

DeKeseredyFORREVIEW

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SPEAKERS

Jenn Tostlebe, Walter DeKeseredy, Jose Sanchez



Jose Sanchez 00:00

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Jose Sanchez 00:33

Hi, everyone, welcome back to The Criminology Academy podcast where we are criminally academic. My name is Jose Sanchez,



Jenn Tostlebe 00:39

and my name is Jenn Tostlebe.



Jose Sanchez 00:42

For today's episode, we're speaking with Professor Walter DeKeseredy about rural criminology and women abused in rural places.



Jenn Tostlebe 00:51

Walter DeKeseredy is Anna Dean Carlson Endowed Chair of Social Sciences, director of the Research Center on Violence and professor of sociology at West Virginia University. He has published 26 books, over 100 refereed journal articles and 90 scholarly book chapters on issues such as women abuse, rural criminology and criminological theory. In 2015, he received the Career Achievement Award from the American Society of Criminology Division on Victimology.

And in 2017, he received the Impact Award from the Academy of Criminal Justice Sciences Section on Victimology. And the Robert Jerin Book Award from the American Society of Criminology is Division of Victimology. Thank you so much for joining us, Walter. We are excited for this conversation.

W

Walter DeKeseredy 01:37

Thank you for inviting me, I very much look forward to it.

J

Jose Sanchez 01:41

Okay, so a quick overview of what the episode is going to look like. So first, we're going to talk about rural criminology. Then we're gonna move into a discussion about violence against women. And we're going to wrap up the episode discussing a book that was authored by Walter and published in 2021. And so with that being said, Jenn, take it away.



Jenn Tostlebe 02:04

All right. Thanks, Jose. Okay, so, Walter, based off of your work that we've read, we're going to start with what appears to be a complicated and kind of misunderstood question, even though maybe it appears to not be that way, just from the get go. And so when we use the term rural, what type of place are we referring to?

W

Walter DeKeseredy 02:26

Well, first, I have to say that there's no uniform definition of rural. Okay, and there are a number of different definitions, many people use the census definition. So it's important to recognize that that doesn't mean that they're very heated debates, among rural criminologists. I think one of the advantages of being a rural criminologist is that those of us in this field we belong to a rather civil group of international scholars. But I tend to use what's referred to as a nominal definition of rural and for me, rural places have four characteristics, or four things in common. First, they have smaller populations or densities. Second, people tend to know each other's business. Most people in a rural community know each other. That doesn't necessarily mean they get along well with each other. In fact, there's some myths about rural communities that perhaps we can talk about later. This notion that everyone gets along and everyone's friendly, and it's like that famous television series, which young people aren't familiar with but, Little House on the Prairie, may be familiar with that show, and third, rural communities now are less autonomous than ever before, due to the breakdown in the digital divide. More and more people have access to the internet now. So they can communicate more freely with people around the world. They're more aware of what's happening outside their communities. And rural communities have greater economic and social divides than ever before. They're much less homogeneous. Not all rural places are alike. I think that's important to recognize because we think about criminology as you know, both of you are doctoral students in criminology. It's very much urban biased. And if you pick up the flagship journals for the American Society of Criminology, that is Criminology and Criminology and Public Policy. Rarely, if ever, will you find an article on issues related to rural crime and social control. And if we

watch you know, popular television shows both fictional and non-fictional the stereotypes of rural communities are profound. Particularly in horror movies, where movies, especially the slasher movies primarily focus on inbreds or hicks, and so on and so forth, you know, very negative stereotypes of people. And this has an influence on public understanding of crime, law, and social control.



Jenn Tostlebe 05:21

Yeah, it's funny that you say that I'm originally from Iowa. And so a lot of those like horror movies tend to occur in the Midwest. And I'm from Des Moines area, which is the capital, and I still get those kinds of remarks of, you know, do you even have like working water? Electricity, and it's just interesting.



Walter DeKeseredy 05:44

Oh, very much. So I mean, here in West Virginia, I don't know if you know this, but we don't have a city with a population of 100,000 or more. In fact, our largest city is 47,000 people. That's Charleston, it's the capital. So this is one of the most rural states in the union. And the stereotypes of West Virginians is profound. There's a lot of anger too, people feel betrayed. And I should mention this, too, that rural communities are politically stronger than they've ever been, which is one of the key reasons why Donald Trump was elected. People don't talk about that very much. But it was the rural communities that tipped the scale, because they feel very much betrayed. On many levels, they feel betrayed by politicians, they feel betrayed by business, they feel betrayed by the media. So, there's a lot of anger, you know, a lot of resentment, a lot of bitterness, as you know, coming from Iowa.



Jose Sanchez 06:42

Yeah, I couldn't begin to imagine I grew up in Los Angeles as far away from rural as you get. But then you have people like me, and like my only exposure, really, to West Virginia, is sometimes college football games, or like, the I don't know if you've seen *The Wonderful Whites of West Virginia*



Walter DeKeseredy 07:01

Oh. Well, where we're getting a lot of attention lately, as with Senator Joe Manchin, who's not a very popular person, because he tends to obstruct anything President Biden tries to get through. And he's very much an influential gatekeeper in politics right now.



