women were not restricted in their actions, especially sexually, and they were free to own land, represent themselves and have various sexual partners. In fact, the sexuality of women was not repressed in these pre-

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colonial societies; instead, it was embraced and encouraged as a natural part of life. In addition, women were allowed to be religious priests, and religious deities were both males and females, each representing different aspects of life but both equally revered. Finally, the labor and economic duties of both men and women were not separated through implications of gendered menial tasks. The work done by women was considered as important as that of men. As may be evident, men and women were not separated by an unequal, dominating system of gender relations. Instead, they worked harmoniously, respecting the work of one another and the bodies that each harbored (Powers, 2005).

When colonialism began in the sixteen-century, there were not only clashes through wars and for property; there were also gender clashes and transformations (Powers, 2005). Latin America was partially conquered through the use of sexual violence as a form of control because other forms of violence had failed to subdue the indigenous peoples. This control was accomplished by humiliating both men and women through the castration of the men and the continuous raping and sex trafficking of the women (Hardin, 2002). Although the Spanish allegedly did not act in such a way against their own wives and patriots, they managed to dehumanize the indigenous people and tear apart their cultures, which did not initially confine the genders to strict, oppressive roles.

Although Costa Rica was not a primary target for the Spanish because of its lack of valuable minerals and other exploitable facets, it was still susceptible to the colonizing forces that affected the rest of the region (Pinto, 1994). Costa Rica was colonized by people who were, according to Láscaris (1985), individualists

who sought solitude among the mountains. The indigenous people in Costa Rica, were, thus, affected by the influx of the colonists into their lands.

<center>Micro-Mechanisms: Machismo and Marianismo</center>

Mexican, Latin American and Caribbean societies based on patriarchal values tend to create fixed, gendered social roles which serve as stereotypes where masculine and feminine characteristics define the individuals' socially prescribed role. Moreover, these stereotypes of male and female help to accentuate differences between the sexes that provide a basis for abuse of intimates (Mckee, 1999; Sagot, 1995). Abuse, under these patriarchal views, could become a social standard and structure used to subordinate women into accepting their roles as dependents upon men. Although not all men and women within these societies accept or play out the stereotypes defined by machismo and marianismo, the existence of these two identities is quite real and alive within Latin American cultures (Sagot, 1995). In fact, the macho and marianismo identities of the male and female, respectively, continue to affect the acceptable forms of male behaviors in certain situations. These behaviors are later learned by other generations and passed on as cultural norms (Sagot, 2001).

<center>*Machismo Defined*</center>

It is important to continue to look at the effects colonization had on the construction of machismo in Latin America. The Spanish, through social control tactics and religion, indirectly taught the indigenous men that some of the only acceptable male characteristics were those that they, the Spanish, brought with them, i.e. aggressiveness, sexual prowess, and dominance (Powers, 2005). In

addition, the brutal acts of the Spanish against the indigenous men created a need for the Indians to prove themselves and regain respect (Paz, 1961). Since the Spanish treated indigenous women with disdain, as property and as sexual objects, Hardin (2002) argues, the indigenous men took on those characteristics in order to regain some control over their lives. Other theories exist regarding the beginnings of the patriarchal ways of life in post-colonial Latin America (Mirandé, 1997), but there is consensus that changes in gender relations devolved from what may be regarded as gender parallelism in some form or another in various parts of Latin America and became negative in regards to women.

As mentioned, Latin American societies that exist under a patriarchal social structure are most likely founded on the norms of what is known as *machismo* (Powell, 2004). Machismo has different meanings and connotations and can encompass all or a few male characteristics and none of female characteristics. McKee (1999) asserts that male superiority is based on machismo, which creates a certain power and gives men more rights over women. Lafayette De Mente (1996:83) went one step further and defined machismo as the "repudiation of all 'feminine' virtues such as unselfishness, kindness, frankness and truthfulness. It meant being willing to lie without compunction, to be suspicious, envious, jealous, malicious, vindictive, brutal and, finally, to be willing to fight and kill without hesitation to protect one's manly image." These definitions do not portray the behavior of all men in Latin America; however, they do depict the underlying gender beliefs that both directly and

indirectly continue to plague gender relations and subordinate women in most spheres of society.

Pitt-Rivers (1977) claims that men's domination over women, including wives, daughters and sisters, requires the women to perform their daily lives under certain moral qualities, mostly encompassed in chastity; however, they do not expect that of themselves. Taggart (1990) points out that men are responsible for, and have the authority to protect their, wife's chastity and address any insult upon himself that his wife projects unto him, either by violation of chastity or rumors of such. These definitions leave little room for anything but complete domination over one's family and the use of any means to obtain that respect and compliance. One can also see how these definitions are derived from the socio-historical perspectives of 500 years ago that establish the male as the central authority and prevent the creation of egalitarian relationships between intimate partners.

Although a number of studies on masculinities in Latin American communities refer to machismo as the driving force in male behavior (McKee, 1999), there have been others that claim that machismo is an overused and overaggressive definition of male social roles in Latin American cultures (Torres, Solberg & Carlstrom, 2002). Still others see machismo in a positive light, defining men as protectors and providers instead of domineering and controlling. Some studies have gone as far as to claim that only certain portions of society, the impoverished and uneducated, succumb to such aggressive tendencies

(Ramirez, 1999). Others, however, recognize that the typical machismo attitude can be found in affluent and well educated populations also (Powell, 2004).

The fact is, however, that the social structures of most of the Latin American nations rely on the patriarchal cultures that propagate the machista stereotypes and accept the gendered roles as the foundation for the workings of their society. These gendered roles create structures of authority that propagate violence toward women (Anderson & Umberson, 2001). For example, Dobash and Dobash (1998) found that men use violence to punish their mates for failing to meet some assumed need of the man. In other words, Latin American society sets the stage for interpersonal violence through the Latin American images of males.

Marianismo Defined

Males were not the only ones forced into specific gender roles after the domination of the region by the Spanish. Females also suffered subjugation of their former identities as the gender expectations of the different cultures clashed in the sixteenth-century. Powers (2005) explains that the indigenous women were taught, forcefully at times, to assimilate the gender roles which were expected of Spanish women. The concepts of chastity, submissiveness, and martyrdom became commonplace to indigenous women who were forced to succumb to the teachings of Spanish ways and religious ideals. *Marianismo,* or the Catholic Cult of Mary, was essential in the education of indigenous women (Powers, 2005). Women who did not succumb to the image of Mary were socially constructed as evildoers who needed to be dominated in order to keep them in

line and prevent any dishonor to their relatives. These ideas came from the fact that the rape of indigenous women was blamed on the victims who were thought to dishonor their families.

Sahagún (1978) claims that indigenous women were also used as translators for the conquerors as well as conquerors' sexual slaves. Because they were seen as aiding them, the indigenous men saw them as traitors, as the cause and persistence of the Spanish Conquest and as whores. Sahagún writes, "Montezuma's heart [was pierced] as word came that a woman of [his] own race was bringing the Spaniards toward Mexico" (p. 20). In order to counteract that reputation, women were placed into another gendered role that was just as strict, that of the Virgin Mary. It is from this reference that the term *marianismo* came to define what a good woman should be toward her male mate, "modest, virtuous, and sexually abstinent until marriage--and then being faithful and subordinate to their husbands" (Ehlers, 1991:2). For many women in Latin American cultures, it is either one role or the other, either a whore or a virgin (Hardin, 2002). This type of dichotomous identity for women was seen as a new phase of the status of women as many were reeducated into the marianismo role in order to avoid the other devalued and stigmatized role.

There was a loss of status that resulted in a loss of individualism and respect for the indigenous women and the new race of mestizo women when the abovementioned 'reeducation' of women took place. This loss of status has lasted for hundreds of years and still plagues women of this region. The gendered roles that exist in today's Latin American societies are deeply rooted in

their social structures. A Panamanian feminist, Muñoz (1994:8) states "we have to fight against male repression which we call *machismo* and that involves taking on the whole social structure". As is evidenced by the above, machismo is still alive and prospering in today's Latin American societies, and it continues to subjugate women into roles that allow males to abuse them as part of their culture. Their culture is the overwhelming driving force in the creation of the social structures that loom over the structure of interpersonal relationships.

In relying on this perspective of the history of the Latin American culture, I do not intend to categorize its people as inherently and culturally adapted to perpetrate violence toward women. Instead, I propose to show that the women of this particular culture must contend with a long history of abuses and an oppressive infrastructure that situates their social struggles within their own cultures and belief systems. As can be ascertained from the above, the gendered roles that exist in today's Latin American societies are deeply rooted in their histories. Anguilar and Chenard (1994) best describe the situation, stating

> We regard *machismo* as a residue of a repressive *macho* culture which we've dragged along with us since time immemorial…brought here by the Spanish 500 years ago. Basically, they gave us a regime of feudal slavery. (p.17)

Latin American Cultural Norms

The Latin American cultures in and of themselves encompass many differences in values, norms and beliefs (Menjívar & Salcido, 2002); however they also share very similar cultural norms that continue to affect the socialization of adolescents, such as the historically established and upheld gender roles created in post-colonial times. Some of the major similarities are grounded on the

importance given to the family as a central entity in a woman's life and the

continuation of accepting traditional adverse inequalities and practices that

create a fruitful environment for interpersonal violence.

<p style="text-align:center">What is Culture and Why Does It Matter?</p>

Culture Defined

In order to better understand the socialization of adolescents and the

importance of attitudes and perceptions regarding gender and interpersonal

violence, one must understand the implication of culture and ingrained value

systems (Dutton & Ginkel, 1997). According to Walters, Canady and Stein (1994:

447), culture can be defined as "a body of learned beliefs, traditions, principles

and guides for behavior that are shared among members of a particular group.

Cultural elements act as a sort of road map for individuals as they interact with

others". In other words, people interact with one another under the social

structure that their cultures create. They interpret their situation in life, their world,

according the values and beliefs that are socially accepted and perpetuated

within their communities. Furthermore, these beliefs are passed along from

generation to generation, but these beliefs are not stagnant in nature; culture can

change according to time, place and the individuals' perspectives of what those

values mean within their particular circumstances (Yoshihama, 2000).

In reference to interpersonal violence, culture arises as a paramount force

in establishing the acceptance and use of interpersonal violence. For example, in

some Latin American countries, the use of violence against women is

dichotomous; it branches into what is known as "wife beating" and "wife

<p style="text-align:center">22</p>

battering," both of which are culturally differentiated (Brown, 1999:4). When husbands *beat* their wives to castigate them for some action or lack of action, be it disrespecting the husband or not having dinner on the table on time, it is socially acceptable and seen as customary. In fact, as Bolton and Bolton (1975) point out, it is actually a male right to be aggressive and violent toward women in these situations. In contrast, when a husband *batters* his wife(s), incapacitating her, seriously injuring her and/or killing her, some societies see this as an aberrant event that mandates intervention by a third party and may even be labeled as deviant. These societies distinguish between deviant and non-deviant interpersonal violence (Brown, 1999). No such research has been done in Costa Rica to determine if a dichotomy of violence is present in interpersonal relationships.

Looking at culture from a more sociopolitical perspective, one can argue that the ability to subvert the female population into certain roles in order to maintain the social structures of societies are cultural "green lights" to use violence against women (Kasturirangan *et al.,* 2004). In these situations, societies are primarily based on patriarchal beliefs that place women in subjugated roles and men in controlling roles (Dutton & Ginkel, 1997). Within these cultures, society rationalizes and supports it as a public necessity that keeps women in the social order and men as the central authorities of the social order (Brown, 1999). Mckee (1999:168), in looking at Ecuadorian interpersonal violence, states that "men assault women not only within the range of possible marital comportment but figures into cultural expectations to the extent that one

may view this kind of maltreatment as part of social structure". In other words, certain behaviors and actions are expected out of the different genders. As previously discussed, these expectations have been long held and continue to affect the socialization of Costa Rican and other Latin American adolescents.

As the above examples show, culture may play an important part in determining whether or not interpersonal violence may exist in intimate relationships and how the individuals within the relationship may react to it. In addition, culture could also serve as a rationale to excuse or justify the violence that occurs in interpersonal relationships. The acceptance of violent cultural norms plays a prominent role in the development and implementation of interpersonal violence. These cultural norms are used as instruments to regain the balance of the machista culture that creates the social structures that dominate much of the social atmosphere in Latin America. With the acceptance of violence against women, the Latin American notion of male domination over female subordinates prevails. In these situations, culture can also govern whether or not interpersonal violence is viewed as a social problem and if there will be repercussions to the perpetrator.

Before continuing, however, I must comment that this section is not meant to imply that interpersonal violence is a pathological characteristic of Latin American cultures. It is not inherent in all the people, and not all portions of society accept it. The prevalence of interpersonal violence in Latin American societies is an issue confounded by many factors (Menjívar & Salcido, 2002), one of which is personal agency, or an individual's decision to behave differently

from others. The major point of this section was to clearly delineate the origins of the patriarchal notions, traditions, norms and values found within this region and which continues to act as a socializing force for the youth.

Cultural Social Structural Factors

In Latin America, there has been a call to explore and examine the contextual framework that surrounds interpersonal violence in families (Perilla, 1999). An in-depth analysis of behaviors that takes into consideration the socio-cultural environment of people is seen as necessary in order to more fully understand the dynamics of interpersonal violence within different social settings. In fact, Latin American researchers believe that it is absolutely necessary to include in research a variety of contextual information that integrates human experiences into its environment (Perilla, 1999).

Surra and Perlman (2003) point out that context has been conceptualized in two ways: first, as a set of structural and cultural forces external to a couple that combine to influence relationship processes and, second, as something resulting from the relationship itself. Michalski (2004) argues that Donald Black's (1990) conflict management scale, which takes into consideration social structural factors in interpersonal violence relationships, is a more integrated method of measuring interpersonal violence because of recognition of the importance of social structures as strong forces acting on interpersonal violence. According to Michalski (2004), models that can account for the structural features of social life that prevail and affect victims are instrumental to understanding the prevalence and perpetuation of violence. The social structures within which

violence occurs affect whether or not violence will prevail and even be used as a tool to control or obtain something. Moreover, it is important to recognize that the social structures are, many times, created and sustained by the overlaying culture of the community.

Black (1990) stipulates that the structural factors that could be conducive in perpetuating interpersonal violence are social isolation, interdependent support networks (social capital), the existence of egalitarian intimate relationships, centralization of authority, and access and exposure to violent and nonviolent associations. These factors become especially important in societies in which the overarching cultural practices and norms are conducive to interpersonal violence because the ability to obtain help for violence is minimized for adult women and children and virtually non-existent for adolescents.

Social isolation refers to the degree to which survivors are able to access their social connections for help (Michalski, 2004). Violence between intimates is more likely to occur if the woman has no one to turn to for help. Studies have found that a woman who is isolated is more vulnerable to violence (Brown, 1992; Baumgartner, 1993).

As can probably be expected, the existence of egalitarian relationships within a community can function as a predictor for the occurrence of interpersonal violence. Several studies have saliently argued this point. For example, Levinson (1989) claimed that women who do not have equal access to economic and political resources are more likely to experience some form of violence at the hands of their partners because they are put at an inherent

disadvantage and are placed in the role of an inferior, subordinated to the superior male. Moreover, in some situations where the extended family is present, other females may serve to oppose and prevent the establishment of egalitarian relationships if they believe that it is a threat to the family and community structures (Menjívar & Salcido, 2002).

Much connected to the idea of inequality as a perpetuating factor in interpersonal violence is the socially structured role of the male as the central authority (Michalski, 2004). The central authority of the male within the community and family establishes the existence of gendered roles and the reasons why women react to violence as they do and why men use violence as a control mechanism.

Interdependent support networks create environments in which the use of violence to resolve conflict creates a threat to the proliferation of the culture (Black, 1990). In other words, people are interdependent on one another to such an extent that relinquishing those ties through or as a result of violence breaks the system and relationships within the system that forms that basis of the community. In interpersonal violence, this particular component becomes important as a victim may not choose to report the violence or leave as a result of the consequences to the community or to herself or himself from the community. This type of network extends a social pressure to intimate couples as a form of assuring the community's stability. If the community cannot or does not wish to enforce such a peace, the prevalence of interpersonal violence may increase. Thus, this measure also helps to establish the circumstances and context under

which interpersonal violence may prevail by measuring the positive and negative social camaraderie within a survivor's community.

Finally, access to violent and nonviolent associations refers to the social learning aspect that affects whether or not interpersonal violence will be used as a tool (Michalski, 2004). For example, women living in communities that applaud the use of violence as a control mechanism for maintaining their status quo are more likely to experience violence than those women living in communities that support nonviolent conflict tactics. Moreover, if men feel the need to use violence as a device to maintain their macho image in the face of others and encourage one another to follow suit, violence against women is more likely to occur. Once again, this measurement allows researchers to predict the use of interpersonal violence within a certain community.

CHAPTER 3
LATIN AMERICAN INTERPERSONAL VIOLENCE LITERATURE

In order to gauge interpersonal violence in Costa Rican society, it is necessary to present comparable information on Latin America. The following is a brief review of the most current data and literature on women in Latin America and perceptions of violence in this region of the world.

Research on Interpersonal Violence against Women in Latin America

Latin America is one of a few regions around the world that has given major attention to the issue of combating interpersonal violence. However, it was not until non-governmental and international organizations showed interest in the issue that Latin American countries began to take real notice (Alméras, Bravo, Milosavljevic, Montaño & Rico, 2002). It has taken tremendous changes in social institutions, legislative action, education, desensitizing of the public sphere and continuous debates to attract the public's attention regarding the all-encompassing harm brought about by interpersonal violence. Fortunately, the attention has led to grant funding from international and non-governmental agencies to conduct studies on interpersonal violence, specifically against women, in Latin America.

Most available research in the region concerns interpersonal violence and gender and has primarily been conducted through the efforts of the Organización Panamericana de Salud (Pan-American Health Organization), the United Nations and a few universities. Seen as issues of human rights, international organizations have focused their efforts on figuring out what the status of women

is in Latin American and the types of gender violence that primarily affect women of the region. In accordance with prominent Latino social scientists, their studies have not focused solely on women as individuals but on the social structures that may perpetuate violence. For example, Ramírez, (1983), Cárdenas de Santamaría (1990) and Martín-Baró (1994) all insist that context be taken into consideration when examining violence against women. It is their belief that the political, social, historical, economic, and spiritual spheres of women's lives be taken into account alongside any other oppressions that women may face, such as those of social status, racism and sexuality.

The focus of most studies surrounding interpersonal violence in Latin America has been on the femicides, survivors of interpersonal violence, their perceptions of the violence and the decisions they make to stay or leave their violent situations. For example, Sagot (2005) presented research that spanned through ten countries (one of which was Costa Rica) in an effort to trace the possible challenges women face as when they are victims of domestic violence. Sagot found that in all involved countries, the women who sought help in dealing with domestic violence found it challenging to find help in most formal institutions, including the justice system, hospitals, education institutions, and other sectors of society. In other words, the researcher found that the responsibility and burden of obtaining help still lies on the victim of the violence. In another study, Sagot (2003) conducted a study in Costa Rica using the National Survey on Violence Against Women to show that 67% of the women 15 years of age and older had experienced at least one act of violence. Carcedo and Sagot (2002) found that

70% of the women who had been murdered in Costa Rica between 1990 and 1999 had been assassinated by a partner or ex-partner. In Santiago, Chile, Heise, Pitanguy and Germain (1994) found that 73% of women who visited the emergency rooms of several hospitals were injured by a family member. Most of these statistics are most likely under representations of the actual incidences of violence against women as various studies (Centro Feminista de Información y Acción, 1994; Sagot, 2003; Shrader Cox, 1992) have pointed out that only between 15 to 25% of domestic violence is actually reported to authorities in Latin America.

One of the more elaborate studies was conducted by the Organización Panamericana De La Salud Programa Mujer, Salud Y Desarrollo (Sagot, Carcedo & Guido, 2000) in ten countries between 1996 and 1998. It dealt with the evaluation of survivor experiences of interpersonal violence and the institutional responses that affected their decisions. The focal point of the study was to evaluate the effectiveness of the institutional intervention and prevention strategies that affected these women in their particular countries and situations. Belize, Bolivia, Costa Rica, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua, Panama and Peru were involved in the study, in which police, judicial, health and social services for women were evaluated. The study found that, although most of the interviewed women were unaware of their rights and of any social services available for their assistance, they did seek help from various institutions at different frequencies in each country. In Costa Rica, women were exposed to more information about possible assistance and felt more

empowered to seek help, even though they were revictimized by the system and faced many challenged. In countries like Nicaragua and El Salvador, women found that the historical political and social violence in their countries created obstacles to their obtaining help from services as they were insecure about their governments' ability to help and the governments' trustworthiness. However, the lack of information and of availability of services did not stop them from attempting to obtain help, either formally or informally. This "Critical Route" study is primarily used throughout the region as a basis for understanding the barriers and paths that Latin American women face and take in leaving violent relationships.

In addition to the above mentioned study, other country and regional studies have shown that a fourth to half of the women in Latin America have suffered through some type of domestic abuse in their lifetime (Heise, 1994; Ellsberg, 1996). García, Gomáriz, Hidalgo, Ramellini and Barahona (2002) also conducted an elaborate study on the public systems established in Bolivia, Brazil, Chile and Costa Rica for the fight against interpersonal violence. They found that an implementation of a variety of laws to protect women from violence intertwined with a plan to increase the equality within the regions would markedly and positively affect the fight against gendered interpersonal violence.

Although the interpersonal violence problem in Latin America has been categorized as an intrafamily violence problem and not as a gender-based problem (Sagot, Carcedo & Guido, 2000), larger studies conducted in Latin America have been the basis for individual countries' own independent studies of

gender-based interpersonal violence problems. Moreover, the health organizations of various countries have begun to take the issue seriously as it has been categorized as a significant threat to the lives of women and girls within the region. In order to comprehensively understand their own problems, some Latin American countries have taken it upon themselves to conduct studies on women's perceptions of violence within their social structural realities. Unfortunately, as will become evident with the case of Costa Rica, the studies only center on adult women, leaving the second portion of the equation of violence, adolescents, completely unexamined. This lack of research has also affected the realm of adolescents as they, minors, are consistently grouped with women in studies of experiences of interpersonal violence.

<center>The Status of Women and Violence in Costa Rica</center>

As with any other region in Latin America, interpersonal violence in Costa Rica is a manifestation of accepted social norms and structures which change depending on the country's circumstances and the contextual settings of the intimate couple. During the last two decades, Costa Rica has seen an increase in all indexes of violence, including interpersonal violence (Organización De la Salud, 2004). According to the Proyecto Estado de la Nación [Project Status of the Nation] (2001), there was an increase of filing for protective orders from 32,643 in 2000 to 43,929 filed protective orders in 2001, with most of the solicitations coming from women (89.6%) and 86.5 percent of those filed by women were against partners or ex-partners. In addition, in 2000 there were 12,183 calls to the specialized interpersonal violence hotline and about 70,000

<center>*33*</center>

911 calls for assistance in interpersonal violence or sexual violence against a woman. In a nation of almost four million people, the numbers are not too impressive, unless you take into consideration the social structures that form barriers for women to reach out for help.

The National Institute for Women (INAMU) is the governmental agency in charge of the status of women in Costa Rica. It handles the issues of gender inequalities, violence against women, interpersonal violence, women's health, and all other woman centered issues and politics (Organización De la Salud, 2004). It established, and maintains, the only three shelters for abused women in the country, with their services-given jumping from 80 women in 1995 to 749 in 2000. INAMU also conducts research on the status of women, ranging from pay differentials to femicide. In 2002, they conducted a pilot study on interpersonal violence, finding that 67 percent of Costa Rican women had suffered some form of violence, of which 40 percent suffered from physical abuse, 15 percent sexual abuse, and 30 percent both physical and sexual abuse. Of these cases, INAMU found that only 23 percent of the women pressed charges. In addition, they found that there were 106 murdered women (known) from 1998 to 2002 as a result of gender crimes (e.g. interpersonal violence and sexual violence), 80 percent of which were committed by partners. During the early 1990s, there were 315 known femicides, 58.4 percent of which were gender crimes. Finally, INAMU reported that abused women lose 9.5 years of healthy living as a result of interpersonal violence, and they lose between 3 to 20 percent of their income (INAMU, 2002).

The result of the considerable information obtained regarding gendered interpersonal violence in Costa Rica has been continuous attempts to improve the situations of women through legislation. The Ley de Promoción de Igualdad Social de la Mujer [the Law for the Promotion of Equality for Women] (1990), the Ley Contra la Violencia Doméstica [Law Against Interpersonal violence] (1996), and the Plan Nacional Para la Atención y Prevención de la Violencia Doméstica (PLANOVI) [National Plan for the Attention and Prevention of Interpersonal violence] (1996) have been pivotal in the fight towards the eradication of interpersonal violence in the region. Each of these plans and laws attempts to prevent gender inequalities that perpetuate interpersonal violence and to develop foundations for the implementation of social forces that combat women's inequalities (García *et al.,* 2002).

As may be evident, existing research on interpersonal violence focuses on women and their use of social institutions as their response to and defense against interpersonal violence. None of these data reflect the perceptions of adolescents in Costa Rica. The most current literature does not provide adequate support for the study of interpersonal violence from the perspective of Costa Rican adolescents because all of the known research has been directed toward adult women and girls suffering from sexual assault. Thus, it is in this venue that the current proposed project hopes to provide preliminary data, as I believe that it is necessary to know what the adolescents embrace as their beliefs, norms and socialization that allow them to use and perpetuate violence as a control mechanism against their intimate partners.

CHAPTER 4
THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK: AN ECOLOGICAL APPROACH

In order to provide a basis for the current research, it is necessary to understand the theoretical frameworks that contribute to the foundations for Latino and Latina adolescents' perceptions and acceptance of interpersonal violence. A multidimensional approach to interpersonal violence was adopted as a framework for this research from the conceptual model set forth by Belsky (1980), who originally looked at child abuse and neglect, and which was adapted to interpersonal violence by Heise (1998). Heise created the model by combining both quantitative and qualitative research results regarding possible causal factors of gender-based abuse from international studies in various disciplines, including sociology, anthropology and criminology.

The theoretical model takes into consideration personal history, micro-systems, exo-systems, and macro-systems, each of which depicts factors that are related to violence against women (Heise, 1998). The personal history of the individual takes into consideration the experiences that each person brings into their environment and relationships, such as witnessing and/or experiencing interpersonal violence. The micro-system represents the context in which the experiences occur, be it within the family, among acquaintances or in intimate relationships. The third part of the model referred to as the exo-system refers to the institutions and social structures (formal and informal) which surround the micro-system, such as school, work, neighborhoods, and social networks. As

Belsky (1980: 321) describes it, the exo-system are the "social structures…that impinge on the immediate settings in which a person is found and thereby influence, delimit or determine what goes on there." Heise (1998) adds that the exo-system's effects on people are usually derivatives of changes that are taking place within the exo- and macro-systems, an example being that of illegal immigrants who are socially isolated after formal immigration laws are put into place. Finally, the macro-system encompasses the overarching views, values, laws, norms and beliefs that permeate the culture of the individual (Heise, 1998). Figure 1 shows a visual representation of what the theoretical framework looks like. This model helps to understand the importance of looking at the problem of interpersonal violence as a nested, multifaceted, and multilayered social issue. In other words, interpersonal violence cannot merely be defined and researched through one theoretical framework because it does not occur as an isolated incident, separate from outside factors and personal experiences (Buvinic, Morrison & Shifter, 1999).

[Figure 1 Here]

Although Heise (1998) admits that the ecological model is neither complete nor definitive, it does provide a strong starting point from which to examine interpersonal violence. It encompasses all of the social structural factors, both micro and macro, which would actively affect a person's perceptions, behaviors and experiences within their interpersonal relationships. This model, however, has neither been adapted to nor used for Latino male and

female adolescents. It does not take much altering of the nested model, however, to adapt it to this particular population.

For the current research, the Heise (1998) model was altered to encompass three separate theories that provide further foundations for the interpersonal violence model for Latino/a adolescents. Figure 2 shows the visual alterations to the model, while Figure 3 shows a more heuristic representation of the interactions among the different systems. In Figure 2, there are several obvious changes that help guide the current research through theory. First, one of the most evident changes is the addition of the meso-system, which allows for the linkage of the dimensions surrounding interpersonal violence (Edleson & Tolman, 1992). In other words, it acts as the mechanism that enables the transmission of behaviors, attitudes, and actions through different systems within the social environment. Another change to the model is the addition of the permeated lines which visually show that the nested systems are not isolated from one another. This altered model creates a more concrete view of the interplay between the theoretically structured systems. In addition, the numbers represent the three main theories that sustain the ecological framework for the present research.

[Figure 2 Here]

Finally, the colored arrows represent the interplay between the victimization of adolescents, their perpetration through learned processes and the possible continuation of the negative learned behaviors throughout all of the spheres. The red arrows depict the possible transmission of the effects of victimization through

all layers of the social environment, which can possibly begin from either the personal historical background of the person or from the micro-system that surrounds the person. The green arrows portray the possible transformation of the victimization into perpetration back down the social environment, meaning that the learned behaviors that came from being victimized could spread by the further perpetration of violence through actions and behaviors of adolescent victims. Finally, the blue arrows portray the transmission of behaviors through the layers of the social environment. Of note is the transmission of the behaviors back to the personal history of the adolescents (or possibly of the adolescent turned adult) and the micro-system of the new victim, thus restarting the transmission of violence.

For example, an adolescent who learns about using violence as a control mechanism through witnessing her or his parent in the micro-system may transmit that learned behavior through all of the spheres and later perpetrate the violence in the macro and exo systems by showing disrespect toward people, especially women. At that point, the behavior, shown with the blue line, could infect all spheres of the adolescent's life. This example is but one way in which victimization, perpetration and negative behavior, such as victimization of other intimates or negative consequences such use of alcohol, could become part of the interplay of violence in adolescents' lives. It is important to mention that the point at which the victimization and perpetration arrows cross the different systems are all different potential intersections during which victimization and/or

perpetration may occur. It does not mean that both behaviors and experiences

occur within all of the spheres.

Figure 3 presents a more heuristic view of the nested model. Here, the

different systems are visually presented as independent of each other, but the

same concept of intertwined, embedded spheres still exist, as can be seen from

the dashed lines around the different systems. The meso-system is depicted as a

medium in which the behaviors exist. It encompasses all of the systems and acts

as the mechanism through which the processes of social learning allow for the

transmission of behaviors through and to the different systems. In this

representation of the ecological model, the exo-system extends through the

middle of the meso-system and is aligned so that all behaviors that transgress

from different systems must pass through it. This positioning of the exo-system

shows that the behaviors that develop as a result of or influence from the micro,

personal and macro systems are all somehow affected by the formal and

informal social structures.

[Figure 3 Here]

The behavioral paths that might occur to and from different systems are

depicted by the blue arrows, which are intercepted by the influence of possible

witnessing and/or experiencing of victimization and perpetration (depicted as

permeable Xs). These experiences may or may not alter the existence or

continuation of the behavioral paths. For example, an adolescent who witnesses

abuse within the family unit (path $B_1 \rightarrow B_2 \rightarrow B_3$) may decide that abusing a loved

one is a good way of obtaining benefits without experiencing many

consequences. This adolescent's behavior is reinforced by the larger society

($B_1 \rightarrow B_2$), thus reinforcing the learned behavior and continuing to act in a like

fashion throughout his/her lifetime. In this situation, the reinforcement of the

learned behavior through the macro-system extends back to the personal history

of another family member of the individual (such as a child of the individual) who

also learns that violence is a valid tool in various spheres (B_3) and hence

continues the cycle of violence. This is an example that shows how the personal

experiences of an individual could affect various spheres, starting from the

personal, micro-interactionist relationship to the larger, macro-perspective of

society.

The other possible behavioral path (path $A_1 \rightarrow A_2 \rightarrow A_3$) shows the opposite

route of behavioral decision-making through the different systems. In this

situation, the reinforcing of cultural and traditional norms, rules, laws and values

by society that oppress certain portions of society, and possibly combined with

economic problems or social injustices in the exo-system, can create situations in

which victimizing behaviors may be accepted by groups of people within society.

These groups may then decide to perpetrate violence against their loved ones

($A_1 \rightarrow A_2$) within their interpersonal relationships as they believe that their actions

are sanctioned and justified within the larger sphere of society. In these

circumstances, the violence that the people perpetrate could become significant

influences on the victimized to make them believe that the larger social beliefs on

the use of violence are correct and should continue within society (A_3). This

particular arrow is dashed because the relationship between these two spheres may not be as strong as those of the other spheres.

In order to show the interlinking between the different spheres and the mechanisms that allow them to exist within this ecological model, three different theories are presented, all of which contribute to understanding how and why Latina and Latino adolescent perceptions and attitudes may evolve. Multicultural feminism sets up the macro-structural view of the issue, while Goffman's interaction rituals (1967), through remedial work, set up the micro-interactional perspective. Social learning theory, through the ideas of the intergenerational transmission of violence, is used as the medium and mechanism within which the different systems interact. The following is a description of the different theories within this ecological model, with descriptions of why and how they fit into the theoretical framework.

<div align="center">Multicultural Feminism: Why Here and Now</div>

Historically, women's movements in the western hemisphere have faced challenges and reached goals working under a framework of "traditional" feminist theory, which is primarily based on the United State's second wave feminist movement. There was an overlying assumption that the problems of women living in an oppressive patriarchal society were the primary focus of the movements. Little thought was given, especially at first, to the diversity that made up the group of "women" around the world (Zinn & Dill, 2000).

Although feminist theory provides an umbrella under which interpersonal violence could be viewed from a macro-structural perspective, using the

traditional Western feminist framework in interpersonal violence is too narrow because it does not fully encompass violence that occurs within culturally, racially, religiously, nationally, sexually, and socio-economically diverse women, such as those in Latin America. Feminist theory must take into account all of the dynamics that exist within these particular diverse populations in order to provide a better structure for researching and handling these cases out in the field (Kasturirangan et al., 2004).

Interpersonal violence intervention must apply an integrated theoretical feminist framework that allows for Latinas and Latinos to acknowledge their experiences of violence through all their personal oppressions and characteristics, including their identities as Latinas and not just as women. In place of the traditional Western, mainstream feminist theory, I offer the use of multicultural feminist theory in order to confront the needs and concerns of Latin American women. Thus, the following section focuses on feminism and, in particular, multicultural feminism as a theoretical guideline for the macro-system. The main reason for using the multicultural feminist perspective is that most of this type of violence is perpetrated against women and is perpetrated in an environment that is patriarchal in nature. As can be seen in Figure 2, part D, the macro-system depicts exactly the type of atmosphere that would allow patriarchal beliefs to thrive. Before introducing the main macro-system theory, it is important to understand why multicultural feminism fits particularly well into the atmosphere of Costa Rica. As will be seen, the type of feminist theory found in Costa Rica resembles that of multicultural feminism.

Feminism in Costa Rica

In contrast to the traditional Western feminist perspective, Costa Rica's feminism movement was separate from that of the women's movement. The two Costa Rican movements had two different perspectives regarding their roles in society. The feminist movement was more far-reaching than the women's movement as it advocated for social change through the empowerment of women (Leitinger, 1997). In contrast, women's movements have historically worked toward the attainment of economic, social and political improvements. Even though the two types of movements diverge in their final approaches to women's issues, they intertwine along many paths, especially in the belief that women have the rights to equality and human rights in general.

Much like the traditional Western feminist theory that the women of the United States use as a framework for their movements, Costa Rica's feminist movements and women's movements have been split into several phases that encompassed different goals and different perspectives of women's rights and needs (Fajardo, 1997). Contributions toward these movements stemmed from four different roots, including political roots, philosophical-theoretical roots of intellectual feminists, grassroots organizations of poor women who attempted to solve practical problems for survival, and individual-efficacy roots who are individual woman who are fighting on their own, with no outside support, for their rights and needs (Jaquette, 1989; Leitinger, 1997). These four types of movements have helped to mold women's rights in different directions.

The beginning of the women's movements stemmed from their political activities alongside men to obtain the right to vote for men in Costa Rica in the first decades of the nineteenth century (Fajarda, 1997). Their own claim to the same rights, however, went unheard as they continued to fight with men for men's political freedoms and rights to vote. It wasn't until Angela Acuña created the Costa Rican Liga Feminista (Feminist League) that the fight for women's rights really began in 1914. It took 35 years for their pleas to be heard regarding their rights as citizen voters (Fajardo, 1997). Until then, women were placed by men in the same category as children and the insane, as citizens unable to vote. These first movements were merely for the attainment of the political rights of women. After the goal of obtaining voting rights was attained, some women in the movement lost interest as they felt they had accomplished their objective.

Younger feminists, however, felt differently and continued to fight for equality under all social institutions. They wanted the image of the woman to be more than that of "queens of the house," reproducers (Fajardo, 1997: 10), and servants (Naranjo, 1997). They wanted girls to have the same freedoms as boys, instead of being forced to remain focused on safeguarding their chastity by "never handling pencils (which were tools of intellectual pursuits), or having access to mirrors (which would reveal to them their own beauty), or approaching windows (which might have access to potential lovers)" (Fajardo, 1997: 6). In the end, the new wave of feminists wanted human rights for women through the ending of their oppression by the patriarchy which continued to instill ideas about machismo and marianismo.

Today, several organizations exist, including the Alianza, Ventana (Window), the Centro Feminista de Información y Acción (CEFEMINA), and the Instituto Nacional de Mujeres (National Institute of Women: INAMU), which fight to improve the living situations of women through the termination of violence against women, incest, sexual assault and abuse, political empowerment, workers' rights, and other realms in which women find themselves oppressed. These organizations also work with the idea of improving the socialization of the younger generations and their perspectives of gender relations as they believe that patriarchy is at the forefront of many of the inequalities which continue to hold women back.

Finally, feminism in Costa Rica is sometimes referred to as 'popular' feminism because it stems from the people and focuses on the inclusion of many factions of women. Ana Hernández (1997) claims that

> a series of socio-historical and structural circumstances…cause us to join hands with other groups that are struggling to overcome oppression because of their class, race, or political beliefs, and that suffer the consequences of poverty, unemployment, lack of services and even repression. (24)

Hernández claims that the social conditions in Costa Rica have forced women to come together in order to provide a united front to clear paths for women's well being and their freedom. This type of feminism could well be referring to multicultural feminism as it recognizes various types of oppressions of women and the consequences of the multitudes of oppressions. Alianze de Mujeres Costarricenses, a popular feminist movement, is one of the oldest organizations to function under this premise (Hernández, 1997). They believe in the

empowerment of women through their own decisions and actions. Women of color, of different socio-economic levels and sexual orientations join in this women's group to form alliances that recognize that gender is not separate from other oppressions; it just adds one more layer.

<div align="center">

Multicultural Feminism

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In recent years, there has been an awakening around the world to the reality that women with diverse backgrounds may not be included in the traditional feminist perspectives of the Western world (Shohat, 2001). In its purest form, traditional Western feminism deals with the idea that women are subjugated by male dominated societies, and this oppression is the main challenge facing women in their journey to social equality and the main factor that defines women's struggles in society. As previously mentioned, Costa Rican feminist movements have taken on the identity of movements for the people and not just as abstract theoretical concepts. It is an important aspect of the struggle against the inhumane treatment of women and for equality overall. As Hernández (1997) mentioned, the movement is meant to recognize the realities of the multitude of oppressions that women in Costa Rica face. It is for this reason that multicultural feminism fits into the current research as the primary, overarching macro-system.

What is Multicultural Feminism?

Feminists from different regions of the world, different SES backgrounds, ethnicities, sexualities, religions and nationalities created different branches of feminism that tried to include diverse populations within their frameworks.

However, these branches were all pulling feminism in different directions. The

multicultural feminist perspective, unlike other feminist theories, attempts to be a

more inclusive branch that is

> less concerned with identities as something one has than in identification
> as something one does. While rejecting fixed, essentialist and reductionist
> formulations of identity, it fosters a mutually enriching politics of
> intercommunity representation… it strives to transcend the narrow and
> often debilitating confines of identity politics in favor of a multicultural
> feminist politics of identification, affiliation, and social transformation.
> (Shohat, 2001:9)

In other words and in relation to interpersonal violence, it supports the idea that

different cultural, racial, economic, national, sexual, and religious oppressions

affect women dealing with interpersonal violence by allowing women to look at

the issue as a communal problem that transcends all identities while still

recognizing identity oppressions within groups. It attempts to provide the needed

foundation for handling diverse populations that bring with them their multi-

faceted identities and problems.

Third World feminism, Fourth World feminism, Chicana feminism, Lesbian

feminism, Multiracial feminism, African American feminism, Marxist feminism,

Post-colonial feminism and others are but a few examples of the different types

of feminist theories that now exist in an attempt to make feminism more inclusive

to women's different identities. They all exist in conjunction and contradiction of

one another. Multicultural feminism, as will be further explained below, is an

attempt to go beyond the individual visions of singular feminist efforts. It tries to

unify, or at least relate, culture, race, gender, nationality, religion, sexuality and

class in women as individuals, family members and as parts of communities and societies.

Multicultural feminism acknowledges the different facets of women's lives that bring about multiple types of oppressions that are socially structured into their communities and societies (Shohat, 2001). It recognizes women as individuals whose race, sexuality, religion, nationality, SES, and gender defines their status and role in life, in a positive or negative manner. It maintains, however, its belief in the patriarchal society as an oppressive measure, but it does not ascertain that this particular force is primary to all others. Overall, multicultural feminism takes into account the political forces that exalt certain identities of women and allow for the socially constructed roles of these women to become the oppressive forces that all work to undermine the woman in the political, economic, domestic and social world that surrounds them, while still taking into consideration the historical routes that affect their identities in the present day.

In actuality, multicultural feminists have been around for over 500 years as they have fought for their rights to decolonize and fought racist regimes as their lands, those of the non-industrialized countries, were savagely taken over by the more technologically advanced countries (Mohanty, 2004). The reintroduction and reinforcement of multiculturalism today arises from the needs of peoples from different worlds who are experiencing globalization at almost all levels of their lives. In recognizing the different identities of women around the world, multicultural feminism does not acclaim one identity over another. Instead, it

works to highlight each individually in order to create an "interwoven relationality" between all facets (Shohat, 2001:1). In other words, it depicts the individual woman as having some aspect of herself in common with others who may share at least one facet of her own identity, even though other facets, such as ethnicity, nationality, and other such identifying characterizations, may not be the same. This component of multiculturalism attempts to clear the rift among the differing feminist perspectives.

Multicultural feminism, at the same time, recognizes the structural boundaries and borders of the individual within her society and in relation to others. Moreover, it exalts the characterizations that are created in today's globalized world where moving labor creates unique situations for women (Mohanty, 2004). In addition to looking at all of the positive aspects of the relationality between women, it also examines the differences among the women in an attempt to understand the barriers that may lay a gap between different groups.

Unlike traditional feminist theory, multicultural feminism tries to move beyond socially constructed boundaries and identities so that no one fraction of a woman becomes primary to all others. It tries to maintain a balance between an individualistic theory that focuses on minor differences among people and a universal theory that stands for everything and nothing at the same time because of its broad spectrum. In this way, this theory attempts to put an end to the competitive nature of the traditional feminist theories that create fissures through

different categorizations of women, assuming, in the process, that a women can fit into only one while ignoring all other identifying characteristics.

Setbacks and limitations. Although multicultural feminism takes into consideration multifaceted constructions of women's identities, it still deals with several setbacks and limitations concerning its applicability as an overall framework.

One of the setbacks that multicultural feminism has is its difficulty in keeping women from falling into mainstream, Western feminist trends that allow for an unrepresentative view of women's issues and concerns (Mohanty, 2001). In other words, women may distance themselves from each other as a result of differences instead of coming together on the basis of their commonalities. For example, upper or middle class women in Latin America may fight their struggles of national, ethnic and gendered oppressions, but they may not recognize the differences in class that inevitably separates them from the lower socioeconomic classes whose main concerns may not center on obtaining voting rights but on obtaining financial help.

A second limitation faced by multicultural feminism encompasses the fragile balance in discourse among the different voices of oppressed women that maintains respect, dignity and equality as a forefront issue (Mohanty, 2001). Multiculturalism must allow each identifying facet of women to shine through without prioritizing one type of oppression over another. Women facing multiple types of oppression find themselves working alongside women whose identities may be different in some respects but not others. In these situations, there needs

to be an understanding about the goals of the differing groups that takes into

consideration the unique aspects of the women in order to clear the schism that

differences in race, nationality, class, sexuality, religion and other identifying

characteristics naturally create within women's movements. It is virtually

impossible to conduct any type of useful dialogue between and among women

who come from different backgrounds with different experiences without taking

into consideration the effects of these characteristics on the prioritizing of their

struggles in society. Although it faces tough challenges along the way,

multicultural feminist theory offers more guidance and interconnectivity to diverse

women than does the traditional feminist theory.

Multiculturalism and Interpersonal Violence

Up to this point, it should be clear that multicultural feminism is a useful

and important theoretical foundation for the current research as it deals with the

overarching social beliefs, norms and values that may strongly affect and

influence the social roles and behaviors of both males and females, presumably

of all ages, in Latin America. We have asserted the importance of the use of

multicultural feminism by discussing the theory's strengths and weaknesses as a

foundation for the ecological model's macro-system. It is important to now

declare how multicultural feminism is ideal for dealing with interpersonal violence

in the culturally, ethnically, economically, and sexually diverse populations of

Latin American.

Shohat (2001:19) declares that

Third World women's struggles cannot conform to the orthodox sequence
of "first wave" and "second waves," just as multicultural feminism cannot

be viewed as simply a recent bandwagon phenomenon; it is a response to a five hundred-year history of gendered colonialist dispossession in the past and of massive postcolonial displacements in the present.

The colonizing history of many non-industrialized countries plays an important role in the existence and exacerbation of interpersonal violence. This historical aspect of Latina women signifies the existence of a social structure that oppresses women on many levels and in many arenas, while giving men more status and power. Globalization and past displacement of people and their cultures and traditions have created the need to take a closer look at the danger of exacerbated occurrences of interpersonal violence in Latina women's lives who are coping with it. Traditional feminist perspectives leave little room for the inclusion of such concerns rising from these culturally diverse women facing interpersonal violence in their homes (Kasturirangan et al., 2004). They encapsulate the woman as a gender whose primary function is to fight the oppressive forces created by a patriarchal society, while ignoring all other aspects of oppression that also create subjugation. Multicultural feminism "questions the submerged epistemologies of Eurocentric studies of women, gender, and sexuality, thus asserting the active, generative participations of women/gay/bi/lesbians of color at the very core of a shared conflictual history" (Shohat, 2001:16).

Latin American women face limitations on a daily basis as they must consolidate the entangled forces of oppression they encounter in order to live liberated lives within their communities and societies. This being the case, it is not unreasonable to need to use a more inclusive feminist theory that

incorporates as many aspects of the woman as possible in order to more fully understand interpersonal violence within their world. With this in mind, interpersonal violence intervention in Latin American populations should be founded on a multicultural feminist framework that takes culture, ethnicity, religion, nationality, sexuality, class, and other such defining aspects into consideration.

Goffman's Remedial Work: Excusing and Justifying Violent Behavior through Socialization

The second theory that will be used as part of the ecological model representing the micro-system is a specific part of Erving Goffman's work on symbolic interaction. His interactionist theory takes into consideration the work that is done by one or both parties in order to justify and/or excuse violent interpersonal behavior. This theory is used to explain the micro-system and personal history sphere within the nested, ecological model and is to explain the rationale for the use of violence through justifications and excuses for the violence within the larger macro-system.

Goffman's (1967) *Interaction Ritual* describes the interplay that takes place when people find themselves in disputes or placed in a position that may or may not go strictly against the status quo. It is this important aspect of social control that will be further discussed. The use of micro-interactions between people in order to justify abuse within a patriarchal society, such as that of Costa Rica, is an important aspect to understanding the reasons why adolescents learn violent behaviors from those around them and use them in their lives.

Interaction Rituals and Interpersonal Violence

An important part of intervention and prevention of interpersonal violence deals with the justification and blaming that goes on in the relationship. The social and symbolic interactions that occur before, during and after a violent episode between intimates is vital to understanding why some violence occurs and why it is perpetuated in certain relationships and within certain social structural contexts. Furthermore, the interpretations of the violence and strategies used by the abuser to either normalize the violence or justify it strongly depend on the cultural context within which the violence takes place (Dougherty, 1984; Denzin, 1984). Similarly, the manner in which the violent overtures are interpreted by the victim also depends on the context in which the violence occurs.

An incident of interpersonal violence occurs within a structure of interactions that can be both symbolic and direct. Similarly, the rationalizations of the violence can be portrayed through symbolic and verbal interactions between abuser and victim. Because the family functions as a structure of rules, norms, values, rituals and routines that tend to mirror the cultural system of society, the family unit may function with the same inequalities that may allow for and perpetuate interpersonal violence, especially when the expected social norms are undermined (Denzin, 1984; Dobash & Dobash, 1979). The abuser's excuses or justifications for the use of violence may be seen as a tool for normalizing the relationship, thus making the violence socially acceptable within the context of the social structures surrounding the couple. Once the violence becomes

normalized or socially acceptable, it is easier for it to be transmitted from one generation to another.

It is not just the abuser who seeks to justify the violence, however. The victim of the violence, depending on her or his state of mind while in the relationship, may justify the use of violence against her by minimizing the violence by relating that she provoked it or should have known better. In either situation, there is an attempt to make the violence socially acceptable within the social structural context in which the violence occurred. However, the reasons for attempting to normalize the violence are different for both the abuser and the victim. For the abuser, using violence may be a tool for reestablishing his masculinity (Anderson & Umberson, 2001) or his honor or pride (Baker, Gregware & Cassidy, 1999). On the other hand, a victim of the violence may feel that normalizing the violence will allow her to save face to the rest of the world. Hence, it can be assumed that the reality and interpretation of the violence may be different for both people involved.

Remedial Work and Context

Through the use of Goffman's (1967) 'remedial work', as established by Cavanagh, Dobash, Dobash and Lewis (2001) in reference to interpersonal violence, the following section attempts to delineate the existing relationship between requests and reactions as a micro-system of interpersonal violence. According to Cavanagh *et al.* (2001), abusers use the social interactions to reconstruct the violent events in a manner that makes their abusive behavior seem either harmless or the fault of the victim. In order to delineate this idea, the

authors use the work of Erving Goffman who, in 1971, presented the idea that people who are labeled by society as potential offenders of some social norm can rectify their offensive act through a series of actions. Sykes and Matza (1957) termed this type of action a "technique of neutralization" by which deviant behavior is neutralized through the use of justifications that allow the actor to rationalize his/her actions within the social background. Their techniques for neutralizing the socially deviant behavior include the denial of responsibility, of injury, of the victim, condemnation of the condemners and appeals to higher loyalties (667-669). These actions are used as a method to excuse, minimize, or justify their offensive act so that society may be more accepting of the individual and shift the blame or completely clear the person of the offense. Goffman (1971: 109) called these activities "remedial work," as they allowed the offender to change the meaning of his/her actions, "transforming what could be seen as offensive into what can be seen as acceptable" by society. In changing the interpretations of his/her actions, Goffman points to accounts, apologies and requests as the tools that are used by people to paint their actions in a more acceptable manner.

Accounts

According to Goffman, accounts refers to an individual's attempts to minimize, deny, blame or claim ignorance as routes by which acceptability for the offender can be gained. An example of how such a concept can be applied to interpersonal violence is as follows: An abuser hit his wife in order to rectify a dishonor to himself or his family. In this instance, the abuser could minimize the

violent act by saying that his hitting her was done in the name of honor and to rectify a far worse social harm (e.g. infidelity). Here, Goffman's "higher considerations," or more important social norms and deeds, alter the meaning of the previously offensive action. In this situation, the social unacceptability of infidelity might lead some societies to accept the use of violence, while other societies might frown on its use no matter what. In any case, accounts are used within relationships to shift the blame and increase the power and control one individual has over another.

Apologies

A second component of Goffman's 'remedial work' involves the use of apologies as a tool to rectify the wrong done by an abuser unto a victim and society. According to Goffman (1967: 113), an apology allows an offender to split him/herself into two parts, "the part that is guilty of an offense and the party that dissociates itself from the delict and affirms a belief in the offended rule." Here, the apology works not just as an attempt to regain the trust, love and devotion of the victim but as a tool to assuage the social discomfort and disgust toward an offensive act. In an intimate relationship where violence occurs, it is not uncommon to have family, friends or other social forces (e.g. religious organizations) push a victim back to his or her abuser as a result of him showing remorse through apology. In their interpretation of the situation, an offense, a wrong action has been rectified through an apology and show of public remorse. More often than not, these apologies work, as can be seen by the fact that it may

take a women about seven attempts to leave before she actually permanently leaves the relationship.

Requests

The last component of Goffman's remedial work involves the use of requests. These requests are usually done before the actual misdeed occurs. Goffman (1967: 114) states that a request "consists of asking license of a potentially offended person to engage in what could be considered a violation of his rights." In other words, the offender is giving up his/her decision-making abilities and handing the responsibility of the action to the other individual. In this way, the consequence of the request rests on the other and not on the offender, as the offender has, within the interaction, made it clear to the other what he/she expects. It is, thus, in the hands of the other to decide what comes from the interaction. Requests in interpersonal violence become vital to the offense as an abuser can shift the blame of the action onto the victim by saying that "if only she had done/said something, it (the abuse) would not have occurred." If the victim does not appropriately respond to the request and violence takes place, the abuser can claim that the violence was the victim's responsibility as she did not act/react appropriately.

<center>*Importance of Context to Remedial Work*</center>

Remedial work might only work in certain cultural macro-system structures. In other words, if a particular society does not look on interpersonal violence as an offense, then there would be no need for the remedial work for the benefit of society, even though there might still be cause for it within the relationship in

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order to keep the victim committed to staying. The following are examples of

situations in which context of the violence influences whether or not the violence

is seen as a social harm and what actions are taken by the abusers to rectify the

actions.

In their study of culture and interpersonal violence, Vandello and Cohen

(2003) found that Brazilians, Latinos, and U.S. Southern Caucasians were more

likely to excuse violent behavior that arose out of infidelity by a woman unto a

man. Additionally, the authors found that the above groups had a more favorable

impression of the woman if she bore the violence with loyalty and remorse rather

than independence and intolerance. The authors showed that culture is vital as a

script of acceptable behavior of males and females and the acceptable and

unacceptable methods of balancing out, through punishment, the violation of the

valued female and male norms.

Similarly, a study by Delgado, Prieto and Bond (1997) showed that people of

Spain tended to blame the victim more than those from England in interpersonal

violence when jealousy was the supposed cause of the battery. The participants

from Spain believed that interpersonal violence resulting from jealousy was more

internal to the self and less controllable than when an incident occurred as a

result of other problems. Comparatively, respondents from England reported that

the batterer was the all around guilty individual and the victim had no guilt for the

battery. The authors believe that the more restrictive Catholic background of

Spain strongly influences the restrictive attitudes that people still hold regarding

the gender roles of the wife as the holder of virtue, whereas England's Protestant background allows for less restrictive roles for women and men.

Another study by Baker, Gregware and Cassidy (1999) examined the cultures of honor and social systems that perpetuate murders of women and the structures that allow such murders to occur. According to the authors, an individual's actions can bring dishonor and shame to family, thus instigating socially accepted violence toward the person who supposedly shamed the family or individual. In the cases brought up by the authors, violence is used as a tool for re-establishing the social balance through punishment of the perpetrating individual. Here, murder is used as a tool to right the wrong done by the person, usually women, in the eyes of society. For example, if the woman were to show too much sexuality, she would be acting outside of the norms of some traditional, patriarchal societies, such as Latin American societies. This type of act by the woman might instigate murder if the infraction is seen as severe. The authors argued that murder is a cultural and contextual tool used for the purpose of re-establishing honor.

Overall, the studies showed the vast degree of difference in perceptions regarding interpersonal violence among the various cultures when jealousy and honor was concerned in the matter. These types of cultural differences can be observed through the components of the remedial work. In fact, the success of the remedial work depends on the cultural macro-system. Not only does the interaction within the couple affect the violence but the understanding of the interaction within specific cultural social structures can give the violence different

meanings. When looking at Costa Rica within this framework, it makes sense to have multicultural feminism integrated with symbolic interactionism in order to help explain the justifications, excuses and rationales for gendered violence.

Goffman (1967) claims that, in an attempt to rectify some societal wrong committed by one person against another, an offender attempts to account for his offensive actions through minimizing, denial, and blame, by apologizing and by deflecting responsibility through requests. As previously stated, however, these interactions may only work in the right social context. Costa Rica, being a progressive country with respect to issues of interpersonal violence, has a mixed atmosphere of both tolerance and intolerance of interpersonal violence. As a result, the use of remedial work thrives within this environment. Especially important to the thriving of remedial work is the fact that it can readily be learned or imitated by those exposed to it, such as adolescents and children. Socialization plays a large role in the transmission of the use of such micro-interaction interplays in certain macro-structural contexts.

Social Learning Theory: Intergenerational Transmission of Interpersonal Violence

The meso-system of the ecological model is based on social learning theory—more specifically the intergenerational transmission of violence. This system allows for the interplay of all behaviors, perspectives and actions found in various systems. In other words, it provides the medium for the transmission of attitudes and behaviors from, for example, the home to school to larger society. The behaviors are not isolated within their particular spheres because experiences that occur inside of one system will most likely affect the behaviors

that occur in other systems (Dutton, 1995). It is within this interplay that the

intergenerational transmission of interpersonal violence fits. It provides the

theoretical framework for the transmission of attitudes and behaviors involving

interpersonal violence into different systems. Thus, witnessing and/or

experiencing interpersonal violence in the home may very well affect the

adolescent in his/her interactions in the micro-, exo- and macro-systems.

What is the Intergenerational Transmission of Violence Theory?

According to Albert Bandura (1977), children learn through behavioral

conditioning and through imitating the important individuals around them, such as

parents family relations or friends. They pick up on the social cues which may

define consequences or rewards of actions. This type of social learning occurs

when the actions and behaviors of the people around them are mimicked or

imitated by the children, especially if they believe that there is gain from the

action (Chapple, 2003; O'Keefe, 1998). If the behaviors are continually reinforced

through constant reoccurrence and witnessing of the actions, it is likely that the

child will also continue to display the same behaviors. Once this occurs, a set of

values and norms may develop within the child that may normalize the actions

and behaviors that the child observes. Unless an intervention takes place, the

learned behaviors will continuously be transmitted from one generation to

another (O'Keefe, 1998).

Ronald Akers (1977, 1998) also developed his own social learning theory,

extending from Sutherland's differential association. Akers primarily advanced

the mechanisms and processes through which social learning took place, from a

criminological perspective. Similarly to the Bandura's (1977) theory of social

learning, Akers believed that social learning took place within specific contexts. In

other words, people learn both general and specific situations in which right and

wrong are defined differently or the same (Akers, 2000). For example, a child

may learn that hitting a family member is okay, but hitting a stranger is not okay

because the repercussions are different in each case. In addition, Akers

acknowledges the existence of behaviors that neutralize offending behaviors by

justifying or excusing them (Akers, 2000).

Much like Bandura's and Akers' theory on social learning and modeling,

Thibaut and Kelley's interdependence theory (1959) supports the existence of a

transmission of values, standards and behaviors that may influence adolescent

perceptions about what interpersonal relationships should be like. Personal

interactions, according to this theory, are strongly influenced by expectations and

beliefs. For adolescents who may not have their own experiences from which to

build on, these expectations and beliefs are likely formed from observing close

couples, such as parents or friends. In this way, the transmission of behaviors,

standards and expectations about what a relationship should be occurs through

the transmission of observed behaviors. In such cases, an adolescent may

expect certain behaviors from their partner, or they may place themselves in

certain roles within the relationships. For example, a male adolescent may

believe that being male makes him the decision-maker, while his female partner

should be submissive and attentive. These expectations can build to reinforce

gender stereotypes that perpetuate interpersonal violence. Moreover, the

expectations may supersede the actual relationship, causing friction within an already volatile situation.

Bandura's (1977), Akers' (1977), and Thibaut and Kelley's (1959) versions of social learning theories become intergenerational when the children in the offending environments imitate or model their behavior according to that of their surrounding adults or role models. Moreover, the socialization process that children undergo may even teach them learn to tolerate the offending behaviors as they may witness the justification or forgiving of the behaviors through the victim, abuser or the criminal justice system's inaction toward preventing or stopping the crime. This type of behavioral modeling or imitation can become a part of the value system that the child learns through the family unit (Chapple, 2003; Stamp & Sabourin, 1995). This value system may mold the child's own norms and behaviors toward the acceptance of the use of violence as a tool in interpersonal relationships. If the use of violence is not transmitted to the child, the tolerance and normality of it in the surroundings or as commonplace within society may be passed on by the adult models. This type of intergenerational transmission may desensitize the child to surrounding violence, creating an antisocial value system that may be further passed on to future generations.

In abusive situations, children may also begin to mimic the gendered roles that each party takes in the violent behaviors (O'Keefe, 1998). In this situation, because it is well known that most intimate partner violence is from a male unto a female (Dobash, Dobash, Wilson & Daly, 1992; Pagelow, 1992; Saunders, 2002), the male children may pick up the aggressive tendencies of the male adult

abuser, while the female children could imitate the sometimes excusing, accepting, helpless and hopeless tendencies of the female adult victim (Chen & White, 2004; DeMaris, 1987; Fagan & Browne, 1994; Foo & Margolin, 1995; Hastings & Hamberger, 1988; Salas Bohamón, 2005). This types of gendered intergenerational transmission is well documented in the literature, especially concerning the tendency of adolescent dating violence (O'keefe, 1998).

Complexities and Multidimensionality of Intergenerational Violence Theory

The findings from the literature on the intergenerational transmission of violence are not straight forward. In fact, it is complex and multidimensional because of the different types of media through which it can occur. For example, there are differences in the transmission of violence that may occur when a child witnesses violence within the family unit versus a child experiencing violence directly (O'Keefe, 1998). Moreover, there is both supporting and contradicting data regarding the validity of intergenerational transmission, as well as the risk factors that may allow the behaviors to permeate future generations within a family unit.