Jenn Tostlebe 07:24

Okay, so this ties in a little bit with what you've already said. So, there might be a little bit of overlap. But I've done very, very minimal work when it comes to geographical areas, primarily controlling for location when it comes to recidivism, because that matters quite a bit. And using these three discrete geographical categories is pretty common, as far as I know, to study place.

So rural, suburban and urban. Right. And can you tell us why this is problematic to characterize geographical locations? I know you mentioned that there's a lot of variation within these areas. So I'm guessing that's the primary reason but..

W Walter DeKeseredy 08:04

Yes, it's one of the key reasons. I mean, what's widely recognized within the field of rural criminology and rural sociology in general, is that not all rural communities are alike. And there are various degrees of what Sampson, Robert Sampson and his colleagues referred to as collective efficacy. For example, in rural communities in this country, you have alarmingly high rates of violence against women. In fact, the rates of violence against women in rural communities are higher than those in urban and suburban places. What's interesting is that simultaneously in many rural communities, you'll see this residents united in efforts to curb drugs, property crime, farm theft, which is very common, while maintaining a very rigid gender hierarchy. Okay, rural communities are also very patriarchal, very, very patriarchal and politically conservative, as you know, and so if you're politically conservative, you tend to be more patriarchal. So, there's low levels of tolerance for certain types of deviance and crime and high levels of tolerance for the victimization of women. And so it's important to recognize variations across different rural communities. There's also, you know, different ethnic variations. You take Iowa, for example, you've got a fairly large Latinx community, particularly farmworkers, which a lot of people don't recognize. And there are other, Colorado has, you know, vibrant rural areas as well. Pennsylvania, which is six miles down the road from me, in fact, 49% of the world's population is rural. A lot of people don't recognize that. That's, so, really rural people aren't necessarily in the minority.

J Jose Sanchez 10:11

Right. So you had mentioned some of the international work that's being done in rural criminology. And we just talked about variation in rural communities. But now what does this sow variation look like, across different countries?

W Walter DeKeseredy 10:25

Well, there are similarities to this is interesting, there are differences, but there are similarities. Let's look at the similarities first. A lack of public transportation, you'll find that in rural communities all around the world, a car or a truck is not a luxury by any means. You know, it's a necessity. Geographic and social isolation, and absence of social services, very limited criminal justice services available. In fact, in many rural communities around the world, you're lucky if you have one or two police officers. And you take in Canada, which is a four hour drive from here from West Virginia, Toronto is actually a five hour drive Toronto's now the fourth largest city in North America. And if you take a look at in parts of northern Canada, rural Canada, you have the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, which are hired to police these rural areas. And you're lucky if you get one officer and that officer may have to travel very long distances by him or herself. And the rates of homicide, by the way, in rural Canada and rural US are higher than in urban and suburban. But so you have isolation, which is geographic socially, absence of public transportation, an absence of medical services, here in West Virginia, for example, if I sit outside my backyard, I constantly see helicopters flying because rural hospitals

are almost non-existent now. So, people are flowing into West Virginia University medical services. And you can imagine with COVID being rampant, this is quite significant. So these are things that people have in common. Okay. There are language differences. There. Obviously, there are agricultural differences. You're from California, Jose, was a what is one of the most important agricultural resources in California? Grapes.

J Jose Sanchez 12:38
Grapes, avocados, pot

W Walter DeKeseredy 12:43
In Northern California. Pot.

J Jose Sanchez 12:48
Yeah, I'm from Southern California. We don't talk about Northern California.

W Walter DeKeseredy 12:51
Oh, really? Well, Northern California doesn't like Southern California, either. Why do you think that is, which is relevant to our discussion of rural? What is the principal source of conflict between northern and southern California's?

J Jose Sanchez 13:06
How are we going to be the often forgotten central California? So you have just a Bakersfield I think is like the last like, Southern California city. And then after that you get into, like Napa, which is pretty rural. And then yeah, from there, I just it's a completely different world.

W Walter DeKeseredy 13:24
Okay. The number one source of conflict is water.

J Jose Sanchez 13:28
Yeah, that too.

W Walter DeKeseredy 13:29
Water. Same thing. If you look at the tensions in the Middle East, between the Palestinians and Israelis, it's water. And the Palestinians are deeply concerned about lack of access to water,

you get a fig farmer who depends heavily on water for irrigation and other things and the farmers deeply upset as, as a Northern California resident with people using water to fill up their swimming pools. You know, that's my issue.



Jenn Tostlebe 14:03

My, yeah, my brother and sister in law used to live in Northern California, and they would just complain all the time about the water shortages. And so, it's funny that you mentioned that because yeah, I did hear that from them.

W

Walter DeKeseredy 14:17

Very much. So yeah, yeah. Yeah. And, you know, women have a lot in common. Many are farm women who work, you know, in a farming capacity, and very patriarchal too. Now there are, you know, strong women in positions of leadership, don't get me wrong, but you have alarmingly high rates of violence against women. Alarmingly high rates in rural communities all around the world. And there are different types of public crime, farm theft in Australia. That's one of the you know, most important issues right now in rural communities, the theft of livestock and theft of farm equipment. In fact, farms are subject to more burglary than our urban businesses. I don't know if you know that.