The literature on the intergenerational transmission of violence mostly supports that violent behavior is passed from a parent or adult model to a child, but some research repudiates the premise (Kolbo, Blakely & Engleman, 1996). There are a number of studies that found that children who witnessed (Gwartney-Gibbs, Stockard & Brohmer, 1987; Kalmus, 1984; Marshall & Rose, 1988; O'Keeffe, Brockopp, & Chew, 1986; Riggs, O'Leary, & Breslin 1990; Salas Bohamón, 2005), experienced (Bernard & Bernard, 1983; DeMaris, 1987; Salas

Bohamón, 2005) or both witnessed and experienced (Foshee, Bauman, & Linder, 1999; Heyman & Slep, 2002; Maxwell & Maxwell, 2003) abuse are likely to perpetrate or experience dating violence. In addition, a study by Briceño León (2000) in Caracas, Venezuela found that people who came from abusive backgrounds are more likely to perpetrate violence toward their own children and partners than those who did not. Briceño León claims that the cultural norms and beliefs that support the behavior of violence within the context of family have a major effect on whether violence will be perpetrated. In a comparative study of the intergenerational transmission of violence through friends or parents, Arriaga and Foshee (2004) found that friends in dating violence situations were more likely to predict future dating violence of the adolescent than did interparental violence; however, interparental violence was still predictive of future interpersonal adolescent perpetration and victimization.

Other studies, however, did not find a relationship between witnessing (Comins, 1984; Stets & Pirog-Good, 1987) or experiencing (Comins, 1984; McKinney, 1986; Stets & Pirog-Good, 1987) abuse in the family and later life experiences of interpersonal violence. Finally, in a meta-analysis on the intergenerational transmission of interpersonal violence, Stith, Rosen, Middleton, Busch, Lundeberg and Carlton (2000) found that there were small but significant effects of interparental violence on both the perpetration and victimization of the children in dating relationships. These findings, though somewhat convoluted, still support the existence of the intergenerational transmission of violence. Since not all children exposed to abuse become abusers, it cannot be definitively stated

that violence is truly transmitted from person to person in a family. However, a significant number of studies have found important relationships between experiencing violence as a child or adolescent and later becoming a perpetrator of violence, thus allowing for the existence of the cycle of violence.

Even though the evidence is not in full agreement about the effect that witnessing and experiencing family violence may have on children's future relationships, it is still used as a predictor of future violence by the children within their own interpersonal relationships because of the consistency of most of the findings (Cantrell, 1995; Stith, 1997; Egeland, 1993; O'Keefe, 1998). The controversy surrounding the continued use of the intergenerational theory of violence is that not all of the children who witness violence in the home environment go on to perpetrate violence in their own relationships and not all abusive people come from abusive homes (Smith & Williams, 1992; Straus, Gelles & Steinmetz, 1980). This line of research has brought about inquiries into what possible risk and protective factors could influence the outcome of transmitting or not transmitting violence.

To date, few studies have focused on risk and protective factors for children who witness interpersonal violence; however there is a line of research that focuses on how children handle different types of adversity. Garmezy (1985), Rutter (1987) and Werner and Smith (1982) separately found that easy temperament, positive self-esteem, good academic achievement and having a positive relationship with at least one parent were protective factors. Conversely, low socioeconomic status, minority ethnic status, large family size, harsh parental

discipline and severe marital problems were all risk factors for a vulnerability to adversity, with boys exhibiting more vulnerability than girls (Garmezy, 1984; Rutter & Quinton, 1977). This research shows that there are certain qualities and experiences of children which may make them more or less vulnerable to succumbing to violent behaviors

Three other risk factors that the literature has acknowledged are non-negative attitudes held by adolescents regarding intimate violence, alcohol and drug use, and exposure to violence in the community and school. First, findings regarding attitudes toward intimate violence are again inconclusive. There is some evidence to suggest that tolerating and accepting violence in dating and cohabiting (e.g. marital) relationships may lead to inflicting such violence (Cate, Henton, Koval, & Lloyd, 1982; Deal & Wampler, 1986; O'Keefe, 1998). Other researchers, however, like Stets and Pirog-Good (1987) have found no such evidence in their research. The second factor of alcohol and drug use as a risk factor has more support in the literature. Makepeace (1981), O'Keefe (1998), and Straus and Gelles (1988) have all found positive relationships between alcohol and drug use and inflicting dating and marital violence. Finally, exposure to violence within the community, especially certain community contexts (Benson, Fox, DeMaris & Van Wyk, 2000; Benson, Wooldredge, Thistlethwaite & Fox, 2004; Sampson & Wilson, 1995), or in school has not been thoroughly studied (O'Keefe, 1998). Of the few available studies, however, there is support for a harmful effect on the emotional and behavioral well-being of children (O'Keefe, 1998; Osofsky, Wewers, Hann & Pick, 1993; Richters & Martinez, 1993). These

findings may be the result of children and adolescents finding other venues in which to reproduce the witnessed or experienced violence.

As can be seen from the above literature, there is a complexity and multidimensionality involved in the intergenerational transmission of violence. However, there is enough evidence and support to show that the transmission of violence from important individuals around adolescents is strong enough to produce violent adolescents, especially when there are no protective factors that may prevent the transmission of such behaviors and attitudes. As the meso-system in the ecological model, this theory provides the appropriate medium for the interplay of behaviors and attitudes in and out of different social realms and contexts.

Theoretical Framework: Summarizing the Ecological Model

The above sections provide the foundations for establishing a strong theoretical framework for working with adolescents in this particular research. The social environment in Costa Rica, which is primarily based on a traditional patriarchy with strict gender roles, fits into the ecological model presented. The three different theories, which have been incorporated into the ecological model, provide a clearer explanation of the factors involved in the research and the interaction among the different dimensions of the social environment.

The micro-, macro- and meso-systems of the ecological model all clearly fit to define the important factors under study in the current research. Multicultural feminism will serve as the overarching macro-system which looks at the social structures, such as social norms and values about interpersonal violence and

gender roles. The micro-system is comprised of the interactionist perspective of remedial work, in which the intricate personal characteristics of socializing become part of the justification, acceptance and/or excusing of violence on a micro-interactionist level. Finally, the meso-system is based on the implementation of social learning theory's intergenerational transmission of violence. This system serves as a mechanism which links all of the systems within it, allowing behaviors and attitudes to interplay from one contextual framework to the next. These three theoretical layers in the ecological model set up the foundations for the current research.

Figure 4 in the Appendix B shows the important decision-making paths from the different theoretical frameworks that could potentially lead to the acceptance of violence and, hence, perpetration of violence.

[Figure 4 Here]

As may be evident, there is no direct route to figuring out the relationship between interpersonal violence among adolescents, their experiences with interpersonal violence, their attitudes toward it, and their attitudes and perspective of gender roles. The complexity of the relationships makes the current research more important as it should shed some light on the most pertinent issues concerning adolescents and interpersonal violence. The ecological model will serve as the basis for establishing the important variables and factors under study and for providing a foundation for the following exploratory research questions:

- Do the adolescents perceive that gender roles and rules exist in their lives? If so, how do they define and describe them?

- Do adolescents believe in the dichotomy of acceptable and unacceptable interpersonal violence? If so, how?

- Do adolescents believe that there is a connection between gender roles and rules and interpersonal violence? If so, what is it?

- Are there any differences in adolescent attributes within the general themes? What are they?

CHAPTER 5
RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODS

The following plan of action was created and completed in order to research the aforementioned exploratory questions. For the dissertation, the current design includes the Costa Rican Central Valley, which includes diverse socioeconomic statuses and living environments in order to assure a broad perspective of the issues. Although restricting the research to the Central Valley is a limitation of the project, the other provinces will be considered at a later date.

The Idea: From Birth to Development to Main Actors

The original idea for the current project arose from several trips to the country of study during 2006. The plan was to visit several governmental and non-governmental agencies which dealt with interpersonal violence and its repercussions. Upon visiting the National Institute of Women (INAMU), I was able to meet with one of the women working on the violence against women initiatives. She spoke of the need to gather data from adolescents about their experiences with interpersonal violence and their social and cultural belief systems. Working under the theoretical assumptions of feminist and social learning theory, INAMU believed that there was a need to resocialize youth in order to stop the intergenerational transmission of violence. In order to do this, however, they knew that data would need to be gathered which asked whether there was a need for such resocialization and a need for programs that would help prevent violence for the future generations of Costa Ricans. It was then decided that I would take on the project of gathering such data for them and analyzing it.

Believing that adolescent violence problems stemmed partially from interpersonal violence experiences and gender roles and rules, I decided to contact the Costa Rican Ministry of Education to see if we could partner together to examine the issues of adolescent violence. I began an email exchange with the Minister of Education, who was very interested in the idea as he strongly believed that data was needed for prevention programs to be implemented. At the beginning of 2007, I met with several of the Ministry's violence prevention teams in order to figure out how my project would fit into their already existing prevention strategy. Another meeting was set up during the summer of 2007 to continue the talks and obtain formal permission from the Minister to enter the educational institutions they had chosen as central to their prevention program. The Ministry hoped to obtain data from 50 high schools. The president of Costa Rica, Oscar Arias, and other state officials, in a televised presentation introducing the violence prevention program in August 2007, explained to the country that there were several steps that needed to take place to try to resolve the violence problem. In the presentation, which was later heard over radio and read about in newspapers, the officials made mention of the research in schools, my research, that was going to take place as part of the prevention plan.

The prevention plan entailed collaborations among the Ministry of Justice, the Ministry of Education, INAMU, and other such agencies which would help to create programs of their own expertise in order to tackle the problem of violence from different perspectives. For example, the Ministry of Education hoped to implement programs where students could learn to manage conflict, negotiate

and communicate through their problems with their peers, to be better citizens through educational programs and to create their own culture of peace in their own environments. Working with the Ministry of Justice, the Ministry of Education also hoped to obtain more recent data on information about violence among adolescents, which is where the current research would fit into the plan, and create prevention programs geared toward the problems faced by adolescents. These are but a few examples of the multifaceted prevention plan developed by the various entities involved in ending the violence.

The next step for the Ministry of Education was to set up an initial meeting with the directors of the 50 institutions to explain the prevention program to them and let them know of the possibility of researchers needing some of their time to conduct the necessary investigations. Realizing that the project was too large for the dissertation, I proposed to gather preliminary data from a few of the chosen institutions. It was then agreed that I would arrive, after approval from the UCF IRB, sometime in late August or early September 2007 to gather the preliminary qualitative data. Unfortunately, some Ministry officials were unprepared for my arrival and had apparent problems with working with whom they perceived as primarily a U.S. researcher who was looking to take over their projects or impinge on their territory. Hence, I found myself having to go on with the research without their company. As a result of unforeseen circumstances, one which included a homicide by a youth in one of the schools to which I was heading and torrential rains in the Guanacaste province (making it unsafe to travel), I was forced to stay within the Central Valley region of Costa Rica in order to gather the data. Although I believed

that it was essential for me to travel to the school in Limón where the homicide had occurred, the government did not think that it was safe for me to travel to a location where such violence abound.

<div align="center">Sample</div>

<div align="center">*Country General Descriptions: Demographics*</div>

In order to get an idea of the population under study, a general overview of the demographic characteristics of Costa Rica is presented below, as well as some points of pertinence to the present study. Costa Rica is a country with an area of about 19,726 square miles and with a population of about 4.3 million (CELADE, 2004), the majority of whom are between the ages of five to nineteen years of age (InfoCensus, 2004). The country is broken up into seven provinces, San José, Alajuela, Cartago, Guanacaste, Heredia, Limón, and Puntarenas, all of which have diverse populations according to their respective geographic locations (Table 1). For example, Guanacaste, a primarily rural area, has a large population of Nicaraguan immigrants while Limón, an important port region, has a large population of blacks and indigenous people. Sections of San José, Alajuela, Cartago and Heredia form what is known as the Central Valley, which is the major metropolitan area of the country. According to the Costa Rican 2000 Census (InfoCensus, 2004), the majority of the population lives in the San José province, and there is approximately a one to one ratio of males to females in all of Costa Rica.

<div align="center">[Table 1 Here]</div>

Several demographic characteristics are of interest to the current research. Both Monte de Oca and Talamanca will be used as points of reference as the

wealthiest and poorest counties, respectively, of the country, but information will also be provided for all four counties under study. First, the 2000 Census shows that, nationally, of those between age five and twenty-four, approximately 66 percent regularly attend some form of educational institution. Monte de Oca, one of the counties included in the study which is a wealthy county in the San Jose province, has the largest percent (80%) of the specified population attending some form of educational institution, while Talamanca, in the Limón province, has the least (50.6%). As can be seen in Table 2, Alajuela, Desamparados, and Los Santos fall in between the aforementioned counties, with Desamparados having the lowest percent of people attending school out of any of the currently studied counties. Nationally, the unemployment of those between the ages of fifteen to twenty-four is 7.9 percent, with Monte de Oca having one of the lowest unemployment rates (4.7), while Alajuela and Desamparados have some of the higher levels of unemployment in the country. The national percent of childhood mortality was 1.9 percent, with Talamanca having one of the highest (3.3%), followed closely by Los Santos, (2.5%), Alajuela and Desamparados (1.8 each) and with Monte de Oca having one of the lowest at 1.3 percent.

[Table 2 Here]

In 2000, the country's national illiteracy average was 4.8 percent, with Talamanca having the largest population of illiterate people (15.4%) and Monte de Oca having the lowest illiteracy average at one percent. As can be seen in Table 2, Alajuela, Desamparados and Los Santos all fall in between the two extremes, with Los Santos exceeding the national average by two percent. Nationally, in 2000 23 percent of

households were female headed homes. Monte de Oca has the highest percent of female headed homes (33%), while Los Santos has one of the lowest (15%) and Alajuela and Desamparados are nearest the national average (22% and 26% respectively). Foreign born populations reached a national average of 7.8% of the population in 2000. According to the census data, Monte de Oca has a large percent of foreign born people (13.9) while Los Santos has a comparatively low percent (3.0). Finally, the 2000 national percent of adolescent mothers ages 15 to 19 was 13.2 percent, with Talamanca having the highest percent (34.4), Monte de Oca having the lowest at 5.8 percent and Alajuela, Desamparados and Los Santos falling in between (12.5, 10.9 and 12.4 respectively). The presented data needs to be considered within the context of each county so as to recognize that some of the data may be skewed. For example, Los Santos is a very Catholic area, which might mean that people are not as likely to report single motherhood.

I chose the secondary schools in which to conduct the study in order to maximize the diversity in my sample. Except for unemployment, in which Alajuela has a higher percent than Talamanca (6.6%), Alajuela, in the province of Alajuela, falls between of Monte de Oca and Talamanca with regard to most social indicators. The differences in the demographic indicators and characteristics among the counties means that there is a greater opportunity to obtain information from diverse populations of Costa Rica. Thus, I chose to obtain my data from these three cities, Alajuela, San Jose and Los Santos.

Population under Study

In order to obtain a broad array of information from Costa Rican adolescents, I originally planned to travel across the country to diverse cities. Because this is a preliminary project and because of the aforementioned unforeseen circumstances, only two of the seven provinces, Alajuela and San José, were included.

Costa Rican adolescents who were part of the target sample were from varying socioeconomic statuses, education levels ranging from first year to fifth year (the school system is based on the European model, where eight through twelfth graders attend high school together), ethnicities, and ranged from age 14 to age 17. Because most of the Costa Rican population is Catholic, religion was not a primary demographic for this study. Instead, the study focused primarily on age, socioeconomic status, and gender as the focal characteristics of the target population.

Research Design

Because the current project gathered information on the perceptions of Costa Rican adolescents on interpersonal violence, its meaning, and acceptance through different types of intergenerational learning, especially that of gender roles and rules, it was necessary to incorporate a research design that allowed me to gather rich in-depth data. By using qualitative methods and grounded theory (later explained in the *Coding* section), it was possible to obtain information that included social structural contextual data that would, in turn, inform the quantitative data collection to be pursued at a later date. Before delving into the specific details concerning the project, it is important to clarify definitional issues that illuminate how I define

interpersonal violence so that there is a base understanding of the concept. This is important because students might define the concept differently.

Interpersonal violence Defined

It is no surprise that the definition of interpersonal violence needs to be clarified within this or any other project which claims to measure it in any manner. Various studies (DeKeseredy, 2000; Gordon, 2000; Kilpatrick, 2004; Schwartz, 2000) have pointed out that the definitional issues of interpersonal violence are plentiful. In fact, these issues have managed to create schisms within the research area (DeKeseredy, 2000; Kilpatrick, 2004). Thus, it is necessary to define what is being studied in this project.

Relationships within Scope of Definition

Feminist scholars generally believe that a broad definition for interpersonal violence should be used in order to really encompass the full scope of the extent and consequences of this type of violence within our society (DeKeserdy, 2000; Lupri, Grandin & Brinkerhoff, 1994). In accordance with this view, the current research project utilizes an encompassing and broad definition of interpersonal violence. First, it is important to note that the use of interpersonal violence does not solely refer to intimate partner violence. When reference is made to interpersonal violence in this research, it is meant to signify any relationship between the abused and the abuser which involves close, familial or almost familial relationships. Thus, family relationships, such as the relationship between parents, relationships between parent(s) and children, relationships between family adults and children, and adolescent dating relationships are all included within the scope of this definition.

The purpose of such a broad definition is to recognize that interpersonal violence affects various relationships within intimate, or close, relationships. For example, interparental violence will affect family children and adolescents, which may in turn affect dating relationships in which those adolescents may be engaged.

Violence within Scope of Definition

The issue of what types of violence are actually included in the measures used for interpersonal violence remains an area of debate within the field (DeKeseredy, 2000; Dobash & Dobash, 1990; Schwartz, 2000). Some surveys, like the NCVS, use definitions that only include violence that is considered a crime. The most widely used measure of interpersonal violence, the Conflict Tactic Scales (CTS), until recently only measured physical violence, verbal abuse and negotiation tactics (Straus, 1990); however, the revised scale, the CTS2, now includes psychological aggression and sexual coercion (Straus, 1996). As Straus himself nevertheless points out, this measurement tool is supposed to be used with other measures in order to look more closely at context, the meaning of actions and the motive for violent actions. In other words, this scale primarily looks at events that have already been defined within a narrow definition of what is considered violence (Schwartz, 2000). Those victims and survivors who experience other violence, such as economic abuse or power and control issues would be left out.

In order to provide a broader definition of violence, the current study will borrow from the public health definition provided by Heise and García-Moreno (2002), which defines interpersonal violence as

> Any behavior within an intimate relationship that causes physical, psychological or sexual harm to those in the relationship. Such behaviors

include acts of physical aggression…psychological abuse, forced intercourse and other forms of sexual coercion and various controlling behaviors such as isolating a person from family and friends, monitoring their movements and restricting access to information and assistance. (89)

As may be evident, this definition includes a broad spectrum of interpersonal violence and could be further expanded by defining what is meant by intimate relationship, psychological abuse, forced intercourse, sexual coercion, and controlling behaviors. Moreover, issues of neglect and homicide are also untouched by this definition. Thus, to the above definition will be added the following: Any behavior within an intimate/family relationship, be it interparental, between a child/adolescent and a family member (related by blood or marriage or living in dwelling as if family), or between child/adolescents in dating relationships, that causes physical harm, psychological/mental anguish/harm, and sexual harm. Such behaviors include acts of physical aggression or neglect, psychological abuse or anguish (which may be caused by verbal abuse, witnessing abuse, neglect, threats and/or destruction of cherished objects or living animals, threats of or actual economic destitution, and use of male privilege) forced or coerced sexual abuse (including anal, vaginal, and/or oral unwanted touching or intercourse and/or verbal victimization and/or transmission of sexually transmitted illnesses/diseases) and various forms of controlling and domineering behaviors (such as stalking, isolation of family and friends, unilateral reproduction decisions, and restricting access to information and assistance from abuse). As may be evident, further definitional issues exist within this expansive version of the Heise and García-Moreno (2002) version, but it is, comparatively, also more clear and thorough. In the end, this

definition may aid at pinpointing more behaviorally specific actions that may be relevant to victims of interpersonal violence.

Time frame within Scope of Definition

As Kilpatrick (2004) points out, issues of time frame have also plagued the definitions of interpersonal violence. It is recognized that obtaining data regarding the most recent cases of violence is of great importance in order to establish the prevalence of it within specified timeframes and to establish accurate accounts of incidents (Cantor & Lynch, 2000). However, it is also important to acknowledge that many types of interpersonal violence do not just occur once or within time frames. For example, wife rape, according to Bergen (1998), rarely occurs less than once in an intimate relationship. Moreover, the effects of intimate abuse, particularly violence against women, have been known to have prolonged consequences, and this aspect should be taken into consideration when determining time frames for research projects (Kilpatrick & Acierno, 2003; Tjaden & Thoennes, 2000). Finally, since these respondents are adolescents, it also makes more sense to look at their entire lifespan of experiences because they ultimately define how they have developed their perceptions of gender and interpersonal violence.

Combining the above issues, it the final definition of interpersonal violence that will be used in the current study is as follows:

> Any behavior within current or past intimate relationships that occurred at any point in a person's lifetime that causes physical, psychological or sexual harm to one or both people in the relationship. Such behaviors include acts of physical aggression…psychological, emotional and verbal abuse, forced intercourse and other forms of sexual coercion and various controlling behaviors such as isolating a person from family and friends, monitoring their movements and restricting access to information and assistance.

The above definition will be used for comparative purposes in the research since the youths participating in the project may have different definitions of interpersonal violence.

Goals and Objectives

Given the aforementioned exploratory questions, the goals of the current research are as follows:

- Provide insight into the perspectives of adolescents in Costa Rica concerning interpersonal violence, something not yet taken into consideration.

- Provide insight into any existing relationships between Latina/o socialization and gender roles and rules.

- Provide information to the MEP and INAMU regarding the general belief systems of Costa Rican adolescents regarding interpersonal violence, gender, and society's role in perpetuating it.

- Make recommendations to the MEP and INAMU regarding ways that interpersonal violence and its intergenerational transmission can be eradicated through the re-education and socialization of adolescents.

Under the above mentioned goals, the present study proposes the following objectives:

- To increase the level of understanding regarding Costa Rican adolescent's perspectives on interpersonal violence and gender roles and rules. This objective requires carrying out qualitative research with

adolescents in different regions of the country regarding the

aforementioned issues of interpersonal violence and dating violence.

- To increase the amount of information available to the MEP, INAMU and

  the general public regarding present perceptions of interpersonal violence,

  gender roles, and the role of society in eradicating interpersonal violence

  from adolescent's points of views.

- To establish a foundation for the implementation of intervention and

  prevention interpersonal violence programs with qualitative data from

  Costa Rican adolescents regarding important social structural

  establishments that perpetuate and create interpersonal violence. This will

  require that the obtained data be transformed into reportable information

  that could guide educational institutions and child and adolescent centers

  in implementing programs that will guide the development of healthy

  family relationships and positive perspectives on gender. These programs

  may help to decrease, and eventually eradicate, interpersonal violence.

Methodology

The original idea for the dissertation involved both a qualitative and

quantitative component. The first part of the research originally entailed

conducting a qualitative study through focus groups that asked students about

their perceptions of interpersonal violence and gender roles and rules. This first

part was meant to serve as a probe to find out how the students defined violence

and gender in order to make sure that the quantitative portion would be

understood by the youths at a later time. The idea was that little could be done if

the students and I were speaking about different things when referring to violence and gender. For example, how could I ask about violence if what I considered violence was not seen as such by students? The qualitative component was formed on the theoretical foundations of multicultural feminism, which would allow a view of the larger cultural and social structures that affected youths' perceptions of violence, the interaction rituals that people in certain situations use to rationalize and justify behaviors, and social learning theory, which guided the possible intergenerational transmission of violence as students may or may not point to society as the larger cause of their beliefs in violence and gender roles and rules.

The second phase of the project was a quantitative survey that used several measures for violence, gender and deviant behaviors that were meant to find out about the types of victimization and perpetration of violence and consequences of such behaviors in the lives of students. This portion of the project was intended to identify the frequency with which these students were experiencing or witnessing interpersonal violence and possible behaviors that might stem from such experiences. This self-administered, close-ended survey also had its foundations in multicultural feminism, but it was also based on observing the interactions in the micro-system that students observed that could teach them to justify, excuse or accept violence as a result of their need to keep their image, or face, intact within society. These aspects of the quantitative portion were all centered and brought together by the socialization through social learning that may take place in any or all of the spheres of society.

Unfortunately, after eight weeks of discussions with the UCF IRB office over stipulations and changes that they deemed necessary in order to conduct the project, it was decided that only the qualitative phase of the project would be included in the dissertation. Cultural barriers on the part of the IRB ultimately prevented the implementation of the proposed quantitative portion of the project, which was left as the second phase of a future collaborative project with Costa Rican agencies. The IRB did approve, after a couple of review board meetings and various adjustments to the initial project, the qualitative part of the research. These adjustments entailed tweaking the measurement tool so as not to ask about any personal information from students, except for demographic information, and posting flyers to let students know about the research. Because Costa Rica does not have a formal review board for research that uses human subjects outside their own universities and certain government agencies, the United States standards that were dictated by the University of Central Florida Institutional Review Board were utilized in the present study.

The methodological approach to the research changed from the inception of the project to its implementation. The original research plan was to have three trained research assistants, two males and a female, who would help conduct separate same-sex focus groups which would be digitally recorded during after-school sessions in different regions of Costa Rica. As a result of time restrictions that came about as a result of the continuous back and forth with the IRB, the groups had to be conducted during school hours and with whole, intermixed classrooms. The main time restrictions entailed the schools' need to prepare

students for upcoming exams, which could have been avoided had it not been for the aforementioned setbacks, and students' needs to leave school directly to work or catch buses, which could not be avoided by any means. This meant that the study flyers were not needed as whole classrooms were used instead of after-school groups. Since same-sex groups were out of the question, only one research assistant was hired. The assistant, María, was hired for her past experience as a teacher in Costa Rica and for her knowledge of the Costa Rican educational system. She was trained and procedures were established for conducting the group discussions. Later, as the project changed, María was further trained to manage the groups by herself should she and I need to separate during sessions.

As a result of the changes to the original plan, instead of same-sex focus groups, María and I conducted discussion sessions in the classrooms, which were sometimes as large as 20 to 30 students. During the sessions, questions were posed to students, and they were able to write down answers to questions on documents provided to them with the exact questions that were being asked or discuss them out loud. Discussions among the students and the researchers arose which created interesting observation opportunities about reactions to questions; however, because of logistics, which included dealing with the inability to effectively record students because of the large classroom sizes and the school directors' restrictions on recording, and time, the discussions were not digitally recorded. Moreover, because María and I had to move quickly between classrooms, the observations and discussions were sometimes written down

either directly after the sessions or after the end of a particular day's research, which made it difficult to remember everything that had transpired during the day and in particular classes or circumstances.

Classrooms were chosen from the different schools and only the grade level was taken into consideration in order to make sure that different grade levels would be represented throughout the data gathering process. María and I walked around the schools with a guide who pointed to teachers who were willing to partake in the research and proceeded to conduct the research in the pre-approved classrooms. Because the teachers were told before our arrival that María and I would be coming, they had the opportunity to decline being involved in the project before our arrival. However, out of respect for the instructors, María and I first asked the instructors if they would mind taking some time off from their original study plans in order to conduct the research. They were told that they could decline, but none of the teachers declined. It is important to recognize that some teachers might have felt either obligated to partake in the research because I was collaborating with the Ministry of Education or refused to participate because I was unknown to them, collaborating with the Ministry of Education or seen as a U.S. researcher. Samples were taken from schools in the areas of Monte de Oca, Alajuela, Desamparados, and Los Santos, and private and public schools were included as part of the sample.

As previously mentioned, in August 2007, the country was informed about the violence prevention measures, which included the present research, by the President of Costa Rica and other officials, and the directors of the high schools

were informed by the Ministry of Education that a researcher was going to the areas to conduct research regarding violence. Permission to conduct the research in specific classrooms was obtained from both the school and the teacher of the specific class. In Costa Rica, the school system holds full jurisdiction over students while they are at school. Thus, the school directors and teachers did not think it necessary to send out additional information to the parents of the students. In addition to the jurisdiction issue, the various government officials had already informed the public of the possibility of their schools being involved in prevention strategies, one of which included the present research. Students were informed of their rights as research participants and were given the opportunity to decline participation. If they declined participation, the teachers decided to ask the nonparticipating students to sit in the classroom and work on homework assignments. Except for a few students who thought they were too young or too old to participate (they were either below 14 years of age or above 17), all students who were asked to participate did take part in the project. Some students over 17 years of age insisted and were allowed to join the project, however.

A rich sample was obtained from the different locations as the sample came from an after-school program (in Alajuela), a night school (Los Antillos), and day schools in rural (Los Santos) and wealthy urban (Monte de Oca) locations. Adolescents who chose to take part in the project received a pen in exchange for their participation. The pens were found to be the most equitable

compensation because of the age group and difference in socio-economic

statuses found in the four locations of the study.

<p align="center">*Qualitative Methodology: Discussion Groups*</p>

The qualitative portion of the project incorporated the use of discussion

groups with adolescents in several secondary schools in the provinces of Alajuela

and San José. These research groups were based on the model provided by Sears,

Byers, Whelan, and Saint-Pierre (2006). The groups were heterogeneous with

regard to gender as it was the only option available to us. Thus, in order to provide

the safest and most comfortable environment possible given the circumstances, the

adolescents were encouraged to write down their responses to the questions or

openly discuss and then write their responses. The tactic of handing students written

discussion topics was used because the students were not used to research in the

classroom and having the ability to see what would be covered was thought to

enhance the possibility of open and honest responses. The students who chose to

participate were given the discussion topics on paper with plenty of space to write

answers in case they preferred to write something down if they did not want to

contribute to the open discussion. Thus, the written documents were intended to be

used as more of an aid in the data gathering process than the main tool for obtaining

data. Overall, however, students preferred to write down their answers than discuss

the topics, which made it possible to use the written discussion topics more as open-

ended surveys rather than aids.

The open-ended discussion questions had to be modified after the first

session. After noticing that students were visibly and openly showing dissatisfaction

<p align="center">*91*</p>

with the length of the document and the number of questions and, thus, not wanting to complete it, I decided to modify the paper so as to make the project seem shorter. The manner in which this was done was to delete the open space that had been left for long answers and to rearrange the questions so as to keep them in one instead of two or three lines. After the modifications, the discussion question document length was cut in half, from fourteen pages to seven pages. Even though students in the rest of the sessions showed distaste for the length of the shorter version, they were able to finish it, and respondent fatigue did not presumably play a factor in their ability to respond to questions.

Obvious differences between the students who had the fourteen pages and those with seven pages were noticeable upon review of the discussion questions. Students with the seven page versions answered most if not all of the pages and all topics were covered, while the students with the longer discussion question document answered at least half of the pages and not all of the topics were discussed.

There were two purposes for the use of the discussion groups. The first was to allow the students to freely express their views to questions regarding interpersonal violence, gender roles and rules, their perceived beliefs about consequences of interpersonal violence, including dating violence, and the acceptability of violence between genders. No questions regarding personal experiences were asked. The second purpose of the discussion groups was to obtain information about accurate language usage for this country's youth and their understanding of the terminology used within the study. In other words, the

discussion groups were meant to obtain qualitative data concerning the topic and to make sure the self-administered survey, to be administered at a later date and not as part of the dissertation, would be understood by a majority of the youth. After the open-ended discussion questions were entered into Nvivo, the qualitative program being used for analysis, the hard copies were shredded and destroyed. The data in Nvivo does not contain any identifying information as each document from individual students was given a number.

The adolescents were asked to respond to questions in the following categories (see Appendix C for a Spanish and English version of the discussion questions):

- Personal definition of interpersonal violence, including interparental violence, child abuse (including physical, sexual and verbal), and dating violence

- Definition of gender roles and rules, such as gender expectations in school, in the home and in their social circles

- Importance of gender roles, how well they identify with what they view as their social gender roles and how well they typify those identities

- Perceptions of acceptance of interpersonal violence within society

- Role of interpersonal violence within society

- Opinions about society/the government intervening in interpersonal violence

- Knowledge of Costa Rican assistance institutions for interpersonal violence

These categories are meant to examine the social structural forces that act on an adolescent's perceptions of interpersonal violence and the role of gender on the perpetuation of the violence against women. Although the project is based on the

three aforementioned theories, grounded theory was implemented in the coding of

the data obtained from the above mentioned discussion areas. In addition to the

above areas, the adolescents were asked their age, date of birth, gender, grade

level and educational institution.