J

Jose Sanchez 15:12

Yeah. Well, since we're talking about, you know, starting to get into talking about crime, can you give us a definition of and you know, I think most people can sort of put context clues together, but can you give us like an explicit definition of what rural criminology is?

W

Walter DeKeseredy 15:29

Well, we're all criminology is diverse, as is criminology in general, you have different types of rural criminologists. I myself identify as a critical rural criminologist. I bring different branches of critical criminology to my understandings of crime, law, and social control in rural contexts. I wear two types of critical criminological hats, one left realism and two, feminism. Now, there are those who are informed by social disorganization theory. In fact, quite a few people have drawn from social disorganization theory, which I think is highly problematic. I'm among a growing group of people who are sharply critical of social disorganization theory. In fact, for me, there's no such thing as social disorganization. There's only organization, different types of social organization. There are people who look at justice issues primarily, say issues of policing. There's a lot of work actually, within rural criminology on policing. You'd be surprised. There's not much on courts. There's a shortage of research on prisons. Few scholars have examined rural prisons, which is interesting, because we're seeing a growth in rural prisons across this country, because many communities are welcoming them. They think that this will improve their economic situation, which it really doesn't. It doesn't improve the situation, the bulk of the work in rural crim has focused on farm crime, especially in Australia, and violence against women. There is a very interesting book that I can show you here, which indicates how far rural criminology has come. This is the Routledge International Handbook of Rural Criminology. As

you can see, it's quite long. And it was published in 2016. We're getting ready for a new one, there's actually an Encyclopedia of Rural Criminology that's coming out. There is a book series of rural criminology. So it's one of the most exciting fields and I've noticed that you have a question about the Division of Rural Criminology within the American Society of Criminology. And that is growing every day. And rural criminology is very international in focus, you have people studying in China, in the United States, in Australia, in New Zealand, in Norway. Oh, it's incredible, the number of people that are getting into this topic. And a growing number of people like yourself, many graduate students are discovering that there's a whole world to explore out there. Because, you know, when you're thinking about doing doctoral research, you want to do something new, right? And there's always something new to do within rural criminology. There's so many unanswered questions right now. Yeah, it is exciting. It really is exciting. And you know, it's interesting from sex ratio standpoint, I think female scholars outnumber men within rural criminology. Which is very interesting, too.



Jenn Tostlebe 18:39

Yeah, it is. Okay, so from a theoretical standpoint, how can we understand rural crime, then? Can we use these more? Like, what's thought of as criminology's canonical theories like control, learning strain, or do we need alternative explanations?



Walter DeKeseredy 19:14

Well, where we are, theoretically, today, where we should be is integrated theory. And one of the problems in the United States, United States is, a lot of people have serious problems with American criminology, if you're from Canada like I am, from Australia, New Zealand, the United Kingdom, Italy, Central America, Latin America, you find American criminology to be somewhat theoretically bankrupt, and to follow Jock Young's approach, Jock Young was one of the pioneers of critical criminology. He left this world a few years ago, unfortunately, we're dominated here by abstract empiricism, this pathological obsession with counting. And I'm seeing a dearth of theory construction. In fact, the whole doctoral process to me has become ruined, more and more people are expected to write three papers rather than an entire dissertation. And I find students to be more familiar with secondary data analysis than they are with the actual research process in which, you know, they go out and collect data, they test theory or create a theoretical framework. So, as far as theory goes, you basically have, I'm being rather simplistic, but within rural crim, you have basically two groups of people, those who fall within the critical criminological camp, and there are at least 14 different types of critical criminology, okay? You wouldn't know that by reading most American criminology textbooks, which maybe devote a few pages, but there are at least 14 different types, feminism of all the critical criminology, feminism seems to be the most widely used, particularly and there are at least 12 different types of feminism, primarily radical feminism. But radical feminism combined with also micro level approaches, such as male peer support theory, which is something else that I'm involved with. In fact, that was I started that 35 years ago that male peer support was a concept that I created, and I designed a theory, and tested it. And the theory's gone through different versions over the last 35 years, there are a number of people and this is changing who seem stuck within this social disorganization mode. Now, there are people particularly in Australia, who are doing work on what's referred to as spaceless violence. And that's looking at digital forms of violence against women in rural communities. And examining the relationship also between pornography and violence against women, rural communities are consuming porn, I

mean, at a very, very high rate. So there isn't a unified theory. I don't see, you, you mentioned social learning theory, I don't really see any one applied social learning theory within rural studies of rural. There's Marxist analysis, which is making a big comeback, Marx's theories of the state and long back in the mid 80s, there were some interesting debates between instrumental and structural Marxist theorists, we are seeing more work on crimes of the powerful foreign crime, the abuse of foreign women, dumping of toxic waste, genocide, let's not forget that genocide and genocidal rape occur in many rural communities, Rwanda, the Sudan. We're seeing research in that field, too, which is heavily influenced by more critical means of thinking, you know, more critical investigations of the state. I don't know if I've answered your question. But there isn't one thing I can say there isn't, you know, a dominant theoretical framework.



Jenn Tostlebe 23:21

But your work tends to come from more of a critical perspective.

W

Walter DeKeseredy 23:26

It does. And I'll tell you why. You know, many people claim that, you know, critical criminologists are political they're not, you know, objective, neutral scientists. Well, John Paul Sartre, the famous existential philosopher, once said, All writings are political, everything's political. Nobody is completely neutral. Everyone comes to whatever work they do, influenced by politics, or their own personal experiences. But one thing I can honestly say is, how can you understand violence against women without understanding patriarchy? It's impossible. If you have one out of every three women in this world who has experienced at least one type of physical or sexual violence in their lifetime, that tells us and you're sociology students, correct? So you're familiar with C. Wright Mills, obviously, who's rolling in his grave looking at the journal Criminology right now, because it's filled with all kinds of abstract numbers. That tells us something about how a society is organized. Jose is from Los Angeles. Well, I mean, how can you understand gang activity in barrios scattered across Los Angeles without understanding poverty, without understanding the high costs of education in this country, voting rights and so on and so forth. So, inequality is very closely tied to crime and to the administration of justice. How can you understand the police use of deadly force without understanding racism and class? So I think that's where we're at right now.



Jenn Tostlebe 25:05

Yeah. Okay, so let's then, so you started talking about violence against women. So, let's move into that discussion primarily and on this podcast we're big fans of definitions because we help or we think that they help guide theory and research. So, when it comes to victimization by a current or a former partner or spouse, it looks like the current definitional discourse involves the term intimate partner violence, as well as other things like domestic violence, yes, and spousal violence. And so since you just said you hate these, what are some of the reasons that you believe we should stray away from these terms?

W

Walter DeKeseredy 25:44

Okay, back in the mid 80s, many of us were heavily involved in naming, you're right definitions are important, it's not a question of semantics. Let's start off so that your viewers can get a deeper appreciation of what you just said, which is extremely important. How you define something will have an influence on how you theorize it the data you collect, and the policy to develop and implement. Okay, so it's a defining something in the social sciences is a primal social scientific act. It's one of the most important things you can possibly do. So, it's not a question of simply semantics. The problem with terms like intimate partner violence, domestic violence, spousal violence, their gender neutral terms, they suggest that men and women are equally violent, which they're not. Okay, now, there are people who say that, well, wait a minute, you're being heteronormative. If we use terms like intimate partner violence, we can include, you know, violence within different LGBTQ+ communities. My response to that is, that's call it what it is, like violence in lesbian relationships, or violence and trans relationships and so on, because, what is happening here, very much so, is you have men's rights organizations, fathers' rights organizations who've had a significant impact on policy and practice. Don't forget, it was just recently that the Violence Against Women Act was renewed. It was delayed for a long time and when George W. Bush was president, he was adamantly against the Violence Against Women Act, and he appointed people to the Domestic Violence Advisory Council, who are fundamentally opposed to the Violence Against Women Act. And these are women that he appointed to who firmly believe that a woman's role is to be at home, barefoot, and pregnant, and subservient to men. And there are a lot of women who believe that as well. So, naming it a gender neutral terms, you know, obscure the realities of violence in women's lives,



Jenn Tostlebe 27:54

Then what term would you suggest we use instead?

W

Walter DeKeseredy 27:58

If I'm talking about male to female violence, I use terms like woman abuse, and if I'm talking and I have done work on violence and LGBTQ communities, then I will say, violence in LGBTQ, you know, communities, that's how I call it, it's I don't ignore it. But it's very important to be specific. Also, it's not only the name, it's the breadth of the definition because many people same with crime, we can look at crime. In general, what is crime for many people, it's a violation of a criminal code. For critical criminologist, it's the denial of affordable housing, it's violations of human rights, it's state crime, it's corporate crime, it's white collar crime. So, you know, critical criminologist recognize the pain and suffering caused by homicide and other things, but really, the most dangerous criminals in our society are those at the top, you know, and they're typically exempt from the purview of criminal law, with violence against women, psychological abuse is just as if not more injurious. In fact, in all my years of studying violence against women, regardless of the severity of the abuse they've experienced, most women I've interviewed tell me, the psychological abuse is the longest lasting and let's not forget to that sexual assault. Most sexual assaults don't involve some greasy guy jumping from behind the bushes in broad daylight, you know, attacking some random stranger, close to 90% of sexual assaults are committed by someone a woman knows and does not involve physical force. There's verbal coercion, blackmail rapes, so on and so forth, right. So, the breadth of definitions is extremely important and women experience violence on a continuum and that continuum generally is used to explain going from least to more serious that's not how people like myself

use the continuum. We argue that depending on the woman, each behavior is equally serious, for example, cat calls on the street, or if someone's cyber stalking you, it's only after the fact that you realize you may not be seriously harmed. And in fact, I would say that people who are targeted by physical violence experience also numerous types of psychological violence or coercive control as well, which are subtle forms of abuse and control and domination. So we're talking about not only terminology, but we're talking about breadth.



Jenn Tostlebe 30:39

So, I imagine that these statistics are kind of hard to come by, but if possible, can you provide our listeners with some statistics about how common women abuse is in the United States?