<center>*Coding*</center>

As previously mentioned, there were a total of eight classrooms involved

in the project, totaling 154 students. Although all of the students' discussion

question answers were included in the final project, not all of the discussion

questions were included in the final analysis. The questions pertaining to gender

roles in the school and among friends were not considered as the students did

not appear to understand what was meant (their answers made no sense in the

context of the question). In addition, the question asking about whether the

students believed there was a direct or indirect relationship between gender and

interpersonal violence was also thrown out as the students' responses were,

again, unrelated to the question.

Nvivo was used as the software for analysis of the qualitative data, and

SPSS was used for frequency information of the students' attributes. The

responses to the discussion questions were imported into NVivo as cases, which

meant that every student became a case. They were typed in their original

language and format, meaning that any written expressions of anger or

enthusiasm or exclamation were recorded as such. For each of the cases, the

attributes, or demographic characteristics for each individual, were created in

SPSS and then merged with the Nvivo cases, so that each case now had specific

<center>*94*</center>

demographic information about the person who wrote the answers. The demographic information obtained from each student included sex, age, grade year, school, and whether the school is in a rural, inner city or city area. Because age and school year were so closely related, only school year was used in the analysis. As previously mentioned, Table 3 shows the demographic information for each school.

When preparing the Word documents that were imported into NVivo, each of the questions on the discussion question document was made into a heading so that Nvivo could create nodes out of the headings, thus creating a node for every question. Nodes are "storage areas in Nvivo for references to coded text" (Bazeley, 2007: 15). These areas contain any or all information regarding specific concepts, categories or themes that the researcher chooses to create, and they have the ability to branch out into further sub-categories (or sub-nodes) or concepts. In this case, each of the discussion questions became tree nodes, which are nodes that are hierarchal in nature and which represented each question. NVivo's automated coding function was used in order to ensure that there were the correct numbers of nodes for each participant. Automated coding involved asking the software to go through each case document and create tree nodes out of every heading within the documents. This step required that I previously had input into the documents and appropriately created the same headings for every single document. This particular project started with 47 different nodes for the 47 questions within the discussion question document.

For each category or theme that emerged within the original tree nodes, or discussion questions, new sub-nodes were created which held all of the quotes and references to the original documents that mentioned the specific topic. For example, under the question about how the youths define being a man, a node was created for "Head of Household" and all quotes that relate to the man being the head of the household were placed in this node. The sub-nodes within each question were only created if the particular comments or ideas from the youths consistently emerged or if interesting, unexpected or unique ideas and comments were made by students. A total of 421 nodes, including the 47 tree nodes, were created once all of the coding was done (Table 4). It should be noted that, with a few exceptions, the number of responses per node does not denote an accurate count of how many students answered in a specific manner in comparison to other answers. There were many instances in which the answers of one student fit several nodes. Thus, counts could not be done on all questions, except on those otherwise noted.

Creating Nodes

In order to create codes from the answers given by students, several methods were used that were based both on grounded theory, which allowed me to let themes and topics emerge from the research during coding, and on the previously mentioned theories, which allowed me to start out with expected themes. According to Strauss and Corbin (1998: 12), grounded theory is "theory that was derived from data, systematically gathered and analyzed through the research process. In this method, data collection, analysis, and eventual theory

stand in close relationship to one another." In other words, the researchers let the data lead them to a particular theory. In this type of analysis, no particular theory drives the analysis of the data. This type of analysis allows the researcher the opportunity to explore the data with no theoretical constraints. Although grounded theory was primarily used throughout the coding process, the researcher hypothesized that the youths would somehow refer to gender roles because the literature suggests the strong existence of gender roles in this region of the world. Thus, one of the previously mentioned theoretical frameworks, that of feminism, was used to create two *a priori* codes, machismo and marianismo, which were expected but not forced to emerge from the discussions.

Patton (1990) also points out that creativity on the part of the researcher is integral to the analysis of data using grounded theory. This perspective is particularly important as I predominantly used grounded theory for the coding process because I allowed the themes and categories to emerge from the data, but I also used *a priori* codes from multicultural feminist theory in order to create themes I expected to arise from the data. In other words, I already had an idea of what themes could arise from the data, but I allowed the data to speak for itself with regard to whether the expected themes arose or not and how the themes were defined by the students and not by previous literature. The *a priori* codes were used only as starting points for the data, but, as Meijer, Verloop, and Beijaard (2002) point out is necessary for this type of analysis, these codes were only legitimate if they fit the data. Examples of the tree nodes and sub-nodes can

be found in Table 4, along with examples of some of the comments made by youths in each node.

In addition to *a priori* coding, I also used open coding, defined by Strauss (1990) as unrestricted coding of data that is meticulously obtained from documents. Thus, each question was closely studied individually, looking at every answer written by each of the 154 students, and predominating categories and concepts were pulled from the data as I read through the answers. This type of coding led to new codes and to the creation of themes that emerged straight from the data. From opening coding, coding frames (Berg, 2007), or axial codes (Strauss, 1990), were created that organized and grouped certain concepts into subcategories. For example, questions asking for "yes" or "no" answers were subcategorized so that the reasons for saying yes or no were separated into further sub-nodes that would depict different answers for each category.

In addition, both latent and manifest contents, as defined by Berg (2007: 308), were used in order to code not just the "physically present and countable" content (i.e. manifest) but also the more symbolic and interpretive meanings (i.e. latent) behind the students' answers. An example of this type of coding can be seen in the youths' definition of machismo, a category that manifested itself consistently within the youths' answers, and their implied beliefs of the concept being negative (e.g. dominating, abusive) and positive (e.g. responsible). This mixed analysis was utilized in order to obtain a more in-depth look at the meanings behind responses.

During the process of coding, I wrote memos for concepts or themes whose definition may not have been clear in order to later return and microanalyze the term(s). The process of microanalysis requires that the full context of the coded material be taken into consideration so that the correct meaning of the concepts could be reached (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). In order to make sure that the full range of possible meanings were explored, I compared the different manners in which themes and concepts continued to arise throughout the cases. In this manner, I attempted to make sure that the bias that I had from knowledge obtained through literature about specific concepts before the coding began would not taint what the respondents were trying to say. In other words, I did my best to capture the full dimension of the concepts as defined and used by the respondents by taking into consideration the full context of the case and usage of the words. Once again, the concept of machismo can be used as an example of this process. As previously mentioned, the term machismo can be either a positive or negative term. It can stand for a protective, brave man who understands his responsibility to his family, or it can mean an overbearing, domineering and abusive man who believes he rules over his family. The meaning of the word for specific cases can and should only come from the respondent and not from some *a priori* code or preconceived notion obtained from literature. It is for this reason that I chose to use grounded theory which allows the researcher to explore the content of the documents with as little bias as is possible in this type of research. It should also be mentioned that, because of a lack of resources, I was the only person who coded the material

found in the current project. Future research using this data will include the validation of the present codes by a second neutral researcher.

The decision to include certain comments from the youths under certain nodes was done by deciding how similar or dissimilar the comments were to the nodes created. If a comment appeared often enough, it became a node. If not, no node was created. An example of the decision process follows. A tree node was created from the question asking how the students define a woman. Students answered the question in different manners, but there were a number of commonalities between comments they made. From these commonalities, nodes were created that would encompass the themes brought up by the students. For example, in response to the question about defining a woman, Student 61 said "Darme a respetar cumplir con mis obligaciones, defender mis derechos, cumplir todo cuanto me proponga. [Earn respect, meet my obligations, defend my rights, complete everything that I had planned.]" From this comment, the issue of earning respect as a female was recognized and a node was created for earning respect and being respected. Student 53, however, made a comment which fit into two different nodes. He said "Como una persona con mucha resistencia ,pasiva, ayudante de los hijos, luchadora por lo que quiere. [Like a person with a lot of resistance, passive, helper of children, fighter for what she wants.]" This comment fit into seeing a woman both as a fighter, survivor (one node) and as passive and sensitive (second node).

Many of the comments made by students could be broken up into various nodes, while others were only meant for one. Some students' comments did not

fit any node but were interesting enough to have a node created. For example, a node was created for only two responses from two students that referred to a woman as having fewer rights than men. Student 121 and Student 46 were the only students who directly mentioned females as having fewer rights. Because the comments are important to the current research, I believed it important to create a node for this particular set in order to recognize that at least some students defined a woman as being have fewer rights. On the other hand, nodes were created for interesting comments that were not related to the current topic directly. A node made up of only five individuals was created for comments they made about females being gifts from God. These comments were relevant as very specific visualizations of the woman which could, after further research, be related to marianismo. These are but a few examples of the manner in which the nodes were created and the comments placed within each.

CHAPTER 6
RESULTS

The following results section is divided into researcher observations and student responses and attributes. The first section outlines observations that María and I gathered after the sessions. This section looks at the schools individually and points out important reactions, responses and observations that the researches encountered. The final part of this first section looks at the possibility of researcher effects that might have influenced the results. The second results section delves into the students' responses and the actual findings from the responses. It is broken down into subsections of interpersonal violence, gender roles and rules and general findings. The responses are further divided into components dealing with specific themes within the above-mentioned sections.

Section 1 Results: Researcher Observations and Experiences

As a result of having to compromise the focus groups for discussion groups that could not be recorded in any manner because the directors did not think it prudent, María and I were forced to diligently observe the classroom interactions and leave the writing or recording of the interactions until after the sessions. The recording of the observations and experiences of the different classrooms became quite difficult at times as the individual schools had more than one classroom which was chosen to participate in the project. María and I were, thus, forced to move independently of one another from classroom to classroom without a break to write down observations. Also, when other teachers

realized the research was going on, they adamantly asked to have their students take part. Unwilling to refuse entrance into the project, we took on other classes that had not previously been scheduled. Two results of such unexpected requests were that, one, María and I had no time to write observations, and, two, we ran out of printed discussion questions to hand out to students. At one point, a teacher decided that, instead of not having her class join the project, only half of one classroom would get discussion questions, while the other half was allowed to leave or work on homework. A total of 154 student from eight classrooms were included in the sample.

Because María and I were forced to work independently of one another, the observations of the different classrooms were different quite possibly as a result of the differences in age between María and me (late fifties and late twenties respectively). Even though I continued to visit the classrooms where María was working to make sure she did not need any help, there was no time for me to observe her classroom interactions. The all male after-school group and the night school group were the only two groups in which both María and I were present at the same time. These groups will be discussed first.

Liceo Ricardo Fernandez Guardia

This was the first group to take part in the project. The Liceo Guardia (as the students called it) is in a very poor and crime-ridden area of San Jose. The gates are always chained and locked during the night-school sessions, and the students are asked to step into the school area as soon as they arrive. In fact, upon finishing the session, María and I were told not to stand outside by

themselves as there had been a murder one block away and the perpetrator had not been caught. Los Antillos, the neighborhood in which the school is situated, is one of the most dangerous and destitute locations in the San Jose area. The students who attend the night school were primarily youths who had to work during the day in order to support their families monetarily. They were the only in-school group whose students were not required to wear uniforms. Demographic details are found in Table 3.

María and I were presented to the class as U.S. researchers who were conducting a study on violence in schools. In order to avoid any possible stigmas from the students and the instructor, I felt it necessary to mention that was a native-born Costa Rican with dual citizenship who was working to help Costa Rican youths fight violence and inequality. After presenting the project to the students and handing out the pens and discussion questions, María and I made sure that the students understood the discussion questions and then attempted to stimulate discussion by asking them how they perceived the questions. As previously mentioned, there were open expressions of dissatisfaction and dismay at the length of the discussion questions. After about half an hour, the students began to become restless and began to turn in the unfinished discussion questions and to freely walk out of the classroom. The instructor did not stop them.

This particular setting was very different from the other in-school locations as not all students were in session at the same time. Thus, there would be loud talking and laughing outside the classroom, and other students would stand right

outside our door and try to talk to both the students working on the discussion

questions and the instructor. The distractions during this session were endless.

Some students would walk out and then walk back in. There was a young man

who walked out and never returned. This group was the most talkative of all of

the groups. They were very willing to form groups with each other and discuss

the questions. However, after overhearing some of the conversations among the

students, it appeared to both María and me that some of the discussions were

more aimed at complaining about the length and the need to do the discussion

questions than about the questions themselves.

Interestingly, the students were more willing to ask María questions

pertaining to discussion questions than me. María mentioned, after the session

had ended, that the youths appeared quite mature for their age, which she

attributed to the consequence of having to work at such an early age in their

lives. She was also told by the students, upon turning in their discussion

questions to her that they hoped that their responses would help other youths.

They told her that they thought that the work we were doing was vitally important,

not just for the help it might offer others, but for the opportunity it gave them to

give their opinions and participate in the process. A couple of students said that

they believed that the father was the primary perpetrator of violence, noting that

the mother sometimes engaged in violence as well. They gave excuses for

violence by mentioning the lack of professional development of the mothers and

the use of alcohol and liquor by the fathers as reasons for violence; they felt that

the violence was not used to purposefully hurt them but was a consequence of

"problemas ajenos [outside problems]." Finally, some of the female students asked María if the research was meant to help women in particular because they thought that women needed to be more valued in society and hoped it would happen in the future. No such comments were made to me.

After School Program

The after school program was the only single-sex group that participated in the project. They were adolescent boys who were recovering drug addicts and who had joined a competitive after-school soccer league. Their demographics can be found in Table 3. These students were ages 15 to 17 and were in grades first through fourth. They were from both private religious and public schools in the Alajuela area.

[Table 3 Here]

The manner in which the discussion group took place was very different from any other location. Because we were able to obtain permission from the coordinator of the group to conduct the groups after their practice, the youths sat on the grass of their practice field in the middle of a public park to complete the discussion questions. These youths were the only ones to be offered soda during the time that they completed the discussion questions because María and I assumed that the youths would be thirsty after practice. They were given folders on which they could write so as to make it easier for them to complete the discussion questions on the grass. The coordinator of the group introduced the investigators as U.S. researchers conducting a project on violence. Again, I

explained my citizenship status and the project to the youths[1]. All of them agreed

to partake in the project. It is important to mention that the male coordinator of

the group was available the whole time during the session, which lasted about an

hour.

Since the youths had just ended practice, some of their parents were

sitting around waiting for them. Upon asking the coordinator if we should explain

the project to the parents, the coordinator told us that while the youths were in his

practice, they were under his jurisdiction. This sentiment was repeated with the

directors and teachers of the visited educational institutions. However, María and

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1 The introduction of the researchers as U.S. researchers occurred in all
locations. Thus, the researchers had to reintroduce themselves as Costa Rican
citizens during all of the sessions.

I agreed to present ourselves and the project to the parents and offer them a soda. The parents were interested in the project and accepted the soda, but they did not ask anything specific about the discussion questions.

At times during the discussion sessions, the youths did not say much and chose to write down their answers to the discussion questions rather than discuss then out loud. They appeared intensely concentrated and only said anything to María and me if they had questions or did not understand certain terms, such as 'gender,' 'gender roles' and 'interpersonal violence.' Once these terms were defined out loud to all of them, they did not stir much afterward. Even though the students were told that they could talk with one another and discuss topics with either myself or María, they did not do so. They seemed shy around us, and were more willing to ask questions of their familiar male coordinator than the two female researchers. Upon returning the discussion questions to the us, the youths politely expressed their interest in the topic and the importance of the research for all youths. The coordinator also expressed great interest and commended María and me for doing such work as he knew of several of the boys who had family abuse problems. He mentioned that he had been asked by at least two mothers to personally speak with the abusive fathers about hurting the youths.

Liceo Napoleon Quesada

Liceo Napoleon Quesada is the largest high school in Costa Rica. It is located in Monte de Oca, the wealthiest part of San Jose. Several classroom groups engaged in the project in this school, including one group in which a

teacher asked to complete the discussion questions herself and another teacher asked to have her class included. It was at this location that half of the unexpected, volunteered class was not able to complete the discussion questions as María and I did not have enough copies with us.

The students at this location were uniformed youths who were more organized than the night school group. The teachers had full control of the classrooms, and the students willingly listened to them. Three classes participated in the project: A shop class, a home economics class, and a chemistry class. All classes had both males and females in them and, as can be seen in Table 3, only second and third year students were involved. All students were once again told that they were free to write down their answers if they did not feel comfortable speaking out loud, but, again, the youths chose to really make any comments to María.

The comments made to María in her allotted classroom were primarily made by females. This group of girls also showed great interest in the questions that had to do with the problem of interpersonal violence. They commented that many of the problems with the mistreatment of women had to do with the fact that many of the women were in situations that were presumably out of their hands, as they were not able to study in their youth and, thus, were dependent on men who hurt them and their children. They also added that this was the most important reason for them to study and not have to depend on anyone.

Liceo de San Pablo

Located in the mountainous, farming regions of the outer Central Valley, Liceo de San Pablo is a rural school found in the middle of a small town, one of many small towns that spot the mountains. This particular area is known for its religiosity, being a strong Catholic community. There was apprehension about how students' responses would be affected by such an environment, but the student concerns were very similar to those of other students. Only two students expressed concern to María over whether the Catholic Church would approve of them discussing such questions because of the subject matter. To one of the students, María replied that she, the student, should decide if she thought the Church would approve. The students replied that she would ask her mom and her priest later, but she did decide to fully complete the project. The other student, a young boy, asked if María thought that the Church would allow the Ministry to get involved with such issues in school. María mentioned to the boy that the Ministry would do what it saw fit in such circumstances.

As Table 3 shows, the discussion groups within this school were more diversified than the other schools. In this school, three different classes were surveyed: One music class, a fifth year history class, and a fourth year history class. In these sessions, two classes were done María and I working independently from each other, and the last class was done with both of us present. In addition, the school also required students to wear uniforms.

Students were seen leaving the school in order to go work in the coffee fields or help at home. A guard at the open gate appeared to automatically know

if a student could leave the grounds on the basis of work. In fact, during one class session, a student, after working on the discussion questions for 45 minutes, apologized to me for having to leave to go to work and left the classroom. Interestingly, this student had what looked like scratch marks and lacerations on her arms; the other students asked her about how and where she got the marks, stating that the discussion questions were particularly pertinent to her. All she did was curse at them and walk out.

The fifth year history class was left to my care. The professor left the classroom for over an hour in order to allow me to have full control. These older students were very receptive to the discussion questions and were openly talking about the questions among themselves. They were willing to ask questions of me and even engage her in discussions about the meaning of gender and whether women could define being a man and vice verse. They were more knowledgeable about the term "gender" and "gender role" than previous groups, but they expressed confusion over the questions pertaining to having gender roles in school and among friends. In addition, they expressed disbelief at some of the definitions that I was asking about regarding pushing, slapping, kicking and hitting. Some could not understand how someone could punch or beat up another person.

The issue of kicking brought up an interesting discussion about the existence of a couple actually kicking each other. One young woman said that "Nunca he oido de patear a la pareja. ¿Cuando diablos pasa eso? [I've never heard of kicking a partner. When in the world would that happen?]" Upon her

making the comment, others resonated in agreement with her. Here, I felt it necessary to intervene by telling them that such situations do occur. I explained to them that my employment prior to returning to school had been that of a victim advocate and that I often heard woman talking of partners kicking them, primarily if they were pregnant and even to the point of having a miscarriage. The students looked stunned and disgusted.

Another discussion pertaining to defining women and men arose among the fifth year students. Some males, in what seemed like a joking manner, began to make remarks about how women should stay at home and raise kids and take care of their men. Upon these remarks, the women around him cursed him and yelled at him, saying that those days were over. They commented in front me that women were gaining more rights and that he was a machista for making such comments. One female in particular looked vexed at the male and continued to shoot angry looks at him throughout the rest of the session. Although the comment by the male appeared to be made in jest, the females of the room showed little tolerance for his view.

María was left in charge of the music class, whose participants were third year students. Although these students recognized the gender inequalities around them and mentioned how they wanted gender equality, their verbalized views of women were a little different than those of the city schools. These students made mention to María that they did not consider the female weaker than the male. On the contrary, they thought of her as strong and brave. This particular viewpoint may arise from the fact that many of the mothers in this

region are single mothers who may find it necessary to be strong and brave in light of the adversity that being a single mother in a small, rural community might bring.

Another detail that caught María's attention was listening to some of the students express their great desire to "break" with the expected gender roles which, according to them, was very normal in those areas. They referred to it as the expectation of "submission." They want to be themselves, to think for themselves and not be subjected to this treatment by most men, including male relatives. The female students stated that this type of research should be done in more areas, and they hoped that such research would help make women more valued, respected and appreciated by the opposite sex. Finally, the students complained that the government did not do its job in letting people know about help that is provided to victims of abuse.

Researcher Effects

As previously mentioned, there were several issues regarding the researchers and the students that could be referred to as interviewer, or in this case, researcher effects. Issues of nationality, age and SES (as seen by the researcher clothing) arose as important factors toward impeding or creating a relationship between the researchers and the students. The ethnicity, age, gender, socioeconomic status, and even accent of either researcher can mold the data collection process (Krysan & Couper, 2003). In addition, researcher effects may be dependent on the questions asked, the target population, cultural

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contexts and attitudes toward the topic (Wilson *et al.,* 2002; Cleary, Mechanic & Weiss, 1981). All of these issues arose during the data collection process.

Throughout the field research, there were differences in how students responded and acted in front of María and me depending on how we were dressed, their nationality and their age. As previously mentioned, María seemed to be able to acquire the trust and respect of the students with whom she dealt, while I was barely asked questions or made comments to. This distinction became apparent during the first session and continued regardless of whether María and I worked together in the same classroom or independently of each other.

In addition to the issue of age, the teachers at the first institution pointed out to María and me that we should dress less formally in order not to intimidate the students. The issue of standing out among poor and rural students and community members created class barriers that could be unsurpassable, especially considering the importance of class in Costa Rica. Thus, for the discussion groups with the after-school group and the rural groups, María and I wore jeans and sneakers, thus allowing us to fit in and not become detached or alienated in the eyes of the students and participating teachers.

Finally, it was previously mentioned that I, after being introduced as a U.S. researcher and student, continued to make it known to the students that I was also a native Costa Rican with dual citizenship. The reason behind the interjections has to do with María's and my knowledge, especially that of María who holds a degree from the University of Costa Rica in history, of the historical

clashes between the two nations. Costa Ricans, as a result of several attempts by past U.S. governments to disregard the autonomy of the country, hold the U.S. and its people with certain disrepute. Knowing this we made sure to point out our nationality to all participants, as well as pointing out that the research was for the good of Costa Rica and that the participants were not going to be used and then left behind.

The issues of researcher effects may have had a toll on the discussions held together and separately by both researchers. Comments made by students were primarily aimed at María when both of us were present. When María and I were working independently, our notes, upon comparison, showed that María was spoken to and asked more questions. One important issue to mention aside from age, SES and nationality is gender. Most of the comments were made by young women toward the older female. The males rarely spoke or commented on issues, except to ask questions about terms they did not understand. Not only would it be helpful to the males to be able to open up to adult males about their concerns, as the females did, but it would be interesting to conduct this research with male researchers to find out if the males would be more willing to talk about the issues.

Section 2 Results: Student Responses and Attributes

The results provide insights into the previously unheard and unseen experiences of Costa Rican adolescent youths' perspectives on interpersonal violence and gender. This look into a largely unresearched population provided vital information for government organizations regarding the present socialization

problems that the students themselves perceive as the factors that could and, in their eyes, do perpetuate interpersonal violence. As will be see in the following section, the students' insights into the traditional gender roles and rules provide some answers as to why they believe interpersonal violence continues in their society.

It should be mentioned that the analysis of the answers to the discussion questions required that I take into consideration not only what was actually written by the students but also what was implied and insinuated. In various parts of the analysis, I had to read between the lines in order to interpret what the students were saying. For example, in Latino populations, it is common to assume and speak with the assumption that something a macho does is not done or should not be done by a woman. Lafayette De Mente (1996) and McKee(1999) both researched this aspect of Latino culture and showed that society expected the behaviors of men to exclude behaviors of women and vice-verse. In the current sample, students expressed the same view. For example, Student 60 (15, female), defined a man as "El hombre para mi es lo contrario a la mujer... [The man for me is what is contrary to women…]" Other students, however, are not so direct. Some students defined a man through what a woman does not have to do or be, without saying that a woman does not have to do it or worry about it. A woman, for example, does not have to worry about providing for her family as that is not her role in society; however, a man needs to be able to take care of his family and see that it thrives in order to truly be considered a man. Student 135 (16, male) is a good example of such an implied answer. In

answering what it means to be a man, this male said "Significa ser alguien que puede y tiene la necesidad de trabajar para poder lograr sus metas [It means to be someone who can and needs to work in order to meet his goals.]" Here, the student directly says that the man *needs* to work in order to meet his goals. Nowhere in the definitions of what it means to be a woman were such statements made by the students.

The semantics used by the students were also vitally important to understanding exactly what the youths were saying and what they meant. For example, the use of 'should' for questions asking how things actually function in society was very common. Students had the tendency to say that men *should* behave in certain manners or that society *should* allow women to have certain rights. However, they made few mentions in some questions about how people actually behaved or what rights women actually have. There is a great difference between women having equal rights in society and thinking that women should have such rights. These discrepancies made a difference in regard to coding because if I wasn't careful, what a student believed was reality could end up in a coding node for how society should be.

Machismo and Marianismo

Two very important and principal issues pertaining to the issue of socialization and violence that were found throughout the discussions, either through insinuation, definition or clearly stated, were the issues of machismo and marianismo. These terms were purposefully not used at any point in the discussion questions by María and me in order to see if the students would bring

the topics up themselves in recognition of their continuing existence and influence on today's youths' lives. Machismo was brought up both directly and indirectly through definitional terms. In fact, it brought up as part of the reason for abuse, as a description of gender roles and rules/stereotypes, as a cause of violence, and a type of abuse. Marianismo, however, was only brought up indirectly. None of the students mentioned the term directly, but they did mention and defined the expectations that are part of what was previously described as the Cult of Mary, wherein a female was expected to be docile, obedient and a martyr. Both terms or their definitional significance, were found in questions ranging from the defining of marital and dating violence to the definition of a man and woman to reasons why one sex is more likely to be abused by another. Because they were readily found throughout the answers given by the students, there is enough evidence to show that the students do recognize that gender roles still exist in their society and affect various aspects of their lives.

Machismo

The references to machismo, both direct and indirect, were plentiful. In some instances, the students merely used the definitions of what previous researchers (Lafayette de Mente, 1996; McKee, 1999; Taggart, 1990) have characterized as machismo without actually mentioning the word machismo. For example, jealousy, dominating and controlling behaviors, male entitlement, men as heads of households and decision-makers, and men as sexually and physically overbearing were all mentioned separately and together within various discussion questions. In defining a man, Student 43 (16, male), for instance,

wrote that a man "Es cabeza del hoga, autoridad, trabajador [is the head of the house, the authority, the worker.]" Student 85 (14, female) wrote that the man "Es el que tiene el poder en el hogar, tiene que mantenerlo [has the power in the household and has to maintain it]." These students, and others, did not directly mention machismo, but they were able to define the expectations that have been identified as part of the machismo culture.

Pressuring a partner, controlling behaviors, jealousy and domination were all typical responses the students gave to questions relating to dating and marital violence, and types of violence. As previously mentioned, these are all definitional traits of a machista society. These machista traits were mentioned alongside not trusting one's partner, lack of respect, manipulating a partner and forcing a partner to partake in activities against her/his will. In regard to pressuring a partner, students mentioned various forms of manners in which a person could pressure a partner, including pressuring a partner to go places, to go out, to stay out late, to wear certain clothing, to act in a certain way, and not to see or hang out with friends (Students 3, 82, 102, 151, etc.). Also, there is a constant mention by students of how a person (most likely the female) is pressured into having sex, and the pressure comes in many forms, including threatening to leave her and manipulating her by saying that she can only prove her love by having sex (Students 9, 15, 102, 104, 121, etc.).

Controlling behaviors, jealousy and domination were seen as forms of violence primarily in dating relationships. The youths spoke of how a partner could try and succeed in keeping the girlfriend or boyfriend from seeing friends or

dressing in a certain way. These types of controlling behaviors were seen as a result of jealousy which caused (primarily) the male to impede the female's actions. If the demands and requests by the male were not followed, the female could face repercussions for her lack of action. The following are a few examples of such situations:

Student 23 (16, female): Pueden ser cuando el novio(a) no lo deja hacer cosas q' el(a) quiera y si lo hace le pega. [It could be when the boyfriend or girlfriend doesn't allow him or her to do things he/she wants and if he/she does it he/she gets hit.]

Student 53 (15, male): Violencia podria ser provocada en muchas casos por el hombre, que por celos y puede hasta matar a su amante. [Violence could be provoked in many instances by the man because of jealousy and could even kill his lover.]

Student 139 (17, male): El joven cela a su novia para que esta no acompañe a sus amigos, la intimidad y la atemoriza, hasta que la somete. [The youth shows jealousy toward the girlfriend so that she would not accompany her friends, he intimidates and terrorizes her until she submits to him.]

These controlling behaviors which were seen as likely to arise from jealousy were also seen as a way to dominate a partner. For example, Student 92 (17, female) said "El novio quiere tener la razón todo el tiempo y quiere dominar a la mujer. [The boyfriend wants to be right all the time and wants to dominate the woman.]" Other students described domination as a type of overprotection of one partner over another (Students 21, 107, 140).

In addition, machismo was brought up directly not only as a reason for marital violence, dating violence, and gender violence but also as a definition or description of a man, gender roles in society and the home, and as descriptions of gender roles the students have experienced in society. The words machismo

or machista (descriptor of being or having the characteristics of the machismo

culture) were used often, as can be seen in Table 4. In referring to marital and

dating violence, students mentioned machismo as a type of violence or a reason

for violence. Students said:

Student 79 (14, male): Los hombres algunos ser machistas. [Men some are
machistas.]

Student 138 (16, female): Violencia matrimonial es un termino que demuestra
machismo dado por el hombre con su pareja, donde
esta es agredida fisica o verbalmente. [Marital
violence is a term that demonstrate machismo given
by a man against his partner, where she is assaulted
physically or verbally.]

Student 141 (16, female): Machismo y feminismo...sólo uno tiene razón.
[Machismo and feminism....only one is right.]

Student 145 (16, male): Abusos que el hombre hace, el machismo, la violencia. [Abuses that a man commits, the machismo, the violence.]

Similarly, when asked if one gender is more likely to get abused than another, students mentioned that yes, one gender was more likely than others to be abused and the reason for such abuse was often machismo. Female students were primarily responsible for stating that machismo was why women were more abused (Table 4). These are a few examples of reasons why women, who were seen as the primary targets of abuse, are more likely to be abused than men[2]:

Student 71 (15, female): Porque los hombres son muy machistas. [Because the men are very machista.]

_____

2 It should be mentioned that the students did not understand the difference between sex and gender. Thus, they are here used interchangeably.

Student 93 (17, female): Desde siempre la sociedad ha sido machista y paternalista, se cree que la mujer es debil y no inteligente. [Since forever society has been machista and paternalistic, there is a belief that women are weak and unintelligent.]

Student 94 (17, female): Por la cultura machista. [Because of the machista culture.]