W

Walter DeKeseredy 30:52

Yeah, I would say you're talking now on the college campus, which is interesting. Most college campuses are as white as can be in this country. All right. Yeah. Here's something interesting we constantly hear about Black on black crime don't wait, which is a racist term, because most crime is interracial anyway. What do we have one out of every four women has experienced at least one type of sexual assault during her academic career. Here at West Virginia, I'm not speaking out of turn, I've published the results in major journals like the British Journal of Criminology, we have a sexual assault, a female rate that's 34%. I live in the whitest state in the union. The most criminogenic people in my state are white and privileged, engaging in felony crimes routinely. So, the sexual assault rate is at least one in four among college women with in, you know, relationships like common law and marital, it's at least 11% of women have experienced in these types of relationships, at least one type of physical violence in the past year. Now, globally, we have figures done by international surveys that show it's one out of three women, that's physical and sexual violence, nevermind psychological, nevermind sexual harrassment, which is rampant. Those figures are very high. And also hate crime. This is something that we need to talk about too, which is, we're seeing an increase in it. And hate crimes are rampant in many rural communities.



Jenn Tostlebe 32:37

And you mentioned the phrase, at least one of these victimization experiences. And so is it common for women who are targets of male violence to be victimized by more than one of these types of acts?

W

Walter DeKeseredy 32:53

Yes, it is. We call it polyvictimization, which was a term used mainly by researchers who study child abuse. And it refers to multiple victimizations of different kinds. And yes, women, generally, we've got data now a growing number of us are looking at Poly victimization in the lives of adults, adult women, and yeah, it's experienced multiple forms, physical, psychological, online and offline. We're seeing a lot of co-occurrence using representative sample survey data, not anecdotal, but good data, reliable data. And so more and more, the rates are actually getting worse. And it's not because measurements better some of the best measures in our

field, were developed years ago in the late 70s and early 80s, believe it or not, and there's they've been modified and tailored to meet you know, the changing nature of our society, but things have gotten worse. And you can tell I mean, just think about what is going on the assault on women's reproductive health. And then I've read in Texas, they're going to investigate. Did you hear about this today? Governor Abbott, declared they're going to investigate parents of trans children. They're going to try to construct these parents as child abusers. And you know, women's reproductive health is under siege, these old white men making decisions about your body, right? Which is very, very interesting and look at the appointments to the Supreme Court, attempts to water down the Violence Against Women Act and so on and so forth. These are all very powerful indicators of the type of society we live in, right? The porn, today's pornography too, which is a very powerful symbol of in this country of how we view women. Today's pornography is racist and brutally violent and readily, easily accessible. In fact, the high tech industry most of streaming video was invented by pornographers. So was Twitter, so are DVDs and so on. And just think about it. The average age of a young boy in this country starts consuming porn is nine.



Jenn Tostlebe 35:21

I didn't realize it was that young?

W

Walter DeKeseredy 35:23

Yeah, yeah. And it's very terrifying. I mean, if you so many people go to Pornhub, which you can get it, by the way, is a Canadian company owned by Mind Geek. And the stuff that's up there is really, really disturbing.

J

Jose Sanchez 35:40

Okay, well, I think we should start moving into discussing some of your book. So I mentioned the book was authored by Walter it's titled "Woman Abuse in Rural Places" the book was published, the book was published as part of the Routledge series in rural criminology series in 2021. And in this book, Walter discusses developments in the study of male to female abuse in rural places, and puts forth new directions for research theory and policy. In the book, both the abuse of rural women in places as well as rural women's experiences of crime of the powerful and corporate violence against female employees are examined. And through what we've already discussed, we've hit some of the key points that Walter discusses in chapter one, which is current controversies and conceptualizing rural and woman abuse. So the last 15-20 minutes of the episode we're going to devote to talking about chapter two. So, interpersonal types of woman abuse in rural places. So, our first question about your book, and this is our opening question, when we get into this section is what was the motivation, the motivation behind writing this book?

W

Walter DeKeseredy 36:55

Well, the motivation was to synthesize and to bring together a large international body of research, what you'll see, for those of you who read the book, and I hope you do, you'll see that first of all this is an international problem. And you know, if you think about American