Student 134 (16, female): Esto viene desde epocas antiguas en donde la mujer no tenía derecho a la expresión y a otros derechos y muchas personas no han cambiado su mentalidad y entonces para ellos esto no a cambiado. [This comes from antiquated eras in which women didn't have rights to expression and other rights and many people haven't changed their mentality and so for them this hasn't changed.]

Students recognized the relationship between the machista culture and relationship violence. They clearly depicted the role that machismo had on whether violence would occur, particularly against women. This is one type of proof that students did, in fact, recognize a connection between gender roles and violence.

[Table 4 Here]

In regard to gender roles experienced or witnessed in society and in the home, machismo was mentioned as a type of gender role, as a reason for the existence of gender roles, and as an explanation for the consequences for not conforming to such roles (Table 4). Both males and females defined men through machismo equally along location (Table 5) and grade level attributes (Tables 6 & 7), except for third year females. In these questions, students either directly mentioned machismo or defined it, as previously mentioned, as cultural roles

which place men as heads of households, workers and decision-makers and women as housewives, caretakers and submissive.

[Table 5 Here]

For example, Student 49 (15, female), in reference to gender roles in the home, said "Sí. Diciendo que existe una clase de machismo, donde el hombre es el jefe de la casa. [Yes. Saying that there exists a type of machismo, where the man is the head of the house.]" Similarly, Students 98 (17, male) and 118 (15, female), respectively, stated, in reference to gender roles in society, that "Sí, Existen ideologías y el "machismo" y las mujeres luchan por la igualdad. [Yes, Ideologies exist and the 'machismo' and the women fight for equality.]" and "Si, Laboralmente, la mujer siempre lleva la de perder. También ahora por el machismo, también las hacen sentir inferiores. [Yes, in labor, the woman always loses. Also now because of machismo, they are made to feel inferior.]" As is evident, the students recognized the existence and persistence of machismo in their daily lives.

[Table 6 Here]

[Table 7 Here]

Marianismo

The gender roles that women face in Costa Rica are in line with what has previously been described as the Cult of Mary, or marianismo (Powers, 2005). Although the word 'marianismo' is never directly mentioned, the students, in several of their responses, bring up allusions to the gendering of a woman as chaste, faithful, subordinate and submissive to men. Moreover, they also

indirectly make reference to women as martyrs who put the family first and themselves second and who deal with their lot in life because it is what is expected of them. In this sense, the women are strong and brave while, at the same time, submissive and weak. Finally, the youths recognize the dichotomy of women as either a respected, chaste member of society or a disrespected, devalued person. This dichotomy is later discussed (See *Gender Roles & Rules* Section), but it is important to mention it in this section as it provides further proof of the recognition by students of the marianismo social structures still in existence in Costa Rica.

The allusions to marianismo were most explicit in the answers given to the question that asked students to define a woman. In these answers, the students bring up images of the faithful woman who supports her husband, of the person who is the primary caring and loving person in the family, as fragile and submissive but with strength and endurance:

Student 44 (15, female): Es persona que tiene el don de dar vida, la companera del hombre la cual lo escucha, lo apoya. [She is the person that has the job of giving life, the partner of the male who listens to him and supports him.]

Student 53 (15, males): Como una persona con mucha resistencia, pasiva, ayudante de los hijos, luchadora por lo que quiere. [Like a person with a lot of resistance, passive, helper of her children, a fighter for what she likes {or could be interpreted as 'loves'}.]

Student 84 (15, male): Es una persona amable y muy cariñosa, delicada. [She is an amiable person and very affectionate, delicate.]

Student 88 (14, female): Mujer significa la persona que siempre lucha, ama a sus hijos sobre todas las cosas, siempre esta pendiente de su casa. [Woman means the person who always fights,

loves her children above all things, is always mindful of her house.]

Student 108 (17, male): Es una persona responsable con su familia, hijos principalmente. [She is a person principally responsible for her family, children.]

Student 132 (15, female): Ser luchadora amable y ser valiente a lo que viene. [To be a fighter, amiable and brave to whatever comes.]

These images and allusions to the woman are all characteristic of traits akin to marianismo. They are representative of the role that women are expected to have in society, as can be seen by answers to questions referring to gender roles (see Appendix) and roles that women are trying to break in order to lead their own lives (see the *Gender Roles & Rules* section). Students who made references to marianismo were primarily females who were third year students in both rural and city locations (Tables 4 & 5).

On a final note on marianismo, women are also alluded to as gifts from God. This illusion of women as God-given falls in line with the expectation of women as virtuous and uncorrupted. They, unlike men, are seen as God's creations and a blessing to men. Student 41 (15, male) says "La mujer es algo muy especial, pues la mujer es un tesoro que Dios nos la regalo para que la adoremos y la protejamos. [The woman is something very special, as she is a treasure that God gave us to adore and protect.]" Although only a few youths made mention of women as God's creation and gift, the reference was important as it was only made in speaking of women and not of men. Further research into this topic would be necessary to provide the validity of marianismo through this theme, but it was a unique and important visualization of women.

As can be seen, the youths both directly and indirectly brought up machismo and marianismo in their answers to the given discussion questions. Since none of the questions alluded to either concept, it is logical to consider that the students are cognizant of the socio-cultural structures in their society that both potentially define who they are or should be, what they are expected to do in life, what roles they should have in society and what power differentiations they should have or learn to keep. The realization that they are enveloped by the machista and marianismo cultures is vitally important to understanding how they perceive their present and future relationships and lives. This insight into adolescents of a Latino/a society provides the basis to further study the role of gender in the perpetuation of interpersonal violence.

Interpersonal Violence

Several important themes and topics emerged from the responses that the students gave to some of the discussion questions. Five main categories, under which several specific themes arose, were pinpointed from answers to different questions throughout the project. They included abuse of both men and women, child abuse, the cycle of violence, perspectives on types of abuse, and the causes and consequences of interpersonal and gender violence. These are the main areas of interpersonal violence that are further discussed as overwhelmingly important to the current project because they provide further insight into the relationship between socialization and violence.

Abuse of Men and Women

Although students made it clear that women are most likely to be victims

of interpersonal and gender violence, they made reference to both mutual or

female-to-male violence in several questions. In the questions asking the youths

to define family and dating violence, students made mention of how violence

could be gender neutral, as females were seen as just as likely as males to inflict

violence unto her partner. In reference to defining marital violence, some

students gave the following answers:

Student 33 (16, male): Quiere decir cuando en un matrimonio el hombre golpea
a la mujer o vice versa. [It means when in a marriage the
man hits the woman or vice verse.]

Student 62 (15, male): Que una persona agreda a su compañero o compañera
matrimonial o a un familiar. [That one person assaults his
or her marital companion or a family member.]

Student 99 (18, male): Es aquella en que el esposo maltrata a la esposa o
viceversa, por motivos de ira, o alcoholismo.
[It's that in which the husband mistreats the wife or vice
versa for motives of anger or alcoholism.]

Student 139 (17, male): Hay golpes por parte de alguno de los dos esposos.
[There are hits on behalf of one of the married couple.]

As may be evidenced by the above examples, males were primarily responsible

for the defining of mutual or female-to-male violence in marital relationships.

Females in rural areas were more likely than males in any location to mention

mutual interpersonal violence in both marital and dating relationships (Table 5).

When defining dating violence, some students again referred to the possibility of

mutual or female-to-male violence:

Student 15 (18, female): Cuando en el noviazgo el hombre o la mujer es

agresivo(a) y falta el respeto. [When dating the man or woman is aggressive and disrespects.]

Student 57 (15, female): Cuando las novias o los novios toman derechos que no tienen y se agreden. [When the girlfriends or boyfriends take rights they don't have and assault one another.]

Student 89 (15, female): Irrespeto hacia la mujer o vice versa. Si uno de los 2 es mayor de edad y obliga a su pareja a hacer cosas que no quiere. [Disrespect for the female or vice verse. If one of the 2 is an adult and forces the partner to do things the partner doesn't want to do.]

Student 138 (16, female): Esta puede darse tanto en el hombre como la mujer donde observamos que puede existir golpes, agresión, o bien tratos inadecuados. [This can happen as likely in a man as a woman where we observe that there can exist hits, aggressions or inadequate treatments.]

The above students, and others, also recognized the existence of female-to-male violence. In the answers to the dating violence, however, issues of control were more likely to be mentioned than in marital violence, and the students believed that such violence was as likely to happen toward males as to females.

Interestingly, the mention of mutual or female-to-male violence occurred frequently in questions dealing with definitions of marital and dating violence, but when students were asked about if one gender was more likely to be abused than another, the majority of the answers were that women were more likely to be abused. This conflict of answers shows that there is a recognition the men can be and are victims of violence, but the students also realize that women, for different reasons, are overall more likely to be abused than men.

Child Abuse

The issue of child abuse and its definition was brought up on a consistent basis in the discussions. In regard to the actual child abuse questions, Table 4 in the Appendix B shows that question 1.D., 10, 11, and 17.C. are the only questions that directly ask about perceptions of parent-child relationships and child abuse. The issue of child abuse, however, was also brought up as a response to other questions, including those relating to what the students found important and interesting in the discussion and the consequences of interpersonal violence.

Within the category of child abuse questions, students defined child abuse as physical, emotional, psychological and verbal abuse. The students, however, also added several other dynamics to the maltreatment of children by parents. They mentioned exploitation of the children through work and prostitution, sexual abuse and the parents taking out their frustrations on the children. These more specific examples were further studied as they were brought up numerous times by several students in various locations.

Exploitation of children through forcing them to work at an early age and through prostitution were both important answers for child abuse. The students acknowledged that parents had a tendency to force children to work out of the home for income. The work might involve what one student called "illicit" work, such as prostitution, or working in the fields. The students mentioned that this type of work was abuse because kept them from studying and doing what they really wanted to do with their life. A student from the night school in San Jose

said that child abuse occurs "Cuando no le dan infancia al niño como es ponerlo a trabajar desde pequeño [when children aren't given an infancy like when they make them work from when they are very young]." This 18 year-old male mentions that making a person work from early on in life is a type of abuse because it means taking away the person's childhood.

It became evident from the responses that a number of students experienced, heard of or witnessed needy families forcing children to work out of necessity, regardless of whether the work was legal or illegal. However, the comments came primarily from both male and female rural students (Table 5). From the perspective of the students, however, the decision to put children to work is abuse. For example, Student 146, a 16 year-old female from Liceo de San Pablo, said that child abuse "Es cuando se explota a un menor de edad, en lo sexual, lo laboral o de otra indole [is when minors are exploited sexually, through labor or in some other way]." Similarly, a 20 year-old female from Liceo Guardia (Student 12) said, "El abuso de niños se manifiestan como abuso sexual o físico, desde prostituirse y trabajar en lugares siendo menores de edad [Child abuse is manifested as sexual or physical abuse, from prostitution and working in places as minors]."

Another issue of child abuse that continued to emerge was the clear distinction the students made between child abuse and corporal punishment. There is a real distinction made by the youths between deserved hitting, or corporal punishment, and abuse of children. They comment on clearly marked differences by using words like "unjust hitting" or "not the fault of the child" or

"undeserved punishment." They mention that a parent might just take out their frustrations on the children, without the children deserving it. The implication as one reads between the lines is that the youths differentiate between corporal punishment and child abuse. Student 107 (17, male) in question 17.C. remarks, "Sí y no, porque los golpecitos que dan demás para la 'educación,' pero violencia física en si no [Yes and no, because little hits that they give just for 'education,' but physical violence itself no]." Here, the youth makes a very clear distinction between hitting to teach a lesson and physical violence. Like other students, this student does not see corporal punishment as a type of physical violence. In their eyes, it becomes physical violence, the unacceptable kind, if a parent punish cruelly, abuse their authority, chastise through hitting for no reason or the

punishment does not fit the crime. These are some examples of the

dichotomizing of child abuse when asked about the definition of child abuse:

Student 13: Sí, el niño (a) hace alguna travesura les pegan *sin compación*. [Yes, the boy(girl) gets into mischief they hit them *without compassion*.]

Student 68: Sí. Los gritos y los golpes (Depende de cómo se den). [Yes. Screams and hits (Depending on how they are given).]

Student 121: Sí. Si (el niño/niña) se porta mal – trae malas notas – *le pegan para que entienda*. [Yes. If the boy or girl behaves badly— bringing bad grades—*they hit them so that they understand*.]

Student 145: Sí. Cuando se pega *sin motivos*,eso es abuso. [Yes, when they hit them *without motive*, that's abuse.][3]

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3 Italicized Emphasis added by researcher.

Interestingly, it was in these questions having to do with child abuse that I assume that some of the personal victimization experiences of the students emerged. Although none of the students stated that they themselves were victims of abuse, they did describe in detail some acts of violence, which made me believe that these students may have experienced or witnessed the violence. They mention being hit on the face, hit with cables, belts, sticks, chilillos (a type of switch or bunched up branches), being pushed against walls, burned and burned with cigars. They also make various mentions of sexual abuse that are very specific. For example, Student 143 (16 year-old male) says "Contacto con el niño, con cariacias no paternas que intervengan con sus organos [contact with a boy, non-paternal touching that have to do with his genitals]."

The mention of forced child labor and prostitution and the distinction between corporal punishment and physical child abuse were pronounced themes throughout the discussions. Although some reading between the lines was needed (which was done by reading through the questioned students' whole documents and getting a better picture of what the students' perspectives were) in order to understand what the students were insinuating with their responses, many were clear about their perspectives about how they define child abuse and the distinctions they make between acceptable and unacceptable treatment of children and youths.

Cycle of Violence

There is an understanding among youths that there is a cycle of violence. In other words, they appear to understand that the emotional violence can lead to

physical violence and then possibly death. There is a link, in their minds,

between interpersonal violence and murder. Although the students did not

directly mention the cycle of violence, they referred to the escalation of violence

in a relationship. In questions 14, 15 and 22, students responded that they

believed that something should be done about emotional and physical abuse

because abuse had a tendency to escalate into more severe forms of violence,

including death. Some examples from students are included below:

Student 8 (17, female): Sí, xq si primero se gritaron, la próxima
se pegan y si continuan se matan. [Yes
because first they yelled at each other,
then they hit each other and if they
continue they kill each other.]

Student 40 (16, male): Sí. Porque si se queda callado, siempre se va a
empeorar la situación. [Yes, because if you
remain silent, the situation will always get
worse.]

Student 52 (14, female): Sí. Ya que esa violencia lleva a cosas
trágicas. [Yes, since that type of violence
{emotional} leads to other tragedies.]

Student 101 (17, male): Sí, desde la primera vez q' una persona
maltrata a otra esa persona esta propensa a
ser agredida en otras ocasiones. [Yes. Since
the first time that a person mistreats another
person there is more of a propensity to be
assaulted in other situations.]

Student 140 (16, male): Sí, porque a raíz de esto se puede producir
depresión e incluso hasta suicidios u
homicidios. [Yes, because from this
depression and also even suicides and
homicides can occur.]

Student 144 (18, female): Sí. Porque ya varias mujeres han muerto en
manos de sus parejas. [Yes. Because
already various women have died in the
hands of their partners.]

These are but a few examples of students' understanding of the potential

progression of violence in interpersonal relationships. As can be seen, they

recognized the possibility of suicide, murder, tragedies and further physical

violence if either emotional or physical violence was not stopped. They appeared

to recognize that once violence begins, it will escalate to other forms of

aggression that could potentially lead to the act of murder. Interestingly, primarily

rural students, both males and females, recognized the escalation to further

violence, especially that of death (Table 5).

This particular set of responses is important as it recognizes that the

youths understand more about violence than may have been thought. They

understand the need to stop violence before it continues to escalate to more

dangerous and possibly fatal situations. How the students obtained such

knowledge about the cycle is not known, especially considering that rural

students were more aware of the cycle of violence than other students. One

could speculate that the media may have some affect on their knowledge

because in Costa Rica, all forms of media are adamant about using the term

'domestic violence' in situations where one partner killed another, which is

usually prefaced by the type of abuse that the person underwent before the

homicide occurred. This speculation is further strengthened by the fact that,

during the time that the research was being conducted a very well known case of

interpersonal violence was all over the media. In the case of Burgos, a

government attorney murdered his wife. The stories about the abuse the female

partner received before her husband murdered her was constantly seen on

television, heard on the radio and read about in the newspapers. This specific case might have informed these adolescents on the escalation of violence. In order to test this hypothesis, however, one would need to conduct the same research when no such high profile cases were taking place.

Perspectives on Types of Abuse

There were two particularly important issues that emerged from responses given to questions relating to types of interpersonal violence. The first issue had to do with the differences students saw among the different types of violence and their severity. The second refers to the students' constant references to animals and animal behaviors to explain their views on different types of abuse. These two themes help to confirm the adolescent's recognition of the definitional dichotomy of acceptable, non-deviant behavior and unacceptable, deviant behavior in personal relationships.

The first two themes that emerged dealt with the dichotomizing of violence as acceptable and unacceptable and relating it to animal behaviors. The students, when asked about slapping, pushing, kicking and punching a partner, reacted very differently to slapping and pushing compared to kicking and punching. The students made it clear that slapping and pushing a partner could and could not be defined as violence depending on the context of how the slapping and pushing occurred. For example, when Student 009 (15 year-old male) was asked about whether he regarded pushing as violence, he stated that it "Depende en que caso sea, porque ahora hasta por basilar se empujan. [Depends on the case, because now even as a joke they push each other.]"

Students generally thought that some cases could be defined according to each situation because people might push each other just for fun. Accordingly, students mentioned that slapping could be violence, but it depended on the cause of the slap. Student 123 (male, 19) said that "No. Talvez se lo merece. [No. Maybe he deserved it.]," and Student 58 (male, 15) said that "No. Depende de la situación. [No. It depends on the situation.]" Still other students believed that, much like corporal punishment, if there was a reason for the slapping, then it was excusable.

In contrast, students had very different comments about kicking and punching a partner. In their minds, these two actions went over the acceptable level of violence. Aside from the fact that some students could not believe that people actually kicked their partners they tended to disassociate the action of kicking from humans and to associate it with animals. The students referenced animals by saying that kicking is something non-human animals do, and, as such, it is considered an abuse. They see the action as sub-human and savage and, thus, say that only an animal would kick another living being. In addition, they commented that it is not as if people were animals that deserved to be kicked. Insinuating that non-human animals deserve to be kicked or that it is okay to kick non-human animals, the students clearly stated that they saw a difference between kicking and any other mentioned type of abuse. As a result of seeing the action as sub-human, they regard it as real violence, something that needs to be stopped as it is now a major form of violence. Males in cities were more likely

than anyone else to make these comments. Below are some examples of how students responded to whether kicking was abusive and why:

Student 36 (15, male): Sí. Porque no somos animales para patear a nadie. [Yes. Because we're not animals to be kicking anyone.]

Student 43 (16, male): Sí. Eso es de salvajes.No de humanos. [Yes. That's of savages. Not of humans.]

Student 74 (16, male): Sí. Porque no es un perro ni cualquier cosa. [Yes. Because she's not a dog or something else.]

Student 142 (16, female): Sí. Porq' es una persona no un animal como para q' lo patee. [Yes. Because she's a person, not an animal so that she gets kicked.]

Student 143 (16, male): Sí. Ni que fuera caballo. [Yes. Not like he's a horse.]

Along with these statements, students also made it clear that this type of violence was now serious violence:

Student 14: Sí, ya paso a mayores. [Yes, it now crossed into major {abuse}.]

Student 41: Sí. Se esta sobrepasando. [Yes. It is escalating.]

Student 152: Sí. Es muy brutal. [Yes. It's very brutal.]

The above comments by Students 14, 41 and 152 were made in comparison to the previous questions dealing with slapping and pushing. These and other students believed that kicking went beyond pushing and slapping, both of which may be excused in certain situations or contexts. Kicking, however, had no excuse or context in which it may be taken lightly.

Along the same lines as kicking, punching a partner was now seen as absolutely unacceptable behavior. Again, the students did not believe that there was any excuse or context under which such behavior was acceptable. This type

of violence they considered very serious and actual interpersonal violence.

Student 101 (17, male) said that "Sí, es el más grave para mi y nuevamente es un maltrato físico. [Yes, it's the most serious for me and again it's physical maltreatment.]" Also, Student 39 stated that "Sí. Eso ya es violencia doméstica. [Yes. That is now domestic violence.]" In addition, although students may not approve of the person kicking, slapping or pushing a partner, they mentioned jail or legal ramifications only for punching. Student 41 (15, male), for example, said that "Sí. No sólo es abuso, sino que yo creo que debe de ser penado por la ley. [Yes. Not only is it abuse, I think that it should be punishable by law.]" and Student 91 (18, female) stated "Si. Es el máximo abuso, es de carcel. [Yes, it's the maximum abuse, it deserves jail.]" They also made mention for the first time in these abuse type questions of how punching one's partner could kill the person or lead to death:

Student 128 (15, male): Sí. Porque dependiendo de cómo le pegue, puede matarla. [Yes, because depending on how he hits her, he could kill her.]

Student 148 (16, female): Sí. Claro, esos son atentados contra la vida de una persona. [Yes. Of course, those are attempts at someone's live.]

Student 153 (16, male): Sí. Esa es la peor violencia. Puede matar a la persona. [Yes. That's the worse type of violence. It could kill the person.]

The only mentions of death or murder were made in this segment of the questions on types of violence. The students only recognized death as part of this more severe type of violence, and they don't seem to think that kicking a person could lead to death, let alone any of the other acts.

Through the above comments, it becomes evident that the students dichotomize violence into acceptable and unacceptable forms. Like Mckee's (1999) Ecuadorian sample, the students view certain types of violence as deviant and inexcusable. They appear to believe that pushing and slapping are minor types of violence which can be considered either acceptable or unacceptable, depending on their context. Kicking and punching a person, however, goes past convention and is considered real violence and abuse, which may even be punishable by law or may lead to death. Here again, we see the dichotomy between violence that is allowable because the person may deserve it and violence that is not allowable under any circumstances. This type of dichotomizing of violence can be categorized as the acceptable wife-beating and the unacceptable wife-battering to which Bolton and Bolton (1975), Brown (1999), and McKee (1999) refer. The students, too, make the difference between deviant, abnormal behavior and non-deviant, almost expected behavior, but they recognize this dichotomy within their own age-specific context. In other words, although they recognize the dichotomy and the issue of context, they also mention playing around as a viable circumstance in which violence may be acceptable.

Gender and Interpersonal Violence

An important theme arose that had to do with the connection the students made between gender roles and rules and interpersonal violence. This association could not have occurred if the youths, first, had not been aware of the gender roles that exist in the form of machismo and marianismo in their society.

The students then directly recognized that a link exists between not behaving according to their expected gender roles and possible repercussions through interpersonal violence. This recognition occurred even though the question that had to do with the direct or indirect connection between gender and violence had to be thrown out as a result of the students not understanding what I was asking. Instead of using this question, I found that students were recognizing the connection through questions about not accepting gender roles and possible consequences.

Asked if they thought there were consequences to not following a gender role or gender rules, that students gave the following responses:

Student 53 (15, male): Sí. Pleitos, abusos. [Yes. Fights, abuses.]

Student 104 (17, male): Sí. Pienso que sí. Por ejemplo, en una sociedad machista, si la mujer no hace lo que se le pide, puede sufrir agresiones. [Yes. I think yes. For example, in a machista society, if the woman doesn't do what she's asked to do, she could suffer aggressions.]

Student 108 (17, male): Sí. Que las traten mal. [Yes. That they treat them badly.]

Student 127 (15, female): Sí, Violencia doméstica. Violencia psicológica. Un lugar lleno de agresiones, perjudicando a los hijos que están dentro de este hogar. [Yes, domestic violence. Psychological violence. A place full of aggressions, harms the kids that are inside this home.]

Student 133 (15, male): Sí. Los maltratos y las muertes de mujeres. [Yes. The mistreatments and the dead women.]

These are just some of the answers in which the students directly related that not following expected gender roles could lead to interpersonal violence. As may be evident, the students believe that women may be particularly in danger of being

victims of aggression as they may not do what they are asked or act in a manner not acceptable to their sex, as stated by Student 104. Other students, such as Student 127 and 133, both discussed types of violence that could occur should a person not perform as expected, including psychological and death.

Because the question asks only about possible consequences to not following gender roles and rules, it is not leading the students to answer in any specific manner. In fact, there were other answers offered by the students that had nothing to do with violence, such as discrimination, loss of respect, loss of family and loss of employment. Thus, it is important that the students made the connection between the two themes as it shows that they do recognize that gender roles and rules are associated with interpersonal violence. They appear to see that interpersonal violence, as seen in the next section, is directly related to the machismo culture that reigns over them.

Causes and Consequence of Interpersonal and Gender Violence

Three questions were asked that had to do with students' perceptions of causes of both interpersonal and gender violence and the consequences of family violence. Interpersonal and gender violence were separated to see if students would think of them as different by providing distinct answers to each or say that they were the same. In looking at Table 4, it is evident that the students did see these types of violence as different forms of violence as they named almost completely different causes for both. Interpersonal violence was caused, from their perspective, not only by socio-cultural factors but also by psychological factors. Both males and females in cities were particularly cognizant of the

possible violence that could arise from alcohol, drug and money problems

(Tables 4 & 5). They primarily named alcohol or drugs, a lack of communication

and respect, jealousy and a lack of trust and money problems as causes of

interpersonal violence. Students seemed to quite frequently be mentioning liquor

and economic problems together, which may be something that they themselves

have seen or experienced within their home. Several students, especially

females from all locations (Table 5), blame a lack of respect and communication

alongside liquor and drugs (Students 6, 40, 44, 50, 106, etc.). For example,

Student 46 (15, female) claims that "El irrespeto, la falta de dinero crea

tensiones, el licor. [Lack of respect, lack of money creates tension, the liquor.]"

Another student (45, 15, female) points particularly to the father, saying "El licor,

la falta del trabajo del padre. [The liquor, the lack of work of the father.]" Others

blame infidelity, liquor and drugs together (Students 6, 92, 94 & 152). The main

point is, however, that drugs and alcohol, along with other negative behaviors,

are named primary causes of interpersonal violence but agency on the part of the

abuser is not mentioned. Thus, the students' perspectives are similar to findings

here in the U.S. regarding the blaming of alcohol and drugs and not the individual

abusers.

Interestingly, there were a few mentions of parental social learning as

causes of violence. For example, Student 137, a 16 year-old female from the

rural region, said that "Tal vez cuando eran niños veían que el papá maltrataba a

la mamá y crecen con esa idea. [Perhaps when they were children they say the

father mistreating the mom and they were raised with that idea.]" Along the same

lines, Student 56, a 14 year-old male from the city, said "La educación que tuvieron en su niñez, es como fueron educados en su vida, es lo que resulta. [The education that they had in their childhood was how they were educated in their lives, it's what results]." Some students appeared to recognize that the violence may have been learned in childhood and was never corrected; however, these students were very few when looking at the whole project.

On the other hand, machismo and inequalities were primarily recognized as causes for gender violence. Both female and male students recognized the stereotypes and gender expectations that could lead to violence if ignored. As Tables 6 and 7 show, however, males across all grades but only females from third and fourth year identified machismo and inequalities as primary. As will be mentioned later on in the Gender Roles and Rules section, students recognized that people could become targets of violence should they ignore their expected place in society. The culture (Student 99, 18, male), social problems (Student 107, 17, female), and the feeling of superiority (Students 107, 140 & 146) are all mentioned as machista gender role problems that can cause violence against one gender. For example, Student 137 made an interesting comment about how now both men and women had a sense of superiority that could lead to violence: "Que se creen superiores no sólo el género masculino ahora tambien el femenino. [That they think themselves superior not only the masculine gender but now also the feminine.]"

Ignorance and socialization were also interesting answers that both female and male students primarily living in cities gave as causes for gender

violence (Table 5). Ignorance and socialization were used similarly to parental

social learning as a cause of interpersonal violence. Students viewed the manner

in which people were raised and socialized as causes of their ignorance and

acceptance of gender violence. These are a few examples:

Student 61 (15, female): La educación que se imparte desde niños. [The
         education taught since childhood.]

Student 101 (17, male): Tal vez el agresor sufrio un tipo de violencia asi
         anteriormente. [Maybe the aggressor suffered a type of
         violence like that previously.]

Student 102 (16, female): Falta de consciencia y de educación sexual, que
         hacen pensar a algunos, que hombres y mujeres
         somos distintos. [Lack of conscience and of sexual
         education, that makes some think that men and
         women are different.]

The youths recognize that the education of the adults may have caused the

acceptance of violence and the lack of acceptance of change toward equality that

may be caused by ignorance.

   The lack of acceptance of change is also marked by the mentioning of

feminism as a cause of gender violence. Feminism was brought up principally by

females alongside machismo as a reason why violence occurs toward one

gender, regardless of location or school year. It was also mentioned to explain

why females were likely to be the primary victims of violence. According to some

students, the female is stepping out of her expected role as a woman. She is

seeking work outside the family, competing in the same career fields as men and

not following the strict gender roles that are expected of her. These attempts

toward equality could very well cause types of aggression toward females as

they may need to be put in their place. For example, in question 9, Student 118

(15 year-old female) said that women are most likely to be victims of violence "Porque ha cambiado su comportamiento y punto de vista con respecto a la sociedad. [Because she has changed her behavior and point of view in respect to society]." Even though feminism was not mentioned many times through the question of causes of gender violence, it was surprising that it was mentioned at all as a cause of violence.

Finally, the issues students mentioned as consequences of family violence were also interesting and somewhat unexpected. Issues such as jail, emotional and physical trauma and further bad communication and lack of respect were mentioned, but the primary consequences, from the student's perspectives, were divorces, separations or family disintegration and death. Death, emotional and physical trauma, and divorce or separation were principally brought up by females (Table 4). Although it may not be surprising that the youths mention the disintegration of family as a major consequence of family violence (especially in areas of high Catholic religiosity), the issue of death was unexpected. Death is mentioned as an extreme outcome of family violence, but it is also mentioned alongside trauma and hitting and divorces. To the students, death was what was the culmination of so much violence (Student 5, 36, 42, 51, 102, etc.); it is the end point of family violence.

In mentioning death as a consequence of family violence, the students are recognizing that death is part of family abuse. This is an interesting point that may be explained by the fact that in Costa Rica, the term 'domestic violence' is used when death occurs and a family member is the perpetrator. The media

creates a direct connection between domestic violence and death that may not

be seen in other countries, such as the U.S. As previously mentioned, the cycle

of violence is widely recognized by the students, even though not by name, as

existing in situations of interpersonal violence. It is presumably through this

knowledge that the students are able to identify death as the ultimate

consequence of family violence.

Gender Roles and Rules

Looking at the results for the gender[4] role/rules questions, several topics

stand out. Even though the students seemed to have trouble understanding the

term 'gender' and the difference between sex and gender, they were able to

pinpoint some aspects of gender roles and rules that they feel affect violence and

the status of women in society. In fact, when asked if they believed that gender

roles still exist in the home and in society, the majority of females and males,

particularly those in their third school year, responded that they did (Tables 4, 6 &

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4 Gender is apparently understood by the students to be either a man or a
woman. They use the term gender instead of sex. As such, their responses in
regard to gender questions primarily refer to either a man or a woman. Only a
few students make any mention of lesbians or gays in any portion of the
discussion questions.

7). Of interest, however, is that city males were either about equal in responding 'yes' or 'no' or negated the idea that gender roles existed (Table 5). Either way, it is in this section that one can begin to see that the students do believe that there is a connection between violence and gender roles and rules. As previously mentioned, the images of machos and marianismo continue to bear heavily on today's youths.

Respect

Respect was mentioned throughout the responses in various manners. This section focuses on what emerged as the dichotomy of respect among women and men. Specifically, the youths made comments that insinuated a distinction between respect of men and women, implying that men are automatically given respect in society while women have to earn respect. In other words, the females have to fight for their place in society, meaning that they have to fight to be who they want to be in regard to their own persons, their studies and their future careers.

Men, on the other hand, do not have to worry about earning the same type of respect as women. They may need to maintain their image as macho, but women have to earn their place as respectable people who deserve to be valued and revered in all spheres of social life. For instance, during the discussion sessions, a group of female students told María that they wanted to break the mold of the submissive housewife they saw in their moms, mentioning the expectation of the woman as remaining inferior. But, whereas men were

automatically taken seriously in school and work, they would have to earn their value and recognition just because of their sex.

In response to the question asking about defining a woman, some youths made their concerns about respect known. Student 68, a 14 year-old female, mentioned in her answer to defining a male that a man respects other people, but in her answer to defining a woman she says "Igual, pero además que se de a respetar. [The same {as the male}, but besides she has to earn respect.]" In speaking about jobs, Student 115 recognized the differences between assumed respect and value between men and women:

> Por ejemplo: Con los empleos, si es mujer, se ponen muchos peros (obstáculos), y si es hombre, se lo dan lo más fácil. (Le dan el trabajo mas fácilmente). [For example: with work, if you are woman, there will be a lot of 'buts' {obstacles}, and if you are male, they will give it to you much easier] (14 year-old female)

Here, the student realizes that women need have to face a lot more obstacles to prove themselves as workers and to earn respect and value as a competent worker whereas men do not. This difference in earning respect by a woman can be hypothetically linked back to the marianismo expectations in which a woman had to earn her respect as a person and prove herself to be more than a sexual object.

Beneficial Gender Roles

When students were asked about their perspective on whether gender roles and rules were important to society, a majority answered that the roles were

important. A major reason given for the importance of the gender roles is the distinction of responsibilities and behaviors that men and women separately have and express in society. Students had a tendency to dichotomize the roles of the sexes into those of the male and those of the female. This distinction was sometimes blatantly mentioned or recognized indirectly. These are but a few examples:

Student 26 (17, male): Sí porque cada género tiene un papel correspondiente. [Yes because each gender has a corresponding role.]

Student 30 (16, male): Sí, p'q' se ocupa el hombre y a la mujer y los dos son importantes. [Yes because we need both men and woman and both are important.]

Student 55 (15, male): Sí. Porque de esa forma se puede distinguir entre el hombre y la mujer. [Yes. Because this way we can distinguish between the man and the woman.]

Student 102 (16, female): Sí, aunque no estoy de acuerdo pero la sociedad sigue arraigada a sus principios y desde siempre han hecho la diferencia entre lo que puede hacer un hombre y viceversa. [Yes, although I'm not in agreement but society continues rooted to its principles and since always they have made the difference between what a man can do and vice verse.]

Student 115 (14, female): Sí, porque depende (dependiendo del género) el trabajo no se lo dan a una mujer o a un hombre. [Yes, because depending on the gender the work is not given to a woman or a man.]

Student 125 (17, female): Claro que sí, porque siempre se ha escuchado comentarios un poco machistas: "La mujer se casa y solo para cocinar, y estar en la casa, y creo que eso no es así. Las mujeres tenemos muchas habilidades igual que un hombre. [Of course yes, because you have always heard machista comments: "The woman marries and only for cooking, and to stay in the house" and I believe it's not like that. We women have abilities equal to that of a man.]

As may be evident by these examples, youth from all regions recognized that gender roles in society were still very much alive and influential. Although some did not agree with society's tendency to pigeonhole the sexes into specific roles, they felt it necessary for the functioning of society.

Conversely, the students who did not believe that gender roles in society were important referred to gender equality as the reason that gender roles were not important. They indirectly recognized that women were the ones primarily stereotyped into certain roles in life, such as staying in the home and cooking, but they believed that women were just as capable as men in doing all jobs. Student 116 (17, female) believed that if gender roles were important to society, "...entonces la mujer seguiría sometida al hogar- y el hombre en el campo - sin la posibilidad de desarrollar sus sueños. [...then women would be subdued into the home- and men in the fields- without the possibility of developing their dreams.]" One student recognized the role of culture in the creation of gender roles, stating

> Creo que no porque somos iguales ante la sociedad y esos roles a los que estamos sujetos son cuestiones culturales que debemos eliminar. [I believe that no because we are equal to society and those roles that we are subjected to are cultural issues that we need to eliminate.] (Student 94, 17, female)

In addition, students believed that all people have the same responsibilities and rights, including those to choose what you want to do.

Following the questions asking if they believe gender roles are important is the question dealing with whether they believe that there are consequences to breaking the gender roles and rules. Students recognized that there were

consequences to breaking gender roles and rules, including discrimination,

violence, loss of a job, loss of friends, family, or loved ones, criticism,

psychological abuse and other types of abuses. Here, again, it becomes evident

that the dichotomy of gender roles still exists, and the youths mention that

breaking the roles could create chaos and bring about aggression and

discrimination:

Student 34 (16, male): Sí, descomposición de la sociedad. [Yes, a decomposition of society.]

Student 41 (15, male): Tendrían muchos problemas cuando usted no hace lo que tiene que hacer. [We would have many problems when you don't do what you have to do.]

Student 96 (17, male): En una familia los hijos necesitan ver que la autoridad es del papá, y la corrección es de la mamá. Si este orden se

pierde, los hijos no prenden a obedecer. [In a family the children need to see that the father is the authority and the mother in charge of the correction. If this order is lost, the children will not learn obedience.]

Student 104 (17, male): Pienso que sí. Por ejemplo, en una sociedad machista, si la mujer no hace lo que se le pide, puede sufrir agresiones. [I believe that yes. For example, in a machista society, if the woman doesn't do what is asked of her, she can suffer aggressions.]

It is important to remember that the consequences depend, as one student wrote, on the tolerance of society (Student 93, 17, female, rural area).

Women most likely to be victims

Although there is some mention of mutual combat and women hitting men in situations of interpersonal violence, women are seen as the primary victims of

such violence. Question 9 specifically asks students to decide which of the genders5 is more or less likely to be abused by the other and why. Students overwhelmingly said that women or the feminine were most likely to be victims, but their reasons for such a distinction between the genders were diverse, ranging from machismo to feminism to physical strength. Females were more likely to mention machismo as a reason for women being victims, followed closely by women being delicate or weaker than men (Table 4). Older males, however, were more likely to answer that women were victims because they were weaker than men (Table 4 & 7).

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5 There was mention of gays, lesbians or homosexuals in the answers to this question. Thus, because a few students recognized the difference between sex and gender, the research found it necessary to continue the use of gender in this section.

When asked why Student 46 believed that women were the most likely to be abused, she said that "Por que ellla se deja se ha dejado siempre,y ya es costumbre. [Because she lets herself and has always let herself and it is now customary.]" This youth, along with others, believe that women allow themselves to be abused and are too scared to say anything. Other students believe that society is at fault. Student 93, a 17 year-old female, said "Mujeres… Desde siempre la sociedad ha sido machista y paternalista, se cree que la mujer es debil y no inteligente. [Women...from always society has been machista and paternalistic, it is believed that the woman is weak and not intelligent.]" Still other students claim that women are abused because they are physically weaker than men and that men abuse their strength.

It is interesting to consider in this question one important reason for the abuse of women by men. In the answers that the youths give, they tend to blame weakness, custom and culture, but they do not blame men's acceptance of using the violence as a tool of control. They make no mention of the free agency that men have to decide not to use violence or use their strength as a tool for intimidation and abuse. Instead, the students tend to justify or neutralize the violence by men by saying that women are weak and that women do not defend themselves and that it occurs because women are afraid. Machismo and culture are also used as ways to excuse the existence of violence because, as some youths mention, it is customary and women have not done anything to stop it. There appears to be a lack of understanding about the role that personal choice has on whether a man will be abusive.

Charlas

When students were asked about what they thought about the discussion questions (Q27, Q33), government intervention (Q23c) and questions they would like to ask us as researchers (Q32), the youths mentioned that they would like to know more about discussion groups, holding more discussion groups and the continuation of their education on this subject matter through discussion groups and campaigns. They were very concerned that these types of discussions, or *charlas*, about interpersonal violence and gender roles were not held more often and in more locations. According to one student (Student 117, 14, female), the project was "Es muy importante. Me gustaría que se dieran charlas sobre esto

[very important. I would like to se more discussion groups and talks about this].”

Similarly, Student 114 (15, male) said about the discussion groups that “Ojalá lo

desarrollen en todo el país. Sirve de mucho. [Hopefully {the discussion groups}

will be developed in all of the country. It is of much use].” Students wanted to see

the government developing media campaigns to inform people about

interpersonal violence and their rights. They hoped that their participation in the

project would help to develop further campaigns that would help the country and

enlighten those victims of violence who most needed the help. As one student

indicated, “Me gustaría que <u>Uds.</u> en lugar de hacer tantas preguntas dieran

charlas de cómo prevenir estas cosas [I would like to see <u>you all</u> instead of asking so many questions giving talks about how to prevent these things]."6

Resource Knowledge and Availability. Three of the discussion questions had to do with the students' knowledge about helpful resources for victims and survivors of interpersonal violence. The questions were divided by knowledge of resources for adults, adolescents and children. Students only differed by grade level in the response they gave these questions. According to Tables 6 & 7, students in higher school years were more likely to have erroneous information about institutions that could help them deal with interpersonal violence.

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6 Emphasis added by the student.

In regard to resources of adults, the majority of the youths (66 of the 114 responses to this question) did not know of any resources that adults could refer to should they need assistance. If they did mention a resource, they were most likely to refer to denouncing the abuser to the police, or contacting INAMU, or seeking private psychological help as viable resources for adults. No local grassroots organizations were named, and no specific INAMU offices were mentioned.

For adolescents and children, the results were even bleaker. The youths appeared to know about more resources, but their knowledge was actually very limited and misguided. Although the count on questions 29 and 30 suggests that students are more knowledgeable about resources (See Appendix), studying their answers gave quite the opposite impression. For example, two of the primary sources of government institutional help that the students could recount were from the Hogares Crea and Las Hermanas del Buen Pastor. These two institutions are actually a rehabilitation center for drug addicts and a women's prison, respectively. After looking at the section on causes of violence, however, it might make sense that Hogares Crea is mentioned as a place to seek help because students mentioned alcohol and drug addictions as major causes of violence. Students might be making the connection between seeking help in the rehabilitation centers in order to stop the violence in their lives. Aside from psychological help and PANI (Patronato Nacional de la Infancia), the students did not really know of anywhere that they or younger children could turn for help. PANI is the national organization that is charged with protecting minors in Costa

Rica, and it depends on regional offices to provide help. Students made no mention of any of these local PANI offices.

Evidently, the students in all of the different locations did not have any real knowledge of where victims of abuse could go to seek help. Their perceptions of the types of institutions that could help were misconstrued and misguided. Although some mention was made of seeking help from parents and their schools, most of the students seemed to rely on help from outside institutions. Unfortunately, the institutions to which they referred were not what the students thought. These findings indicate that the formal sources of help are not known to adolescents who, from information gathered on the discussion question answers, have either witnessed or experienced some form of abuse in their lives. It would appear, however, that some students recognized their lack of knowledge as they mentioned that they would like campaigns and discussion sessions that would inform them and others of resources.

Government Roles

One specific question was dedicated to the issue of the government's involvement in the issue of interpersonal violence. This question was pertinent to understanding how the youths perceive government help and outside assistance in situations where interpersonal violence is present. In addition, the question also helps us begin to understand the current image the youths hold about the government so that any campaigns aimed at the youth on behalf of the government could be taken seriously.

Students were asked not just to offer a 'yes' or 'no' answer to whether the government should intervene in such issues but to also give a reason or explanation for their answer. Of the students who did not believe that the government should get involved, most of them either did not give an explanation as to why, wrote that the government does not care, or said that it is an individual's problem and the government should not get involved. The latter answer is vitally important because shows a small glimpse into how students perceive the issue of interpersonal violence within their own communities. When specifically asked if interpersonal violence is a personal issue, of the 120 students who answered, the yes and no answers were evenly split. When studied further, it becomes apparent that females regardless of location and grade level think that interpersonal violence is a personal issue while males do not think it is personal (Tables 5, 6, & 7). For example, of the students who gave explanations, their responses were along the lines of Student 128, a 15 year-old male from the rural region, who wrote that "No. Porque siempre tiene que haber algún muerto, para que se haga algo. [No. Because there always has to be someone dead for something to be done]" and Student 78, a 14 year-old male from the inner city, who wrote "No. Ni les importa. [No. It doesn't even matter to them]."

Students who did believe that the government should intervene in interpersonal violence were most likely to say that it was the government's job to create laws to protect and punish, that they were responsible for protecting citizens and society, and that they should offer more talks and discussions. In regard to the government's responsibilities to create laws and punish offenders,

students were concerned with the government's lack of punishment and their very weak laws against interpersonal violence. These youths asked that government make the laws stronger than they are. They believe that the government is in charge of punishing the abusers, but that the laws need to be strong and the government needs to be strong against domestic violence. In fact one youth (Student 146, 16 year-old female) recognized the importance of the government by saying that "Sí. Porque debe de interesarse mas. Por eso es que terminan tantas mujeres muertas. No hay buenas leyes [Yes. Because it should interest them more. It is for this reason that so many women end up dead. There are no good laws]."

Views about research

Finally, I asked students in the last question to tell her how they felt about discussion questions. Aside from stating that they thought the questions and project were very important, interesting and good, the students tended to say that they helped them understand their relationships, their problems and their country's problems. They expressed their belief that the questions informed them about violence and made them think about their own relationships. In addition, the youths mentioned that they were glad that they were given an opportunity to speak out about things that are normally not spoken about and to give their opinion. Finally, they expressed a desire to know more about the subject and to have more discussions and talks conducted so that they could understand more. Only one student did not like the questions and, aside from all of the verbal and

physical expressions of exhaustion and disgust at the length, only one said it was too long.

What the answers to the final question show is the youth's desire to learn more about the subject and contribute to the conversation taking place regarding interpersonal violence and gender roles. They want to have their opinions heard and, as three students from different regions mentioned, liked the fact that the Ministry of Education cared about the perceptions of the students and thought that now the Ministry should focus on their experiences with violence (Students 88, 102 & 128).

The results provide a clear insight into the existing relationship between Costa Rican socialization and gender roles. These consistent and affective gender roles are seen by students as the cause and perpetuation of some forms of interpersonal violence. In their eyes, violence is a consequence of the constant regard for male and female roles within their society. This evidence of a connection between gender roles and interpersonal violence provides a benchmark from which government institutions can begin to look at the continuing problems among youths as the youths believe that gender roles and the breaking of certain gender roles is providing the basis for violence and a lack of respect. Moreover the students wish to see something done about their perceived connection between the two.

CHAPTER 7
CONCLUSIONS

Discussion

The 2002 World Health Report set the stage for proclaiming the need to research violence within the context of traditions, gender roles, family and interpersonal dysfunctions and through a multifaceted framework that takes into consideration all realms of a person's life. Following this standard, it became obvious that in order to study the large scale problem of interpersonal violence, a multidimensional perspective on society would need to be incorporated into a study. Thus, in order to grasp the effects that social structures, both macro and micro, have on the perpetuation of interpersonal violence, I decided to study a population whose views, opinions and perspectives were at the brink of being molded. It is for this reason that the current research focuses on adolescent perspectives and cognition of gender roles, the definitions of interpersonal violence, their understanding of the relationship between gender and violence and the causes and consequences of such violence. I believe that insights into the perpetuation of interpersonal violence can be found by studying a population that is being molded by the surrounding social structures. In Latin America, the social structures are widely leveraged by gender roles and rules that continue to affect Costa Rican youths.

Foundations for the Research

In an attempt to begin to understand the relationship that may exist between gender roles in Costa Rica and interpersonal violence, I began with

some basic understandings that I hoped would emerge in the discussions and answers offered by the youths. These understandings arose from theory as well as previous research that was conducted separately on the topics of Latin American gender roles, adolescents and family violence, and interpersonal violence.

In regards to Latin American gender roles, previous studies have shown that the patriarchal society that was founded primarily through the colonization of Latin America continues today (Hardin, 2002; Perilla, 1999; Sagot, 1995; Sagot, 2001). Various Latin American researchers have, for this and other reasons, insisted that research in this area of the world include context as an important variable for consideration (Cárdenas de Santamaría, 1990; Martín-Baró, 1994; Perilla, 1999; Ramírez, 1983). In addition, it has been argued that gender inequalities and rigid gender roles are likely to increase the existence of interpersonal violence (Adames & Campbell, 2005; Counts, Brown & Campbell, 1994; Levinson, 1989). As is evident, there is overwhelming support for researching gender's connection to interpersonal violence, especially in a population that has not been studied in great depths.

Secondly, more insight was necessary to complement the previous research conducted on adolescents and family violence. As aforementioned, much research has been done on the adverse effects of interpersonal violence on health, behaviors and future uses of violence (Bennet, Manderson, & Astbury, 2000; Borowsky, Hogan & Ireland, 1997; Bourgois, 1996; Crowell & Burgess, 1996; Heise, Moore & Toubia, 1995; Lipsey & Derzon, 1998; Thornberry,

Huizinga, & Loeber, 1995; Rozee, 1993; Tolan & Guerra, 1994; World Health

Organization, 2002). More specifically, numerous studies have identified the

importance of conducting research with adolescents and younger populations as

it has been widely recognized that witnessing and experiencing interpersonal

violence may have various detrimental effects on youths (Heise, Moore & Toubia,

1995; Douglas, 2006; Kincaid, 1982; Lipsey & Derzon, 1998; Thornberry,

Huizinga, & Loeber, 1995; Rozee, 1993; Straus, 2000; Straus & Yodanis, 1996;

Sudarman & Jaffee, 1993; Tolan & Guerra, 1994;). This research serves as

evidence that the adolescent population is vitally important to the prevention of

violence, especially in areas of the world where adolescents are not fully

considered in research done on interpersonal violence.

The final insight deals with the occurrence and perpetuation of

interpersonal violence in Latin America. It was previously mentioned that most of

the research in Latin America has dealt with adult women and their experiences

of interpersonal violence (Heise, 1994; Sagot, 1995; Ellsberg, 1996; Brown,

1999; Mckee, 1999; Sagot, Carcedo & Guido, 2000; García, Gomáriz, Hidalgo,

Ramellini & Barahona, 2002). Understanding that research done in different

countries of Latin America cannot simply be generalized to all populations of the

region (Menjívar & Salcido, 2002), it is important to look at the explicit and implicit

problems that each country faces. When data similar to those obtained in this

study is available for other Latin American countries, it would be important to

compare them to find out how historical backgrounds and other social factors that

are different in these countries affect the outcome of adolescent belief systems.

It is for the above reasons that the current project focused on adolescent students in Costa Rica and their experiences and perspective on interpersonal violence. The above insights into the problem of interpersonal violence in Latin America provided a clear path to the next logical step to research in this area of the world. The lack of research on the topic of adolescents and interpersonal violence provides a unique experience to create a firm benchmark for the continual research on interpersonal violence in Costa Rica. The current project's results provide the foundation necessary to understand the following exploratory questions: Are gender roles really important to the study of interpersonal violence among adolescents? Should differences in definitions of acceptable and unacceptable violence be discussed with this population? Do adolescents perceive that there is a relationship between gender roles and rules and interpersonal violence? Do adolescents differ by gender, region or grade level in regard to their views? These questions are central to understanding how the government can stop the perpetuation of violence among youths.

Results: An In-depth Look

In spite of the problems arising from unanticipated changes in methodology and from researcher effects, María and I were able to obtain important data from a rich sample of students in the Costa Rican Central Valley. This rich sample allowed me to delve into three primary questions. It first became imperative to find out if the youths were cognizant of the existence of the effects that their ancestral history had on them in regards to gender roles and rules that could be prominent in their society, especially in the form of machismo and

marianismo. Discussions with María and examination of various responses in the discussion questions, revealed the students did, in fact, recognize the existence of gender roles in their society, and, even more importantly, they were cognizant of the negative and positive effects of such gender roles and rules, as may be seen in Table 4. Through their own words, the students showed that they realized that their lives were still affected by their sex and, at times, gender.

Of significant importance, the answers provided by the students that recognized the strong existence and effects of gender roles and rules provides support for the use of Multicultural Feminism as a theoretical framework in this country and, presumably, this region of the world. Because multicultural feminism allows gender roles to be viewed alongside other socio-demographic indicators, such as socio-economic status, it became an invaluable foundation for not only looking at gender but also looking at the effect location of the students' schools had on the answers they supplied.

The second question had to do with whether the students recognized a difference between acceptable and unacceptable forms of interpersonal violence, as defined and explained by McKee (1999) and Brown (1999). The purpose of this question was to make sure that the results of the study would be well interpreted because the researcher's definition of violence could very well be different from that of the students' if the students did not believe that the mentioned behaviors were truly violence. Through their own definitions of different types of abuse, the students did differentiate between acceptable, non-deviant violence and unacceptable, abnormal violence. In fact, the students

made the distinctions that are often found in studies that use Straus' Conflict Tactics Scales (Straus, 1979; Straus, 1996) where minor and severe violence are separated. However, the students went a step further and said that slapping and pushing could be seen as either violent or non-violent, depending on the context, while kicking and punching were not acceptable behaviors no matter what the situation. Some violence, in other words, might be acceptable if there is cause for it. For example, a slap could be acceptable if deemed appropriate to the situation.

These types of examples, which provide evidence for the dichotomy of deviant, abnormal violence and non-deviant violence, also provide support for the use of Goffman's interaction rituals as a foundation for looking at the micro-social understandings that help to define violence both in the macro-sphere and micro-sphere. Interaction rituals form the basis for understanding the construction of the macho and the respected woman as both images are constructed only through their role playing and acceptance in society. In some instances, the male may feel it necessary to prove his status as a man by putting the female in her place. In this situation, as long as the male can justify the violent act and society accepts the justification, the male does not find it necessary to save face by reconstructing himself or excusing his actions. On the other hand, the female may find it necessary to justify the violent action because she may feel that it is her lot to bear as a woman, or that all men act in such a manner or that if she had done what he asked, she would not have been hurt. These justifications, if unchallenged, provide support for the use of violence. As is evident, Goffman's

rituals serve to provide a foundation for the micro-interactions that allow for the promulgation of violence in certain regions of the world.

The third question deals with the youth's realization of the connection that could potentially exist between gender roles and rules and interpersonal violence. In other words, were the students aware of either a direct or indirect relationship between acceptance of gender roles and the acceptance of interpersonal violence? According to the youths' answers, they were quite aware of the connection between disregarding accepted gender roles and the consequences that follow such a decision. One of the consequences that they mentioned was, in fact, the possibility of being the victim of violence, both emotional and physical. The students mentioned that people who do not play by the gender rules could become outcasts and be dislodged from society. This type of emotional and psychological trauma was consistently mentioned. In addition, the adolescents also mentioned the physical abuse that an individual might have to endure for not conforming. Although no certain association could be concluded from the current research mechanism (e.g. an increase in acceptance of gender roles/rule means an increase in the acceptance of interpersonal violence), it was clear that the students acknowledged that there were repercussions for not conforming to gender expectations. Moreover, the ramifications were more aimed toward females than males, as the females are the ones who are attempting to break out of their rigid gender roles.

From the latter results, it is obvious that social learning theory can be applied to the current research, as well as future research dealing with

adolescents and interpersonal violence. The results show that the learned

gender behaviors become a source of control for certain factions of society,

sometimes regardless of sex or gender. When individuals begin to break away

from the acceptable roles and conforming behaviors, there are marked

consequences that are, to some degree, accepted by society. Moreover,

individuals, particularly if not solely women, are taught from early ages that part

of their expected role is that of a martyr. Adolescents' comments in the

marianismo section were very similar to those made by adult women who, in the

"Critical Route" study (Sagot, Carcedo & Guido, 2000), mentioned that they were

socialized into believing they had to put up with mistreatment, as one woman

from Costa Rica clearly stated

> A mí me educaron de una forma, y le voy a recalcar probablemente a lo
> largo de esta entrevista, porque fue el factor que afectó mucho. A mí me
> educaron de una forma que había que aguantarle todo al marido. De hecho,
> mami lo hizo. Aguantarle todo. Callarlo todo." (Organización Panamericana
> de Salud, 1999: 155)

Social cues are learned and picked up by youths who see the possible benefits

of using violence to keep another person in line. As Bandura (1977), Akers

(1977, 1998), Chapple (2003) and O'Keefe (1998) show, youths have a tendency

to learn to imitate actions that they see as fruitful and beneficial. If an adolescent,

for example, wishes to establish his masculinity through the domination of a

female through force and sees that others behave in such a manner without

ramifications, the individual is likely to use force. These learned behaviors, which

are directly tied to the interaction rituals that make them possible, are the basis

for which the intergenerational transmission of violence occurs in certain

societies. In Costa Rica, because the gender roles are still rigid, the learning of

violence as a tool for control continues as there are no tangible sanctions against such behaviors and actions. Thus, there is a clear establishment of the existence of a relationship between gender roles and rules and interpersonal violence through the foundations of social learning theory.

The students painted a clear picture of what they viewed as the contributing factors of interpersonal violence, as well as the consequences of such violence. Figure 5 represents a model of the youth's projected path to interpersonal violence and its consequences. As was previously demonstrated in the results section, gender plays a role in the inception of interpersonal violence, along with socio-psychological and socio-economic problems. The model also shows that the students realized that there were multiple consequences to violence which ranged from loss of respect to loss of life. Interestingly, none of the students spoke about dropping out of school, failing school, or escaping through drug use, or other such consequences that traumatic events, such as experiencing or witnessing violence, can bring about in the lives of youths (Kolbo, Blakely, & Engleman, 1996). The students' responses depict a clear path from gender roles to interpersonal violence to the consequences that clearly illustrates students' extensive knowledge of the cycle of violence and emotional and physical consequences of interpersonal abuse.

[Figure 5 Here]

The above results establish the necessity to further educate the youths in Costa Rica in regards to proper conflict management behaviors. Also, the results portray the need to create campaigns and discussion groups in different areas of

Costa Rica which can help adolescents understand their roles in shaping their future. Campaigns and traveling experts who can reach various parts of the country can help teach adolescents how to prevent further violence through teachings about using strength as a positive tool and gender as a social suggestion. They can help to resocialize students so that the students can then, themselves, become beacons of knowledge for others. In order to achieve these goals, however, it is necessary to regain the trust of the youths who tend to believe that the Costa Rican agencies do not care for them or their problems. Their thirst for knowledge about intervention resources, recognizing and stopping violence, and breaking out of rigid gender molds is all the fuel that is needed in order to create a successful campaign that can begin to pave the way to the eradication of interpersonal violence.

Research Limitations

IRB Problems

As previously mentioned, the current project went through a number of rounds of changes and adjustments as a result of the culture clash that occurred with the IRB of the University of Central Florida. Consequently after eight weeks of deliberations and stipulations, I decided that, for the welfare of the adolescent student participants, the quantitative portion of the project would be left for a later time, as a study separate from the dissertation. A few significant limitations arose from the decision to limit the current study to a purely perspective-oriented project.

First, because of the time restrictions created by the lagging of the permission for the project, only a few towns could be visited within the Costa Rican Central Valley. As a result of having to undergo several review board meetings before the project was approved, the research did not start on time. This became a problem as the class sessions in Costa Rica were coming to a close and students were preparing for their year exams. Not wanting to intrude during such an important part of the year, I was forced to limit my research to the qualitative component and to plan my trip again so that I would be able to gather the data necessary to make the research worthwhile for the dissertation and for the government agencies. Because I was only able to travel through the Central Valley (excluding the two regions that were closed off to me as a result of environmental factors and the homicide), the results are not generalizable to other areas of Costa Rica. Should I have been allowed to begin weeks earlier than the actual start time, I might have been able to circumvent the obstacles that were placed before me at the time of the project's actual inception in Costa Rica.

A second limitation that arose from the IRB disagreements was that I decided that, in order to be able to conduct any research at all in the region, I would have to eliminate the survey portion of the project. Although what is now known as the second phase of the project has been picked up by Costa Rican agencies, it was a vital part of the project, especially when it came to the ultimate goal of defining specific recommendations and goals for the Costa Rican agencies. Moreover, since the qualitative portion of the project was created to feed the improvements of the quantitative portion of the project, the initial

purpose and, thus, orientation of the discussion questions had to be changed in order to be able to obtain some conclusive results on purely exploratory, instead of explanatory, data. These changes to the questions were not previously planned and had to be completed with less preparation as a result of aforementioned time constraints.

Discussion Groups

As previously mentioned, the initial plan for the focus groups had to be discarded in order to conduct the research in Costa Rican schools. Three important issues became impediments to obtaining better data. The first had to do with the inability to record the discussions. Because the school directors did not allow for digital recording of any of the discussions as they did not think it prudent, we, the researchers, were forced to rely on memory in order to record their observations. Unfortunately, the process of writing down observations after each session was disrupted by the fact that María and I were constantly moving from one classroom to another without a chance to write down any observations from previous groups.

Secondly, María and I were forced to work separately from each other as the different classrooms had to be monitored during the discussion sessions at the same time. In these situations, María and I observed different interactions among the students and between the students and themselves. These differences may have been due to the previously mentioned differences in age. These types of researcher effects could have affected how the students reacted and discussed in front of the two women.

Finally, the observations and the group sessions were disturbed by the fact that some classes were more chaotic than others. As previously mentioned, the night school class was unmanageable as students from other classes continuously disrupted the discussion session. It became difficult for us to differentiate between actual discussions about the questions and discussions about other matters. These disruptions created gaps in observation results and discussion group comments that could have served to better explain differences in views and opinions between the night school and the other two groups. This issue is of special importance for the inner city school results as it was the only school in the inner city from which we obtained data.

Methodological Impediments

One major drawback of the project was the length of the open-ended discussion questions. Since the students chose to primarily and, at times, solely answer the discussion questions on paper, the length of the document became a tremendous concern. Respondent fatigue played a large role in the lack of responses given during the first session, where students had the 14 page version of the discussion questions. The students openly expressed dissatisfaction with the length of the document and began to turn in unfinished questionnaires near the middle of the session. Upon noticing that the students were not answering the demographic information, which was on the last page of the questionnaire, I asked students to at least answer the last page, which also contained three questions about causes and consequences of interpersonal violence and causes of gender violence. As a result, most students were able to answer these

questions during this session. However, much information was lost as a result of respondent fatigue.

These were the major problems that were faced and created limitations for the current project. Overcoming these situations could improve the study greatly; however, the current research does represent an important starting point from which to continue to work toward the eradication of interpersonal violence and gender inequality. Understanding the ideas opinions, views and perceptions of our youths can only strengthen the foundation of our future.

<div align="center">Project Recommendations</div>

Based on the current exploratory findings, the following are recommendations for interested agencies who may wish to tackle the problem of interpersonal violence in Costa Rica starting at the level of adolescents. These recommendations are based on the results that found that adolescents are cognizant of the role that gender plays in their lives, that they see violence differently depending on context, that they do see a connection between gender and interpersonal violence, and that there are slight differences on how they perceive both gender and interpersonal violence depending on their gender, grade level and region. The recommendations are split into those that arise from the current research and those that arise from previous literature. They are split in such a manner because it is important to consider past research and present research in order to create effective and conclusive policies for future generations.