First of all, this is an international problem. And you know, if you think about American criminology, it's very narrow in its focus. It doesn't embrace, you know, problems that exist outside, particularly urban areas, right. And so what I wanted to do is sprint together the work of an international group of scholars, people based in India, parts of Africa, Australia, Canada, the United States, New Zealand. And that was one of the things I really wanted to do, too. And I spent a lot of time going through journals that weren't criminological in nature, I was going through agricultural journals, health journals, medical journals to uncover the types of work that was going on. I was also interested in looking at what are some of the key sources and key determinants of it. And there are a lot of commonalities, guns, which is a controversial topic in this country, guns. And, you know, rural communities throughout the world have large gun ownership, primarily here in the United States, compared to other countries. Now, Canada, there's large gun ownership, but not handguns. Rural communities, people have rifles, a lot of farmers need them for a lot to protect livestock, and so on and so forth. You just can't run around with an AK, AR15 in Canada, nor can you in Australia, nor can you in New Zealand. Notice you don't see the levels of mass shootings that you see in this country. But I want to look at what are some of the key determinants, we do know that the rates are high. And that's a given for those of us in the field. Many people I mean, more so conservatives, patriarchal people may deny the rates, but we know they're high. What are some of the key factors and so, gun ownership, patriarchal attitudes and beliefs. That's another thing that's common around the world, the men regardless of whether they live in Uganda, Tanzania, which by the way, I do bring in research of Tanzania showing that collective efficacy goes both ways. In Tanzania, their communities that are structured to prevent public crimes, but that promote violence against women, as there are in this country to which I found in Southeast Ohio when I did some research there. But commonalities which we talked about earlier, the men regardless of where they live, rural, urban suburban, the men who are most likely to abuse women are men who have patriarchal attitudes and beliefs. And rural communities tend to have higher levels of adherence to patriarchy. Take Pennsylvania, for example, when most people think of Pennsylvania in the United States, what do they think Pittsburgh and Philadelphia, right? And they're progressive cities. They're multicultural. Okay, you have large sports, art, Andy Warhol Museum in Pittsburgh and so on. But Pennsylvania is extremely conservative. Very, we had a governor Santorum in Pennsylvania who was fervently homophobic, I have no problem saying that. Serious issues, you should see the people running for office. They're fundamentally opposed to Critical Race Theory, you should see the ads, the campaign ads. So, you've got some very, and it's all men running for office too, which is interesting in Pennsylvania too. Dr. Oz is running for, and he claims to be a conservative, but he's been labeled by his opponents as a RINO, Republican in name only, which is really interesting. But the attitudes and beliefs control, domination, subjugation of women, and that's a worldwide phenomenon. That's something that the book points out to that it doesn't matter. You can go to Uganda, you can go to rural Pennsylvania, you can go to rural California, and you'll find the same thing. So I point out the different kinds of the key sources of it, pornography consumption, and point out that getting back to an earlier question about polyvictimization, how the women in rural communities, like their urban and suburban counterparts have experienced a wide variety of forms of abuse, and the communities in which they live in, are structured to promote violence against women. They're organized that way, these men are not mentally ill. In fact, most men who abuse women are not mentally ill. We have years of research that show that less than 10% of men who abused women suffer from some type of personality disorder or other types of mental illness.

J Jose Sanchez 42:10

Okav. so vou. earlier in the episode. you mentioned a continuum. And in the book you pull from

Kelly's continuum of sexual violence, which basically says that it talks about violence has existing on a continuum ranging from non physical acts to physical ones, and then you develop a continuum of woman abuse. Can you tell us more about the continuum you developed and how it differs from Kelly's continuum?

W

Walter DeKeseredy 42:39

Well, what really stands out from Kelly's continuum of sexual violence, which to quote her has stood the test of time. It was developed back in the late 80s. But it's making a big comeback. It's extremely useful. That's why many people like myself are using the term polyvictimization and continuum interchangeably. My continuum includes crimes of the powerful. And I think that's one of the most unique features of the book, actually, is that I talk about the experiences of foreign women. You know, they endure sexual harassment exposure to pesticides, their children are at great risk of being harmed by pesticides, perhaps dying on the farms, because they're left unattended. There's an absence of daycare, I talked about war, which is a serious issue. I mean, let's not forget what's going on right now. The invasion of the Ukraine, and a healthy part of the Ukraine is rural. You know, we cost the here but Kiev, but I strongly suspect that while we're talking there are women who are being gang raped in the name of war right now. It's very common during war. So, looking at crimes of the powerful and how crimes of the powerful, sexual harassment, collusion, dumping war, these types of things are facilitated by a state of patriarchal state. And it's not just you know, some evil, greedy people like Jeff Bezos or so on. The state actually represents the interests of those who are powerful. If you look at agricultural legislation and sexual harassment, legislation, governing farms, it's pretty scary what I point out in the book. And talk about the continuum, many farm women are here quote, illegally, and so they endure abuse during their labor. And they go home, many of them go home to men who are abusive, who will say look, if you don't tow the line, I'm going to rat you out to la migra, and with COVID too, think about that, how many people are also suffering in silence? The rates of violence against women have increased considerably because these women are trapped and for rural women, the COVID issue is more significant than it is for urban, because there's far fewer resources. And then if you're poor, you're cut off from the internet, you're cut off from cell phones and so on and so forth. So, my continuum ranges from, you know, nonphysical acts all the way to the acts committed by states and corporations.



Jenn Tostlebe 45:22

So, earlier we mentioned or and we talked about that rural women experience higher rates of femicide or the killing of women compared to urban women. But I imagine given that this area is relatively new-ish to criminology, that there are limitations that exist. Can you talk about maybe some of the limitations existing when doing research on rural femicide?

W

Walter DeKeseredy 45:48

Yeah, it's not only rural. It's any type of femicide, the data, our statistics here in the United States, or, you know, bone dry. [INAUDIBLE] trick. It does provide more contextual information. I've gone through [INAUDIBLE]. Spain, actually now has the best measures of femicide, Spain is on the cutting edge right now. We need more information on the context, more information on motives. All of these things are missing. We basically know what the relationship is, by the way

with the National Crime Victimization Survey to which doesn't deal with femicide, you can't get data on common law, which is interesting. No, you can't and what's interesting about that, for me and other violence against women researchers is that the rates of violence against women at common law or cohabiting relationships are higher, considerably higher than in marriage. So, with the homicide data that exist, they just don't have good context. There's not enough rich information. It's how the police record it, right? And police statistics are problematic to begin with, right? We all know that that's criminology 101. Yeah.

 Jose Sanchez 47:07

So, something else that you discussed in the book, and we've talked about it a little bit in the episode is the non lethal types of violence and women abuse, and particularly, there's a sexual and then there's physical but non-lethal violence. So, how does this compare between women in rural settings versus more densely populated urban settings?

 Walter DeKeseredy 47:30

Well, it's hi, the rates are higher, they're higher in rural areas, all types of violence against women are higher. We don't know as much I should correct myself here. We don't know as much about online. We will, however, soon. Bridgette Harris and her colleagues in Australia are doing some very good stuff. They just released a report on the online victimization of rural women. But we need more, you know, international work, but certainly using the National Crime Victimization Survey, which I have with Callie Renison, who, by the way, is down the road from you folks. And she's you know, we call her the queen of the NCVS because she redesigned the National Crime Victimization Survey. I don't know if you know that. She worked for the Bureau of Justice Statistics before entering the world of academia. And we've worked together and aggregated the National Crime Victimization Survey, we had to aggregate a number of years because, you know, the problem with national crime surveys is that the Ns are so small because you're getting a glimmer across the country. So, the Ns for rural areas, so we had to aggregate different years. And we discovered that all types of violence against women that are measured by the NCVS are higher, regardless of the relationship status to I might add, and not all women. This is important to note, not all women are equal risk, regardless of where they live. Women who are separated, or divorced, whether they live in urban, rural or suburban are at the highest risk. And it's the same applies with femicide. What constantly echoes through the homicide data are these words, and you could talk to any homicide detective, including in your vicinity. If I can't have you, no one can. The only thing unusual about the OJ Simpson murder was that he was a celebrity. So, separated and divorce are very dangerous times, they constitute a six fold increase in a woman's risk of being killed, a six fold increase.



Jenn Tostlebe 49:39

And okay, so given that this research has blossomed in so much recently, over the last 15 years or so, I believe you saying the book, where do you think that future research on women abuse in rural areas should go?

 Walter DeKeseredy 49:55

I think we need more work on men. You know if the factors we need to self-report surveys. In fact, there's a shortage of self report surveys of adult men in general. If you look at where most self report surveys are administered, it's to adolescents right? Within the juvenile delinquency literature. So, we need more the United States. Well, we need more studies to begin with, there's a real problem now, because nobody's going out there and gathering original data anymore. Let me ask you this question. In your graduate program, probably most people are doing secondary data analysis. Am I wrong?



Jenn Tostlebe 50:32

So both Jose and I actually do primary data collection? We're involved in projects collecting original data, but I would say probably on average, yeah, most of them are probably secondary data. What would you say Jose?



Jose Sanchez 50:45

I think most of the people that are quantitatively inclined, are using secondary data. Really, most of the people that collect primary will be the qualitative researchers.



Walter DeKeseredy 50:57

Terifying. To me, this is very sad, because there's a shortage then of original cutting edge work, because a dissertation should be, you know, you people should be teaching us. You know, it's your research. That's extremely important. I mean, my very first article ever published was a theory piece of speculative theory piece, which I went on to test and operationalize. And if you think about Merton, you're familiar with Merton. His piece in the American Sociological Review that was published in 1938, would never be published now. Have you seen the American Sociological Review, you might as well call it the American Mathematical Review. So, I mean, this whole notion of going out there and collecting original data, I designed a self report survey, I actually administered to men, so not only in rural, but in criminology in general, we need more data, self report data. There is rich ethnography, by the way, so the best ethnography is we're seeing our drugs in the work done. It's in West Virginia, by the way, William Gary and others, almost all because you know, West Virginia, is the opioid overdose capital of the country. We ranked number two in heroin overdose. I mean, this state is riddled with drugs, primarily rural places. I mean, it's just saturated with it. But definitely, we need work on youth. There's a conspicuous absence of work on juvenile delinquency, youth in conflict with the law, women and girls in conflict with the law in rural communities, the court system, there's so much that needs to be done, folks, Susan Dewey and her colleagues have a great book titled "Outlaw Women", about women and their issues surrounding reentry in Wyoming, which is, you know, they argue the most rural part of the United States. But there's so much that can be done, that needs to be done in rural areas, but also, I think, criminology we're at a very dangerous point in time right now. We need folks like you to go out there and collect new original data. I'm seeing, you know, students, young people who seem to be very sophisticated using statistical techniques, but are theoretically bankrupt. And the theory they do know, they bend and twist fit their data set, they torture it to death.

J Jose Sanchez 51:48

Right. Or they oftentimes don't know where that theory originated, or what was right.

W Walter DeKeseredy 53:35

Thank you for saying this, because this is another problem. Because if you're trained to only write journal articles that people become obsessed with, oh, I can only cite things that were produced within a five year period. And I find so many people are totally unfamiliar with the foundations of their discipline.

J Jose Sanchez 53:51

Yeah, yeah. Yeah, we could probably rattle off a few examples of people that develop, quote, unquote, new theories, without ever citing person that actually introduced that theory.