The recommendations that arose from the present research are as follows:

- Recognize that youths do dichotomize interpersonal violence between acceptable and unacceptable forms. This is an important insight in creating prevention programs that will target all violence but will also focus on pointing out that some more common types of behaviors (such as pushing and slapping) are still violence no matter what the context.

- Know that students are eager to talk about issues of interpersonal violence and gender roles, but they do not believe in government agencies' abilities to help them or these agencies' interest in helping. Understanding this issue may make it easier to consider how the agency will present itself to youths.

- Recognize that the youths know and understand more than you think. Remember that their experiences mold them and enlighten them informally about situations they might not be expected to understand.

- Consider possible differences in definitional understandings of violence and abuse. Your ideas of violence may clash with theirs, thus creating an instant rift between the target population and the agency. In order to handle definitional issues, it is important to take the time to understand why the differences exist and how best to tackle them.

- Understand that all of the knowledge the students hold may not be correct. It is then up to the agency to help rectify the misunderstandings and lead them to sources of help and information.

- Create research instruments that will allow students to express their views, while also being able to obtain victimization and perpetration information. It is important to have a full perspective on what the youths are or have gone through in order to know how to help them. Prevention plans, campaigns and models should only be based on a full picture of situations.

- Recognize that gender roles and rules and interpersonal violence go hand in hand in some societies. Understanding this connection will aid in the development of effective programs that look at the social and cultural structures as well as the familial influences.

The following are recommendations that arise from previous research:

- Recognize that interpersonal violence has detrimental developmental, educational, psychological and physical effects on children and adolescents. These events can trigger problems that students may not recognize as related to their witnessing or experiencing interpersonal violence.

- Recognize that students who experience interpersonal violence can face problems that will affect different spheres of their lives. In other words, the effects of violence in the home or in intimate relationships are not isolated to just the micro-sphere of the youth. For example, declining performance in school and dropping out of school are consequences of interpersonal violence that may not be recognizable right away.

- Recognize that violence is an activity that can be learned in the home. Youths should be guided to resocialization that can lead them to understand that violence is not the correct mechanism for handling conflict. Understanding that resocialization should take place in homes and schools, and reinforced in youth's other life spheres, is vital to the prevention of future violence.

- Before creating preventive and informative media campaigns on interpersonal violence and on gender roles, conduct focus groups which could inform the agency of possible issues of extreme importance to youths from different regions of the country. Remember that there is no overarching solution to the interpersonal problems of youths with different backgrounds.

- In creating prevention and intervention plans of action, be sure to take into consideration the perspectives and opinions of the adolescents that you hope to reach. Their experiences shape and mold their views, which could very well affect their perceptions of your project and its success. So don't just take into consideration what the agency feels is important, but also remember what the youths felt was important to them.

- For media campaigns aimed at stopping the perpetuation of interpersonal violence and continual gender oppression, realize that using age appropriate and location appropriate tools are essential. Campaigns aimed at males and females separately are important, as long as they both relate to the same subjects. In other words, do not make

interpersonal violence solely the responsibility or problem of the female and machismo the problem of the male. The youths need to understand that, in order to resolve these societal dilemmas, each has to understand that these are universal problems.

The above sets of recommendations should be taken into consideration together in order to create effective responses to interpersonal violence and gender inequalities.

The above recommendations serve as starting points for conducting research primarily in Costa Rica, but they can also be pertinent to other Latin American countries, once the countries' histories are taken into consideration. These recommendations can help organizations to create preventive projects that will take into consideration the multi-dimensional world with which youths contend and which shape their views.

The present investigation provides information that was not previously known about the perspective students have on gender roles and rules and interpersonal violence. The importance of the research lies in the fact that students' perceptions may guide their actions and reactions in situations of conflict, especially those in which their specified roles in society are questioned. Latin American gender roles continue to play a part in the development of youths, and the youths recognize the importance of gender in their everyday lives. More importantly, they also recognize that breaking the gender rules may bring about consequences that could emotionally or physically harm them and/or their loved ones. Moreover, their perceptions about what constitutes violence could also

affect the types of behaviors they exhibit. If they do not believe a certain act is violence, they may not have any restraints in using a violent act against a loved one. Finally, knowing that students believe there is a relationship between gender roles and rules and interpersonal violence, it is important for educational campaigns to target both issues at the same time.

These findings all provide strong foundations from which educational programs can all be launched. The above recommendations are starting points for the creation of educational programs for youths who apparently need and want the attention from organizations which can provide answers to their problems of violence. This research opened a door for adolescents who had not previously been able to express themselves on a topic that appears to affect many of them. If such important and impressive results were obtained from this small sample, the possible wealth of helpful information that could be obtained from larger samples is vital to the creation of programs that may help to shape future generations.

Building on the qualitative part, the second phase of the project, the quantitative component which was not implemented in the current research, could provide an additional opportunity to further investigate the specific types of violence these youths experience and witness on a continuous basis. This important information could provide the basis for incorporating policies that could help eradicate intimate violence through the implementation of interpersonal violence prevention programs that are actually based on the specific problems that students from different backgrounds could face.

It is for this reason that the present research stands as an important benchmark for the obliteration of interpersonal violence. It considers the individual as an entity affected by and affecting the different realms of social life which ultimately create or eradicate the cycle of violence within society. This multi-dimensional perspective, obtained from the 2002 World Health Organization Report, provides a well-rounded viewpoint of adolescent beliefs about two vitally important issues in their lives: Gender and interpersonal violence. Taken separately and combined, these two issues could define the well-being of a child and/or adolescent, making it a primary priority to making sure these youths live sound and healthy lives.

APPENDIX A: IRB APPROVAL EMAIL

Sent From:	Joanne Muratori
Send To:	Monica Mendez, Jana L. Jasinski, Chad D Macuszonok, Joanne Muratori, Janice Turchin, Barbara Ward, Sophia F. Dziegielewski
IRB Number:	SBE-07-05126
IRB Expiration:	09/13/2008
Research ID Number:	N/A
Title:	Experiences, Attitudes and Beliefs about Interpersonal Violence: A Study on Costa Rican Adolescents
Study Status:	Active
Principal Investigator:	Monica Mendez
Message Content:	TO: Monica Mendez (Faculty Supervisor: Jana Jasinski, Ph.D.)

Your study has been approved by IRB Vice-Chair on September 14, 2007; the expiration date is September 13, 2007. All of the documents that you need for your study have been approved and stamped with IRB approval date for your use.

Since I am working from home, I cannot generate the IRB letter for you; I will do this first thing on Monday morning. However, you have what you need to begin your research and this correspondence will suffice as your IRB approval.

If you have any questions, please write to IRB@mail.ucf.edu   Do not reply to this iRIS correspondence.

Thank you for your patience through this process, as well as this unexpected "technical difficulty." Best wishes on the success of your research.

Regards, Joanne Muratori |

APPENDIX B: TABLES AND FIGURES

Table 1: Costa Rican Geography & Population

Province	Population	Area(km.²)	Area(mi.²)	Capital
Alajuela	716,286	9,754	3,766	Alajuela
Cartago	432,395	3,125	1,206	Cartago
Guanacaste	264,238	10,141	3,915	Liberia
Heredia	354,732	2,657	1,026	Heredia
Limón	339,295	9,189	3,548	Puerto Limón
Puntarenas	357,483	11,266	4,350	Puntarenas
San José	1,345,750	4,960	1,915	San José
	3,810,179	51,090	19,726	

(Source: http://www.statoids.com/ucr.html)

Table 2: Demographic Indicators of Costa Rica

	Population	Educational Institution Attendance	Unemployment 15 to 24 yrs of age	Child Mortality	Illiteracy	Female Headed Households	Born Outside Costa Rica	Adolescent Mothers 15 to 19 yrs of age
National Average	3,810,179*	65.8%	7.9%	1.9%	4.8%	23%	7.8%	13.2%
Monte de Oca (San José)	50,433**	80.0%	4.7%	1.3%	1.0%	33%	13.9%	5.8%
Alajuela (Alajuela)	222,853**	64.9%	6.6%	1.8%	3.9%	22%	8.2%	12.5%
Desamparados (San José)	193,478**	68.4%	6.8%	1.8%	2.4%	26%	7.7%	10.9%
Los Santos (Leon Cortés)	11,696**	57.7%	5.1%	2.5%	6.8%	15%	3.0%	12.4%

*2000 Total population
** Population per County

Table 3: Student Demographics by High School

	Liceo Ricardo Fernandez Guardia	Alajuela After-School Group	Liceo Napoleon Quesada	Liceo de San Pablo	Total
Sex					
Female	13	0	26	36	75
Male	13	17	20	29	79
Age					
13	0	0	1	0	1
14	0	0	19	3	22
15	2	5	22	15	44
16	9	11	4	21	45
17	7	1	0	20	28
18	5	0	0	4	9
19	1	0	0	2	3
20	1	0	0	0	1
School Year					
First	0	2	0	0	2
Second	25	3	24	0	52
Third	0	7	22	21	50
Fourth	0	5	0	21	26
Fifth	1	0	0	23	24
School Location					
San Jose	✓		✓		
Alajuela		✓			
Los Santos				✓	
Area Type					
Inner City	✓				
City		✓	✓		
Rural				✓	
Group Type					
Day School			✓	✓	
Night School	✓				
After School		✓			

Table 4: Nodes Components

Questions	Codes/Nodes	Sources
1. A. How do you define marital or intrafamily violence?		154
	Ipv Negatively Affects Youths	5
	Ipv As Lack Of Communication	5
	Ipv Only From Father…Male To Mother…Female &/Or Kids	16
	Ipv Mutual	24
	Ipv Because Of Lack Of Respect	18
B. How do you define dating violence?		154
	Suicide	1
	Jealousy or Lack of Trust	18
	Mutual Aggression	19
	Male To Female Aggression	16
	Sexual Abuse	3
	Controlling, Manipulating, Forcing	28
	Lack Of Respect And Or Comm.	24
C. How do you define sexual violence?		154
	Male To Female	12
	Forced Sexual Contact Or No Consent	54
	Abuse Consequence Or Cause Of Mentally Ill	10
	Specifically Rapes	17
	Not Just Between Intimate Partners	6
	Abuse Occurs To Men And Women	4
	Bad Education	2
	Abuse Of Victim Dignity	4

Questions	Codes/Nodes	Sources
	Lack of Respect	3
D. How do you define child abuse?		154
	Abuse Affects kids' lives	7
	Abusers Mentally Ill	12
	Sexual Abuse, Prostitution	22
	Explotation Through WORK	15
	Lack of Respect	2
	Illogical	2
	Corporal Punishment	6
	Violate Child's Rights	5
	Exploitation	7
	kids cant Defend Themselves..Innocent	18
2. A. How do you define being a man?		154
	Having Penis	12
	Responsible	13
	Harm woman	5
	Respect Women	9
	Equal to women, Same Rights, Responsibilites	12
	Worker	7
	Good, Caring, Loving, Has feelings	17
	Machista	45
B. How do you define being a woman?		154
	Same right, responsibilities as men	13
	Have Vagina	5

Questions	Codes/Nodes	Sources
	Wonderful because able to give birth	5
	Abused by Male Society	5
	Understanding, loving, is good person	15
	In charge of, responsible for Household Duties	10
	Be Mother, Responsible for Kids, having kids	10
	Gift from God, God Creation	5
	Worker	2
	Less rights than men	2
	Weak, Submissive, Fragile, Delicate, Sensitive	14
	Fighter, survivor, brave	9
	Earning respect, being Respected, Valued	11
	Marianismo Characteristics	34
3.A. Do you believe there are gender roles in your Home?		154
	Yes	71
	Depends on partners	1
	Dont Know	1
	No	57
B. Do you believe there are gender roles in your school?		154
	Dont Know	1
	No	79
	Yes	37
C. Do you believe there are gender roles in your among friends?		154

Questions	Codes/Nodes	Sources
	Sometimes	1
	No	10
	Yes	7
D. Do you believe there are gender roles in society in general?		154
	Yes	75
	No	46
	Dont Know	2
4. What gender roles have you experienced or heard about?		154
	Machismo, VAW	16
	Women at home, Men at Work or leisure	53
	Man Responsible for taking care family	2
	Professional Work Differences	5
	Man Head of Household, in charge, dominant	10
	Men Supress Feelings	6
	Men Stronger than Women, women submissive	3
	Women can't study or work	2
	Women can't Drive	2
	Dont Know	2
	Machista Culture	68
5. A. Do you identify well with your gender role expectation as a male or female in society?		154
	Yes	5

Questions	Codes/Nodes	Sources
	Dont know	1
6. Do you believe that gender roles are important to society? Why? Why not?		154
	Yes	42
	No	25
7. A. e. Do you believe there are consequences for people who do not follow their expected gender roles? What are those consequences?		154
	Yes	48
	Lose Job	4
	Discrimination	9
	Rejected by Family and or Society	15
	Chaos, decomposition of society, social control	3
	Treat differently by society and family	1
	Violence, abuse, maltreatment	10
	Problems	2
	No Respect	10
	No	6
8. A. 3. Do you think there is any relationship between gender and interpersonal violence, especially violence between parents and dating couples? If so, what is it?		154
	Yes	2

Questions	Codes/Nodes	Sources
9. A. ¿a. Do you believe one gender is more or less likely to be abused by the other? Why?		154
	Hombre	1
	Neither--Equality	18
	El Gay	1
	Mujer	1
	Machismo	27
	Men bad	9
	Delicate, Weak	39
	What's always been done, lets herself, fear	11
	Feminism	1
10. What situations could qualify as intrafamily/marital violence?		154
	Include Sexual Violence	9
	Include Cheating on Spouse	3
	Include Child abuse	13
	Include Jealousy	10
	Include Controlling Behaviors, Machismo	18
	Woman abusing man	3
	Lack of Communication, Respect, Trust	11
	Murder	2
11. Are there situations that go on between parents and children that you call physical violence?		154
	Lack of respect	2

Questions	Codes/Nodes	Sources
	Corporal Punishment	4
	Children abusing parents	2
	Parents taking it out on kids	2
	Forcing Kids to work, keeping them from school	1
	Sexual Abuse	2
	Parents viol. because of upbringing, Machismo	3
	Alcohol	1
12. Are there things that go on between dating	teenages that you would call physical violence?	154
	Cheating on partner	10
	Controlling Behaviors, Machismo	39
	Sexual Violence, force person to sex act	11
	Jealousy	24
	Murder	1
	Machismo Culture	60
13. A. How do you define insulting a partner?		154
	Disrespect in front of family or others	2
	Insult to lower partner's self-esteem	7
	Treat like an object	1
	Bring up old baggage	3
B. How do you define controlling a partner?		154
	Have other person in fear	1
	Lack of Trust	2
	Manipulate partner, threaten	4
	Keep tabs on time and places, cell phone	4

Questions	Codes/Nodes	Sources
	Force to have Sex	1
	Prevent communication with others	1
	Jealousy	2
	Make decisions for her	2
	Constantly Calling partner	3
	To Dominate	2
	Prevent from expressing oneself, opinions	1
	Keep from studies, dreams, work	2
C. How do you define pressuring a partner?		154
	Force Against Person's Morals	1
	Force Sex	6
	Pressure part. about money	1
	Threaten with violence	2
	Calling all the time	2
	Emotional abuse	1
	Harrassment	2
	Force certain right or privileges onto person	1
	Threatening to end relationship	2
D. How do you define yelling at a partner?		154
	Cast fear, intimidate	3
	Dominate	3
	Lower Self-Esteem	1
	Lack of Respect	3
	This violence may be more harmful.	1

Questions	Codes/Nodes	Sources
14. When emotional abuse happens, is it important enough to do something about?		154
	No	2
	Not worth paying attention to words	
	Yes	1
	No right to be mistreated	6
	Can escalate if left alone	21
	Lowers self-esteem	5
	Words hurt	6
	Psychological Harm, depression	14
	Can't always live in Fear	1
	Any type of Viol. is Abuse	2
	So it doesn't happen again	2
	Laws protect in these cases	1
15. Do you believe emotional interpersonal violence is or should be accepted by society?		154
	Yes	2
	NO	1
	Negative social results	10
	Affects those around abuse	1
	No type of Viol. is Acceptable	5
	No one deserves it	4

Questions	Codes/Nodes	Sources
	Psychological, Emotional Traumas	7
	Low Self-Esteem	4
	Bad Example for Minors	2
	Escalates to other assaults	2
	Worst of all Abuses	4
16. Given everything we have talked about up to this point, is there anything that stands out as important?		154
	Nothing	2
	Everything	5
	Child Abuse	4
	No one has right to abuse	1
	Should have Discussion Groups	2
	Control oneself so as not to abuse	2
	Why do abusers abuse	1
	Sexual Abuse	1
	Control, Pressure a partner	4
	No one deserves to be abused	1
	Verbal, Emotional abuse	12
	Abuse leads to murders	1
	Psychological, Emotional Problems	7
	Respect Partner, Dont be violent	10
	Help others, or receive help	2
	Prevent abuse	3
	Alcohol	1
	Love I have for others can harm me	1
	Report Abuse	5
	Dont be like abusive persons	1

Questions	Codes/Nodes	Sources
	Dont harm women, respect them	2
	All abuse is harmful, unacceptable	3
	Understand abusers as much as victims	1
	victims exist & we dont help them	1
	Society needs to change	1
17. A. What do you think could be considered physical violence in a marriage?		154
	Machismo	5
	Woman hits man	1
	Man hits woman	14
	Mutual Combat	2
	Sexual abuse	6
	lack of Respect	3
	Jealousy	1
	Alcohol, lack of money as causes	5
	Unfaithfulness	1
	Depression, children suffer	1
B. What situations do you consider that could qualify as dating violence?		154
	Pressure partner, Control Partner	19
	Jealousy	6
	Threaten Suicide, self-harm	1
	Sexual Abuse	5
	Lack of Respect	3
	Cheating	2
	Machismo	2

Questions	Codes/Nodes	Sources
C. What situations exist between parents and children that could be considered physical abuse?		154
	Corporal Punishment	10
	Dont support what youth wants to do with life	1
	Witness abuse, rxn to witnessing abuse	2
	Taking it out on youths	2
	Distinction between abuse and just hitting them	10
	Alcohol	1
	Sexual Abuse	4
	Forcing children or youths to work	1
	Children hitting parents	3
18. Is pushing your partner abuse?		154
	Yes	1
	Person could fall and hurt self	5
	That's where it begins	5
	No one has right to touch us	1
	No	1
	Depends on Context	
19. Is slapping your partner abuse?		154
	Yes	1

Questions	Codes/Nodes	Sources
	Want to Control Parnter through Slap	1
	BUT some deserve it	3
	BUT there is a reason for it	2
	Beginning of Viol.	3
	Trying to intimidate	1
	Lowers self-esteem	1
	No	2
	Depends on Situation	2
20. Is kicking your partner abuse?		154
	Yes	1
	Shows whose in Charge	1
	Victim not an animal, savage act	10
	Leaves physical marks	2
	No	1
	Depends on Motive	2
21. Is punching your partner abuse?		154
	Yes	1

Questions	Codes/Nodes	Sources
	Shows who's in charge at home	1
	Very serious abuse	4
	Abuser Mentally Ill	4
	causes trauma	3
	This is NOW domestic violence	1
	Excessive, could kill partner	10
	Should be punished by law	3
22. When this type of behavior or situaiton occurs, do you think it's important enough to do something about?		154
	Yes	1
	Promote Positive Future Change	2
	Could Escalate, death	37
	To stop this type of abuse	10
	Not normal Behavior	1
	Punishable by law, jail, police	10
	Ask Church help	1
	Not just to treat person as slave	1
	No	1
	Individual Person's Problem	1

Questions	Codes/Nodes	Sources
23. A. Do you think that physical interpersonal violence is or should be acceptable in our society?		154
	23B	1
	Depends	5
	No	60
	Yes	60
C. Do you think the government should intervene? What role should they have?		154
	No	1
	They're not interested, dont' do anything to prevent	16
	Only help when psych. problems	1
	None of their business, individuals' problems	8
	No	19
	Yes	1
	BUT don't usually do anything	6
	Use Media, give talks, discussions	11
	Yes	14
	Are responsible for punishment & laws	42
	Role to protect, take care of people & society	14

Questions	Codes/Nodes	Sources
24. Do you know of any resources for adults who are involved in interpersonal violence?		154
	No	66
	Psychological help	9
	Yes	5
	Police, jail, laws, rights	18
	INAMU, other institutions, govt	11
	Hotlines, support groups	3
	Anti-violence campaigns	1
	Medical Center	1
25. Do you know of any resources for adolescents who are involved in interpersonal violence?		154
	No	57
	Psychological help	9
	Yes	5
	Parents, Family	3
	PANI	7
	Laws, Rights	6
	Institutions, govt	20
	Information Campaigns, discussion groups	4
	Rehabilitation	2
	School	1
26. Do you know of any resources for children who are involved in interpersonal violence?		154
	No	43

Questions	Codes/Nodes	Sources
	Yes	5
	Psychological Help	7
	El PANI	39
	Parents, Family	3
	Police, laws	3
	Institutions, Hogares Crea, govt	6
	Schools	1
27. Given everything we have talked about up to this point, is there anything that stands out as important?		154
	Kids, youths	1
	Abuse personal problem	1
	Why doesn't society do something	1
	Control, end violence	5
	Need to create helpful resources, campaigns	9
	Existing Institutions DONT help	1
	Machismo	1
	DV Social problem	2
28. Do you believe there are any circumstances under which these behaviors are acceptable?		154
29. What do you think are the causes of intrafamily violence?		154
	alcohol, drugs	35
	Lack of communication, respect	37
	Gossip	2
	Jealousy, lack of trust	22
	Money problems, unemployment	15

Questions	Codes/Nodes	Sources
	Cheating	10
	Family problems, parental traumas, stress	6
	Don't know	1
	Misunderstandings, fights	6
	Parental Social Learning, socialization	5
	Machismo	10
	Lack of Education	1
30. What do you think are the consequences to interpersonal violence?		154
	Jail, prison	4
	Child emotional trauma	7
	Not sure, Don't Know	4
	Bad communication, lack of respect	6
	Death	34
	Bad family behavior, problems	2
	Emotional Trauma for victims	13
	Lack of trust	4
	Divorce, separation, family disintegration	35
	Physical trauma	12
	More abuse, fighting	4
	Depression, sadness, low self-esteem	3
	Cheating	2
	Drinking	2
	Suicide	3
	Creation of future abusers	1
	Machismo or Feminism	1

Questions	Codes/Nodes	Sources
31. What do you think are the causes of gender violence?		154
	Alcohol	2
	Lack of communication	3
	Discrimination	2
	Machismo, inequality	33
	Feminism	8
	Ignorance, socialization	16
	Take advantage women weak	3
	Dont Know	17
32. Do you have any other questions that you would like to ask?		154
	Why does govt say will do something then doesn't	1
	What can be done to detect violence	1
	Campaigns & discussion groups to help	1
	Why havent they tried to improve punishment	1
	why doesn't society worry about this more	1
33. We would like to hear your opinions, which are very important to the study. What do you think about this survey?		154
	Very good, very interesting	20
	Very Important, also important to give our opinion	15
	Helps us not to have violence	1
	Help me to think about own relationships	2
	Good for knowing more about abuse, violence	9

Questions	Codes/Nodes	Sources
	Helps us better see problems & think more	11
	Youths need more of these surveys	2
	We want you to help us understand more	2
	Helps us see if we're victims or abusers	2
	Could help people who r being abused	1
	Good because helps me think about CR problems	2
	Helps to eliminate violence	3
	Good for discussing our daily problems	1
	Hope you do this again, should and need more	7
	Good but long	2
	Makes sense	1
	Didn't like questions	1
	Good because helps society	6
	Very well done	1
	Important because ministry finds out what youth going through	2
	Would like to get more information on these issues	1
	Good to ask what we think, but also what we live thru	1
	Good but some confusing questions	1
	Helps people express thing they dont usually talk about	3
	Hope it helps to make women's right more valuable	1

Table 5: Student Responses by Gender and Region

	Respondent Sex		Location of School		
	Male (n=79)	Female (n=75)	Inner City (n=26)	City (n=63)	Rural (n=65)
Man Defined by Machista Characteristics (n=45)	24	21	2	21	22
Woman Defined by Marianismo Characteristics (n=34)	14	20	1	18	15
Women equal to Men, Same Rights, Responsibilites (n=25)	6	19	2	9	14
Do You Believe there are Gender Roles in the Home?					
Yes (n=71)	37	34	5	32	34
No (n=57)	30	27	1	28	28
Do You Believe there are Gender Roles in Society?					
Yes (n=75)	35	40	4	25	46
No (n=46)	26	20	0	29	17
Why Do You Believe Women are More Likely to be Abused?					
Machismo (n=27)	7	20	2	11	14

	Respondent Sex		Location of School		
	Male (n=79)	**Female (n=75)**	**Inner City (n=26)**	**City (n=63)**	**Rural (n=65)**
Women Delicate, Weak (n=39)	19	20	0	19	20
What's always been done, lets herself, fear (n=11)	5	6	0	5	6
Feminism (n=1)	0	1	0	0	1
Is Interpersonal Violence a Personal Problem?					
Yes (n=60)	27	33	8	35	17
No (n=60)	35	25	7	23	30
Do You Know of Any Resources for Adults?					
No (n=66)	33	33	8	28	30
Psychological help (n=9)	6	3	3	4	2
INAMU, other institutions, govt (n=11)	7	4	0	6	5
Police, jail, laws, rights (n=18)	9	9	2	10	6
Do You Know of Any Resources for Adolescents?					
No (n=57)	31	26	8	28	21

	Respondent Sex		Location of School		
	Male (n=79)	Female (n=75)	Inner City (n=26)	City (n=63)	Rural (n=65)
Psychological help (n=9)	5	4	3	3	3
PANI (n=7)	5	2	0	2	5
Institutions, Hogares Crea, govt (n=20)	9	11	0	15	5
Do You know of Any Resources for Children?					
No (n=43)	22	21	7	19	17
Psychological Help (n=7)	4	3	3	2	2
El PANI (n=39)	19	20	2	25	12
Institutions, Hogares Crea, govt (n=6)	4	2	0	3	3
Interpersonal Violence Mutual	18	27	10	13	22
Interpersonal Violence from Woman to Man	2	2	2	0	2
Child Abuse as Exploitation Throught Work/Prostitution	11	11	6	4	12
What Do You Think Are the Causes of Family Violence?					

	Respondent Sex		Location of School		
	Male (n=79)	Female (n=75)	Inner City (n=26)	City (n=63)	Rural (n=65)
Alcohol, drugs (n=35)	15	20	3	20	12
Lack of communication, respect (n=37)	14	23	7	14	16
Jealousy, lack of trust (n=22)	12	10	4	10	8
Money problems, unemployment (n=15)	7	8	2	11	2
Cheating (n=10)	6	4	2	3	5
Machismo (n=10)	3	7	0	2	8
What Do You Believe are the Causes of Gender Violence?					
Machismo, inequality (n=33)	19	14	0	17	16
Feminism (n=8)	3	5	0	5	3
Ignorance, socialization (n=16)	7	9	0	11	5
What Do You Believe Are the Consequences of Inter. Viol?					