W Walter DeKeseredy 54:03

Oh, I know. I mean, how many people know that anomie was originally coined by Durkheim. And he used in two different ways. I mean, it's startling to me. And you know, you're talking to someone who is very, very active. I'm constantly gathering data and publishing and so on. I'm not some dinosaur who's lamenting for the glory days. It's very, very troubling. To me.




Jenn Tostlebe 54:26

Yeah. It's something that Jose and I talk about a lot, because we have tried to read the contemporary stuff, but also the more classical work as well. And yeah, we talk a lot.

W Walter DeKeseredy 54:37

No, it's good that you do that. It is good, because theory is extremely important. It's it shouldn't be an afterthought. And if you look at the foundations of crim. I find it hypocritical for us to go into the classroom and talk about Merton, Cloward and Ohlin, Cohen, and all these people and then you know, tell our students, no, you can't develop speculative theory, you know? To me that's highly problematic. That's what the research process is, you develop theory tested to modify it, knowledge is cumulative, you know? But what I find within rural got coming back, there is more of a crimino, Jock Young talks about the criminological imagination when he draws from C. Wright Mills. There is more of that criminological imagination going on. There's more of a diverse range of methods and topics that are being examined, and there is more original data gathered, for example, in Australia, Kyle Mulrooney, and Alastair Harkness and their colleagues at the University of New England in Armadale Australia, did a victimization survey, a Farm Crime Victimization Survey. That's really neat. And the're studies of poaching the're studies of, you know, historical vandalism of historical artifacts, you know, and so on. I mean, when you look at rural, it's really amazing. It's so much fun to go to a conference to go to sessions, because, you know, and I hope you get a chance to if you're going to Atlanta,

hopefully COVID won't be as rapid. And I invite all the viewers here any of you viewers who go to the American Society of Criminology meetings, you're warmly welcome to attend our roundtables where people from around the world sit and talk about the things they're doing. And it's really, it's a lot of fun. It really is.

 Jose Sanchez 56:29


Yeah, well have to drop in.

 Walter DeKeseredy 56:32

Please.

 Jose Sanchez 56:32


Whenever we get a chance.

 Walter DeKeseredy 56:34

Yeah, you're warmly welcome. You'll meet some very interesting people doing very interesting things.

 Jose Sanchez 56:40

Absolutely. Well, unfortunately, that's all the time we have for today. Thank you so much for joining us, Walter. This was really interesting. We learned a lot. You know, rural crime is not what I do. Especially I've, you know, focus on street gangs, which actually, I know that there's work done on rural street gangs, which I know we could.

 Walter DeKeseredy 57:06

Yeah, no, we need more rural gang work. That's the next stuff.

 Jose Sanchez 57:12

Yeah. So I know, there's definitely a gap there that we should look into. But that's a discussion for another time. Yeah.



Jenn Tostlebe 57:21

Corrections person. So apparently, and that's me too,

W

Walter DeKeseredy 57:24

Very much. So very much. So. Yes. Yes.

J

Jose Sanchez 57:28

So we talked about your book, it was posted in 2021. Is there anything else that you'd like to plug anything else we should be on the lookout for?

W

Walter DeKeseredy 57:36

Yes, my new book, Contemporary Critical Criminology, the second edition just recently came out. And I'm quite proud of it. It'll give readers a nice overview of the diversity of critical criminology. And in my email exchanges with you, you probably saw the cover of the book. But that's something that I urge people to read. And also, I've moved temporarily away just from rural, somewhat, I've got a new book, I've teamed up with one of the world's leading experts on hockey, professional ice hockey, and I have a book coming out for the general audience titled Skating on Thin Ice. It's focusing on professional hockey, rape culture and violence against women. And to be and there's some very nasty fellows that play for your Colorado Avalanche hockey team, mentioned in the book, but that's yeah, that's something that it's been a labor of love in the book is pretty much written itself a lot of original research and very timely.

J

Jose Sanchez 58:42

That sounds real interesting. We'll have to check it out. Okay, so finally, where can people find you? Email? Twitter, maybe. So yeah, you can find

W

Walter DeKeseredy 58:52

me on Twitter, they can find me email, please feel free to email me. I'm very good at correspondence. Please visit our research center on violence website. There's some really good information up there. The West Virginia, campus climate survey articles are available for you to freely download. There's all kinds of other resources available, but yeah, email me and I hope people develop a greater interest in rural communities and understanding of them.

J

Jose Sanchez 59:23

Yep, fingers crossed, and we will definitely be sure to put your contact information in our episode description. Well, thank you again, Walter. This was a very interesting discussion. We really enjoyed it. Yeah. Thank you.

W

Walter DeKeseredy 59:36

Thank you so much.



Jenn Tostlebe 59:38

Thank you.



Jenn Tostlebe 59:39

Hey, thanks for listening.



Jose Sanchez 59:41

Don't forget to leave us a review on Apple podcasts or iTunes. Or let us know what you think of the episode by leaving us a comment on our website, thecriminologyacademy.com



Jenn Tostlebe 59:49

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Jose Sanchez 1:00:03

or email us at thecrimacademy@gmail.com The next time