	Respondent Sex		Location of School		
	Male (n=79)	**Female (n=75)**	**Inner City (n=26)**	**City (n=63)**	**Rural (n=65)**
Death (n=34)	14	20	3	10	21
Emotional & Physical trauma (n=25)	10	15	1	9	15
Divorce, separation, family disintegration (n=35)	15	20	0	17	18

Table 6: Responses from Males and Females in Different Locations

	Males			Females		
	Rural	**City**	**Inner City**	**Rural**	**City**	**Inner City**
Man Defined by Machista Characteristics (n=45)	10	13	1	12	8	1
Woman Defined by Marianismo Characteristics (n=34)	5	8	1	10	10	0
Women equal to Men, Same Rights (n=25)	2	4	0	12	5	2
Do You Believe there are Gender Roles in the Home?						
Yes (n=71)	15	18	4	19	14	1
No (n=57)	13	17	0	15	11	1
Do You Believe there are Gender Roles in Society?						
Yes (n=75)	21	12	2	25	13	2
No (n=46)	7	19	0	10	10	0
Why Do You Believe Women are More Likely to be Abused?						
Machismo (n=27)	3	4	0	11	7	2
Women Delicate, Weak (n=39)	10	9	0	10	10	0

	Males			**Females**		
	Rural	**City**	**Inner City**	**Rural**	**City**	**Inner City**
What's always been done, lets herself, fear (n=11)	2	3	0	4	2	0
Feminism (n=1)	0	0	0	1	0	0
Is Interpersonal Violence a Personal Problem?						
Yes (n=60)	6	18	3	11	17	5
No (n=60)	16	15	4	14	8	3
Do You Know of Any Resources for Adults?						
No (n=66)	12	16	5	18	12	3
INAMU, other institutions, govt (n=11)	4	3	0	1	3	0
Police, jail, laws, rights (n=18)	5	4	0	1	6	2
Psychological help (n=9)	1	4	1	1	0	2
Do You Know of Any Resources for Adolescents?						
No (n=57)	9	17	5	12	11	3
Psychological help (n=9)	1	3	1	2	0	2

	Males			Females		
	Rural	**City**	**Inner City**	**Rural**	**City**	**Inner City**
PANI (n=7)	4	1	0	1	1	0
Institutions, Hogares Crea, govt (n=20)	3	6	0	2	9	0
Do You know of Any Resources for Children?						
No (n=43)	8	10	4	9	9	3
Psychological Help (n=7)	1	2	1	1	0	2
El PANI (n=39)	6	11	2	6	14	0
Institutions, Hogares Crea, govt (n=6)	1	3	0	2	0	0
Interpersonal Violence Mutual	9	5	4	13	8	6
Interpersonal Violence from Woman to Man	1	0	1	1	0	1
Child Abuse as Exploitation Throught Work/Prostitution	5	2	4	7	2	0
What Do You Think Are the Causes of Family Violence?						
Alcohol, drugs (n=35)	4	9	2	8	11	1
Lack of communication, respect (n=37)	5	6	3	11	8	4
Jealousy, lack of trust (n=22)	4	7	1	4	3	3

	Males			Females		
	Rural	**City**	**Inner City**	**Rural**	**City**	**Inner City**
Money problems, unemployment (n=15)	1	5	1	1	6	1
Cheating (n=10)	2	3	1	3	0	1
Machismo (n=10)	3	0	0	5	2	0
What Do you Believe are the Causes of Gender Violence?						
Machismo, inequality (n=33)	7	12	0	9	5	0
Feminism (n=8)	1	2	0	2	3	0
Ignorance, socialization (n=16)	3	4	0	2	7	0
What Do You Believe Are the Consequences of Inter. Viol?						
Death (n=34)	8	5	1	13	5	2
Emotional & Physical trauma (n=25)	7	3	0	8	6	2
Divorce, separation, family disintegration (n=35)	8	7	0	10	10	0

Table 7: Male Student Responses by Grade Level

	Males				
	First Year (n=2)	**Second Year (n=28)**	**Third Year (n=22)**	**Fourth Year (n=16)**	**Fifth Year (n=11)**
Man Defined by Machista Characteristics	1	5	8	6	4
Woman Defined by Marianismo Characteristics	1	3	3	5	2
Women equal to Men, Same Rights	0	0	5	1	0
Do You Believe there are Gender Roles in the Home?					
Yes	1	12	13	5	6
No	1	8	7	10	4
Do You Believe there are Gender Roles in Society?					
Yes	1	5	11	9	9
No	0	11	10	4	1
Why Do You Believe Women are More Likely to be Abused?					
Machismo	0	1	2	2	2
Women Delicate, Weak	0	4	8	5	2

	Males				
	First Year (n=2)	**Second Year (n=28)**	**Third Year (n=22)**	**Fourth Year (n=16)**	**Fifth Year (n=11)**
What's always been done, lets herself, fear	0	1	2	1	1
Feminism	0	0	0	0	0
Is Interpersonal Violence a Personal Problem?					
Yes	0	9	11	12	3
No	1	12	7	3	4
Do You Know of Any Resources for Adults?					
No	2	12	9	7	3
INAMU, other institutions, govt	0	1	2	3	1
Police, jail, laws, rights	0	1	2	3	3
Psychological help	0	1	3	2	0
Do You Know of Any Resources for Adolescents?					
No	2	12	9	7	1
Psychological help	0	1	2	1	1

| | Males | | | | |
	First Year (n=2)	Second Year (n=28)	Third Year (n=22)	Fourth Year (n=16)	Fifth Year (n=11)
PANI	0	0	2	2	1
Institutions, Hogares Crea, govt	0	1	4	2	2
Do You know of Any Resources for Children?					
No	0	9	7	6	0
Psychological Help	0	1	2	0	1
El PANI	1	4	8	4	2
Institutions, Hogares Crea, govt	1	0	1	1	1
What Do You Think Are the Causes of Family Violence?					
Alcohol, drugs	0	4	7	3	1
Lack of communication, respect	1	4	4	3	2
Jealousy, lack of trust	1	4	1	3	3
Money problems, unemployment	0	3	3	1	0
Cheating	0	3	1	2	0

	Males				
	First Year (n=2)	**Second Year (n=28)**	**Third Year (n=22)**	**Fourth Year (n=16)**	**Fifth Year (n=11)**
Machismo	0	0	1	1	1
What Do you Believe are the Causes of Gender Violence?					
Machismo, inequality	1	5	4	5	4
Feminism	0	0	1	1	1
Ignorance, socialization	0	0	4	2	1
What Do You Believe Are the Consequences of Inter. Viol?					
Death	0	2	9	3	0
Emotional & Physical trauma	0	0	7	2	1
Divorce, separation, family disintegration	0	1	5	7	2

Table 8: Female Student Responses by Grade Level

	Females				
	First Year (n=0)	Second Year (n=24)	Third Year (n=28)	Fourth Year (n=10)	Fifth Year (n=13)
Man Defined by Machista Characteristics	0	3	12	1	5
Woman Defined by Marianismo Characteristics	0	3	13	1	3
Women equal to Men, Same Rights	0	4	7	4	4
Do You Believe there are Gender Roles in the Home?					
Yes	0	7	13	7	7
No	0	6	12	3	6
Do You Believe there are Gender Roles in Society?					
Yes	0	8	16	7	9
No	0	4	9	3	4
Why Do You Believe Women are More Likely to be Abused?					
Machismo	0	6	5	3	6
Women Delicate, Weak	0	3	11	2	4

	Females				
	First Year (n=0)	**Second Year (n=24)**	**Third Year (n=28)**	**Fourth Year (n=10)**	**Fifth Year (n=13)**
What's always been done, lets herself, fear	0	1	3	1	1
Feminism	0	0	1	0	0
Is Interpersonal Violence a Personal Problem?					
Yes	0	5	13	3	4
No	0	13	11	4	5
Do You Know of Any Resources for Adults?					
No	0	10	9	5	9
INAMU, other institutions, govt	0	0	3	1	0
Police, jail, laws, rights	0	2	6	1	0
Psychological help	0	2	0	0	1
Do You Know of Any Resources for Adolescents?					
No	0	11	4	4	7
Psychological help	0	2	1	0	1

	Females				
	First Year (n=0)	Second Year (n=24)	Third Year (n=28)	Fourth Year (n=10)	Fifth Year (n=13)
PANI	0	0	1	1	0
Institutions, Hogares Crea, govt	0	0	9	1	1
Do You know of Any Resources for Children?					
No	0	10	2	3	6
Psychological Help	0	2	1	0	0
El PANI	0	2	13	4	1
Institutions, Hogares Crea, govt	0	0	0	0	2
What Do You Think Are the Causes of Family Violence?					
Alcohol, drugs	0	3	9	4	4
Lack of communication, respect	0	6	11	2	4
Jealousy, lack of trust	0	3	5	0	2
Money problems, unemployment	0	3	4	0	1
Cheating	0	1	0	0	3

	Females				
	First Year (n=0)	**Second Year (n=24)**	**Third Year (n=28)**	**Fourth Year (n=10)**	**Fifth Year (n=13)**
Machismo	0	1	4	2	0
What Do you Believe are the Causes of Gender Violence?					
Machismo, inequality	0	0	9	3	1
Feminism	0	1	3	2	0
Ignorance, socialization	0	0	6	0	2
What Do You Believe Are the Consequences of Inter. Viol?					
Death	0	4	9	4	4
Emotional & Physical trauma	0	1	7	4	3
Divorce, separation, family disintegration	0	1	11	3	5

D **Macro-System**	**C** **Exo-System**	**B** **Micro-System**	**A** **Personal History**
▪ Male entitlement/ ownership of woman ▪ Masculinity linked to aggression and dominance ▪ Frigid gender roles ▪ Acceptance of interpersonal violence ▪ Acceptance of physical chastisement	▪ Low SES or unemployment ▪ Isolation of woman and family ▪ Delinquent peer associations	▪ Male dominance in the family ▪ Male control of wealth in the family ▪ Use of alcohol ▪ Marital and/or verbal conflict	▪ Witnessing marital violence as a child ▪ Being abused as a child ▪ Absent or rejecting father

(Source: Heise, 1998)

Figure 1: Ecological Model of Factors Associated with Interpersonal Violence
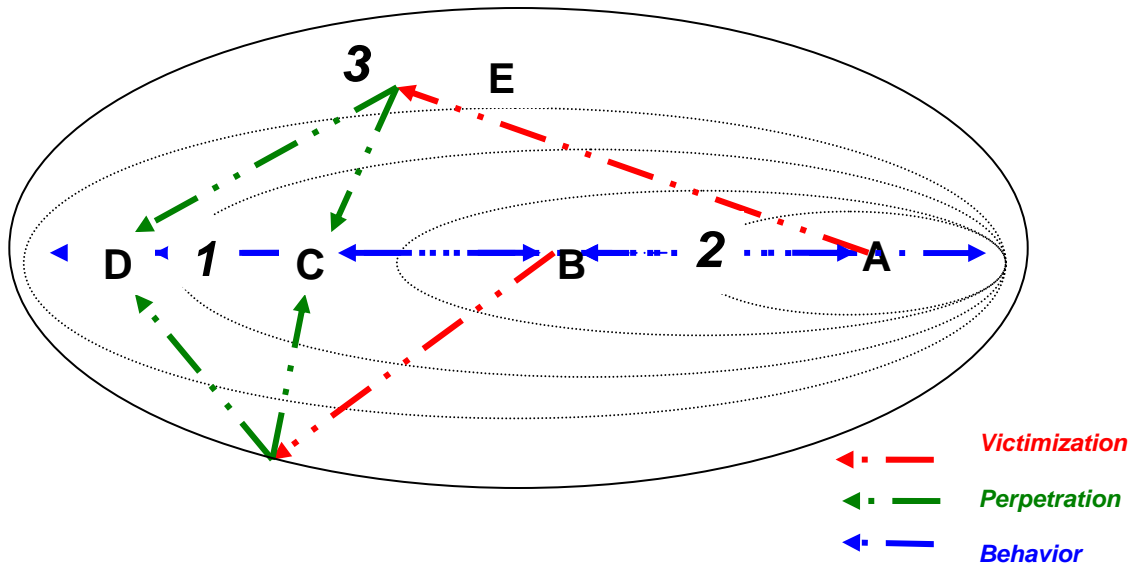
E
Meso-System
- Allows for the interaction and linkage between and amongst all of the dimensions surrounding interpersonal violence
- Allows for the transmission of behaviors and attitudes between different systems

D **Macro-System**	**C** **Exo-System**	**B** **Micro-System**	**A** **Personal History**
▪ Gendered Male entitlement/ ownership of woman ▪ Prevalent Machismo = Masculinity linked to aggression and dominance ▪ Rigid gender roles observed and followed by adults and adolescents ▪ Social acceptance of interpersonal violence ▪ Social acceptance of physical chastisement	▪ Formal/inform al institutions and social structures ▪ Social networks or lack-there-of ▪ Delinquent peer associations	▪ Witnessing Male dominance in the family ▪ Witnessing Male control of wealth in the family ▪ Witnessing Use of alcohol ▪ Witnessing Marital and/or verbal conflict	▪ Witnessing marital violence as a child ▪ Experiencing abused as a child ▪ Absent or rejecting father

1 Multicultural Feminist Theory

2 Goffman's Interaction Rituals

3 Social Learning Theory

(Source: Heise, 1998; Edleson & Tolman, 1992)

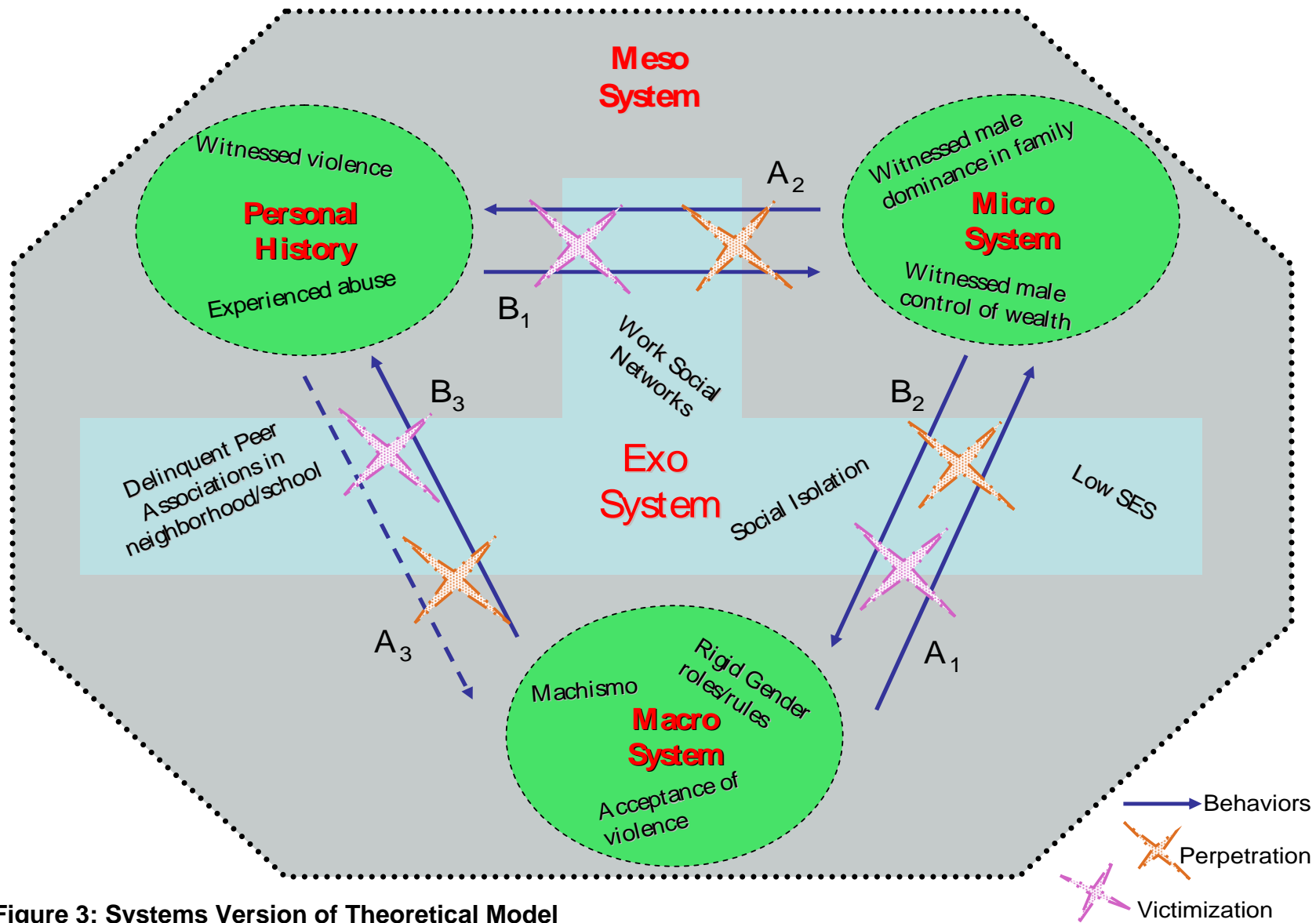**Figure 2: Altered Ecological Model: Inclusion of Meso-System and Main Theories**
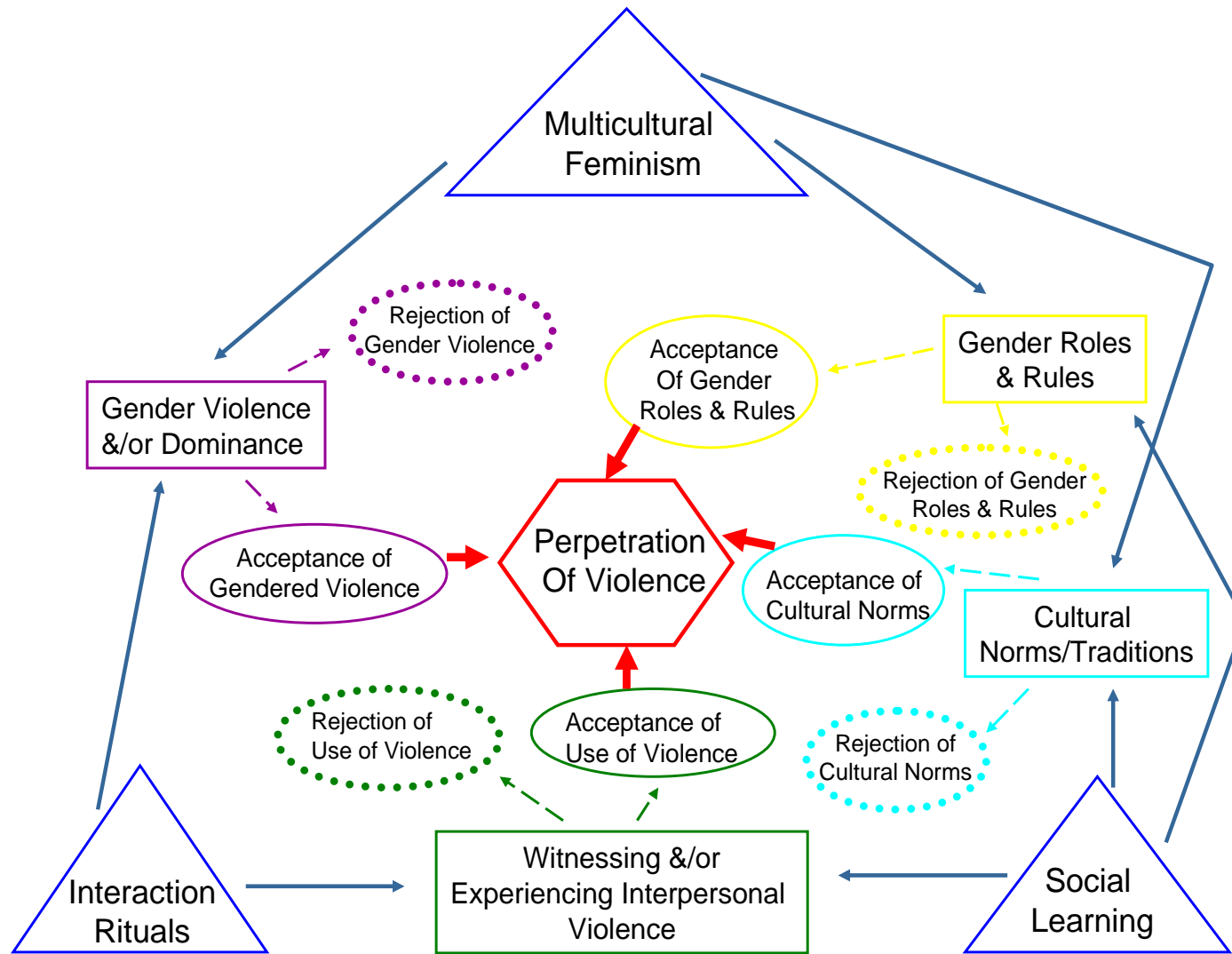
Figure 3: Systems Version of Theoretical Model
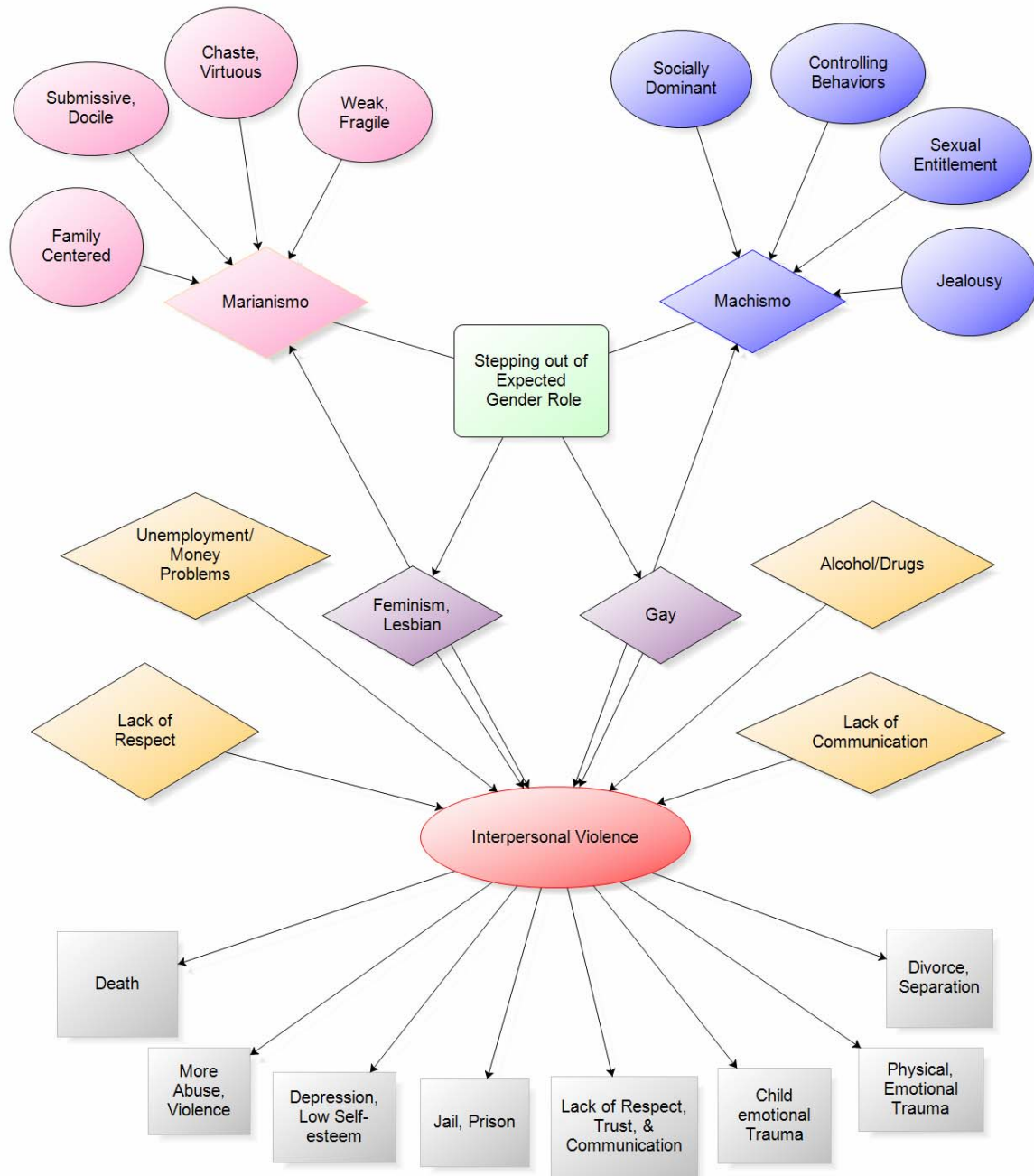
Figure 4: Pathways to Violence Theoretical Model

Figure 5: Final Model of Costa Rican Adolescent Perceived Path to Interpersonal Violence and Its Consequences

APPENDIX C: ENGLISH AND SPANISH DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

English Version of Discussion Questions

We are meeting to talk about your views, opinions, and feelings about interpersonal violence, which includes interparental violence, dating violence, sexual violence and child abuse.

Psychological Abuse

1.   To begin, lets go through them one by one. What do you think about when I

       mention

       a. Interparental violence?

       b. Dating violence?

       c. Sexual violence?

       d. Child Abuse?

2.   There is much talk these days about the kinds of violence that occur in

       relationships, including interparental violence, child abuse and teenage dating

       relationships. These are yes no questions – you will need to probe if you want

       more information – eg. Like what?

       a. Are there things that go on between parents that you would call violence? Like

            what?

       b. Are there things that go on between parents and children that you would

            call violence? Like what?

       c. Are there things that go on between dating teenagers that you

            would call violence? Like what?

3. Key Questions

       a. One type of problem that is talked about quite a bit in interparental and teenage

            dating violence is emotional abuse. This term is often associated with particular

behaviors between partners, including insults, controlling, pressuring, and yelling at one's partner. Let's discuss these one at a time. What do you think of when I say:

1. insulting one's partner

2. controlling one's partner

3. pressuring one's partner

4. yelling at one's partner

b. When emotional abuse does happen, is it important enough to do something about it? Why? Or why not?

c. Do you think *emotional* interpersonal violence is acceptable in your society?

4. Given everything we have discussed during the past hour or so, what stands out as most important to you? Is there any point you would have liked to comment on further?

5. Is there anything we have missed? Are there other questions that need to be discussed in reference to emotional abuse?

Physical Abuse

1. Let's move on to talk about your views, opinions, and feelings about physical Violence in interpersonal relationships, again, including interparental, teenage dating and parent child relationships.

a. Are there things that go on between parents that you would call physical physical violence?

b. Are there things that go on between dating teenagers that you would call physical violence?

c. Are there things that go on between parents and children that you would call physical violence?

2. Key Questions

a. Physical abuse is often associated with particular behaviors between partners, including pushing, slapping, kicking, and punching one's partner. Let's discuss these one at a time:

   1. pushing one's partner

   2. slapping one's partner

   3. kicking one's partner

   4. punching one's partner

b. When physical abuse does happen, is it important enough to do something about it? Why?

b. Do you think *physical* interpersonal violence is acceptable your society? Why? Or why not?

d. Do you think the government should intervene? Why? Or why not?

3. Do you know of any available resources to people who are involved in interpersonal violence, be they adults, teenagers or children?

5. Given everything we have discussed during the past hour or so, what stands out as most important to you? Is there any point you would have liked to comment on further?

6. Is there anything we have missed? Are there other questions that need to be discussed in reference to physical abuse?

Key Question for both types of violence

1. Are there specific times when using either type of violence in a relationship is okay? If so, when?

Gender Roles

1. Let's continue to one more topic. I would like to talk about your views, opinions, and feelings about gender and gender roles and rules. To begin, what do you think about when I mention

a. Being a male?

b. Being a female?

2. There is much talk today about what your gender means in society. For example, being male or female comes with certain expectations.

    a. Do you believe that there are gender roles in your

        1. home?

        2. school?

        3. among friends?

        4. in society as a whole?

    b. What are some examples of gender roles that you have heard of or experienced?

    c. Do you believe that you identify well with the gender roles that are expected from you? Why? Or why not?

    d. Do you think gender roles are important to society? Why?

    e. Do you believe there are consequences for people who do not follow their expected gender roles? What are those consequences?

3. Do you think there is any relationship between gender and interpersonal violence, especially violence between parents and dating couples? If so, what is it?

    a. Do you believe one gender is more or less likely to be abused by the other?

4. Given everything we have discussed during the past hour or so, what stands out as most important to you? Is there any point you would have liked to comment on further?

5. Is there anything we have missed? Are there other questions that need to be discussed in reference to physical abuse?

Spanish Version of Discussion Questions

Estamos reunidos para escuchar sus puntos de vista y opiniones y sus sentimientos sobre el tema de relaciones interpersonales entre parejas matrimoniales y noviazgos, y también el género. Cuando digo "género" me refiero a su identidad como hombre o mujer. Por favor escriba sus respuestas en el espacio despues de cada pregunta. Si Ud. tiene alguna duda sobre alguna pregunta o palabra, por favor déjenos saber para poder ayudarle.
Este documento va a ser visto y analizado por las investigadoras a cargo del proyecto. <u>Nadie más tendrá acceso a ello.</u>

1. ¿Qué edad tienes? _____

2. ¿Cuál es tu fecha de nacimiento? _____ _____ _____
                                           Día   Mes   Año

3. Encierra en un círculo tu género correspondiente:

                Mujer   **Hombre**

4. ¿ En que año estás? Favor de indicarlo con un **X** :

      _____Primero
      _____Segundo
      _____Tercero
      _____Cuarto
      _____Quinto

1. Como definen Uds. los próximos temas:

    a. ¿Violencia matrimonial o violencia intrafamiliar?

    b. ¿Violencia a nivel de noviazgo?

    c. ¿Violencia sexual?

    d. ¿Abuso de niños?

2. ¿Como define lo próximo? Es decir, que le significa...

    c. ¿Ser hombre?

    d. ¿Ser mujer?

5. Igual que sobre los temas anteriormente cubiertos, existe mucho debate hoy en día sobre el significado de cada "género" para la sociedad. Por ejemplo, ser hombre o ser mujer conlleva e implica ciertas expectativas a nivel de la sociedad en general.

    a. Piensa Ud. que existen papeles de género en ambientes o relaciones como son:

        1. ¿El Hogar?   **Sí**   **o**   **No**

            ¿Como que?

        2. ¿Su colegio?   **Sí**   **o**   **No**

            ¿Como que?

        3. ¿Entre amigos?   **Sí**   **o**   **No**

            ¿Como que?

        4. ¿En la sociedad en general?   **Sí**   **o**   **No**

            ¿Como que?

    b. ¿Cuáles son algunos de los papeles o roles de "género" sobre los que ha oído, o ha experimentado?

    c. ¿Se identifica usted bien con las expectativas que se tienen de su persona con respecto al papel que como "hombre" o "mujer" debe jugar en la sociedad?   **Sí**   **o**   **No**

¿Cuáles cree usted que son estas expectativas?

d. ¿Cree Ud. que el papel basado en el "género" de la persona es importante para la sociedad? ¿Por qué sí? O ¿Por qué no?

e. ¿Cree Ud. que existen consecuencias para aquellas personas que no desempeñen su role o papel de su "género" de acuerdo a las expectativas que tiene la sociedad?   **Sí   o   No**

¿Cuáles creería usted que serían esas consecuencias?

6. ¿Cree Ud. que existe una relación [directa] entre "género" y la "violencia interpersonal," especialmente con respecto a la violencia que se presenta a nivel de parejas (matrimonio u otras relaciones), y entre jóvenes durante su noviazgo?

Sí   o   No

De ser así, ¿Cuál es esa relación?

a. ¿Cree Ud. que un "género" está relativamente más expuesto a ser abusado por el

Sí   o   No

¿Cuál?

¿Porque?

2.   a. ¿Qué situaciones cree usted se podrían calificar como violencia intrafamiliar en un matrimonio?

b. ¿Existen situaciones que se presentan entre los padres de familia y sus hijos que constituyen eventos de violencia?

Sí   o   No

¿Como que?

c. ¿ Existen situaciones que se presentan durante el periodo de noviazgo que se pueden también clasificar como violencia juvenile entre novios?

Sí   o   No

¿Como que?

3. a. Un tema problemático sobre violencia que se discute con frecuencia, y que sucede entre parejas de matrimonios y entre novios, es lo que se conoce con el nombre de "abuso emocional." Este término, incluye entre otras cosas: insultos, control sobre la otra persona, presión y ciertamente, peleas a base de gritos entre parejas.

¿Como definen Uds. los próximos temas? Es decir, que quieren decir:

5. Insultar a su pareja

Dé ejemplos...

6. Controlar a su pareja

De ejemplos...

7. Presionar a la pareja

De ejemplos...

8. Gritarle o vociferar contra la pareja.

De ejemplos...

b. ¿Cuándo se presenta el abuso emocional, consideran si es lo suficientemente importante para hacer algo al respecto?

Sí **o** **No**

¿Porque?

c. Cree Ud. que la violencia interpersonal de tipo *"emocional"* es o debe ser aceptable en la sociedad?

Sí **o** **No**

¿Porque?

9. A la luz de lo anterior, ¿que cosas sobresalen como importantes para Ud?

1. Continuemos la discusión con opiniones, puntos de vista y sentimientos sobre el tema de violencia del tipo "físico" entre parejas.

a. ¿Que cree usted se puede considerar violencia física entre un matrimonio?

b. ¿Que considera usted que se pueda calificar de violencia en una relacion de noviazgo?

c. ¿Existen situaciones que se presentan en la interrelación de padres e hijos que califican como violencia física?

Sí **o** **No**

¿Nos podria dar algunos ejemplos?

2. a. Algunos comportamientos entre parejas incluyen: empujar, abofetear, patear, y/o golpear en cualquier forma a la pareja. Discutamos cada uno de estos actos:

5. Empujar a la pareja. ¿Es abuso? **Sí** **o** **No**

¿Porque?

6. Abofetear a la pareja. ¿Es abuso? **Sí   o   No**

¿Porque?

7. Patear a la pareja. ¿Es abuso? **Sí   o   No**

¿Porque?

8. Golpear a "puñetazos" a la pareja. ¿Es abuso? **Sí   o   No**

¿Porque?

b. Cuando se presenta o detecta este tipo de comportamiento, ¿considera usted que es importante para hacer algo al respecto?

Sí   o   No

¿Porque?

c. ¿Cree Ud. que la violencia interpersonal de tipo *"físico"* es o debe ser una conducta aceptable en nuestra sociedad?

Sí   o   No

¿Porque?

¿Es un asunto personal, entre la pareja?

Sí   o   No

¿Porque?

d. Cree Ud. que el gobierno tiene un papel en este tema?

Sí   o   No

¿Porque?

Si dijo que sí, ¿cual papel debe tener?

3. ¿Conoce Ud. de recursos disponibles a las personas que son víctimas de este tipo de comportamiento interpersonal?

¿Para adultos? ¿Cuáles?

¿Para jóvenes? ¿Cuáles?

¿Para niños? ¿Cuáles?

5. Con base a lo anterior, que resalta como importante para Ud.? ¿Tiene algún otro comentario o comentarios sobre estos temas?

10. Existen casos o situaciones específicas donde el uso de cualquiera de estos dos tipos de relacion interpersonal entre parejas (fisico y emocional) sea aceptable? De ser así, ¿cuáles son esas situaciones?

¿Cuáles cree Ud. que sean las causas que llevan a la violencia intrafamiliar?

¿Cuáles cree Ud. que sean las consecuencias de la violencia intrafamiliar?

¿Cuáles cree Ud. que sean las causas de violencia de género?

¿Tienen alguna otra pregunta que les gustaría plantear sobre los temas discutidos que les gustaría plantear?

Sí   o   No

Por favor indíquelas aquí:

Nos gustaría escuchar sus opiniones, las cuales son de suma importancia para nuestro estudio. ¿Que piensa sobre esta encuesta?

Muchas Gracias por su valiosa colaboración.

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