

The Relationship of Men's and Women's Partner Violence to Personality and Psychopathology

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Overview

- To give a brief overview of the background literature
- Present findings of my PhD
 - Testing the male control theory
 - Testing an alternative framework for understanding aggression
- To discuss the implications and future directions

Intimate Partner Violence Research

- IPV Stereotypical view – dominant male perpetrator
- Typologies – to influence treatment
- Male Victims – Steinmetz “Battered Husband Syndrome”



Feminist Theory and Literature

- Dobash and Dobash (1979; 2004)
- VaW should be studied separately, not in context of other family violence or any other aggression
- Not psychopathology or personality but socially and historically constructed control – patriarchy
- Husband/wife = parent/child – inequalities in power, authority and status, punished if needed
- Women's violence is trivial or self-defence
- Police and crime data
- Challenge gender neutral terms used to describe IPV

Feminist Perspective

- Cause of IPV is gender; it's a **gendered** crime
- IPV is perpetrated by men driven by patriarchal values and control
- Patriarchal society tolerates this
- Women's aggression is expressive and motivated mainly by self-defence.
- IPV male perpetrators are different from other offenders
- Dobash and Dobash (1979) did bring the terms "domestic violence" and "domestic abuse" into everyday language



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Fiancée stubbed cigs out on me, poured boiling water in my lap and held a steam iron on my arm.. I never hit back

By STAFF REPORTERS

Published: 05 May 2009

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BATTERED Ian McNicholl revealed today how he
lied for his twisted fiancée - who subjected him



12 months of hell ... Ian shows burn mark
inflicted on his left shoulder with a steam iron

One in five men suffer

myView

By MARK BROOKS

Chairman, The Mankind Institute

IF a mate you share a pint with at the

Sex Differences in Aggression

- Differing pattern of sex differences (e.g. Archer, 2000; Archer, 2004)
- Parity in perpetration for men and women (e.g. Bates & Graham-Kevan, 2014)
- Feminists (e.g. Dobash & Dobash, 1979) believe these two types of aggression are etiologically different – a “gender perspective”
- Others (e.g. Felson, 2002, 2006) take the “violence perspective”.



Johnson's Theory of IPV

- Johnson (1995) tried to bridge feminist and family violence research.
- “Patriarchal terrorism” vs. “common couple violence”
- Later added “violent resistance” and “mutual violent control”
- Evidence for the typology subtypes (e.g. Graham-Kevan & Archer, 2003)
- Not for gender differences: Bates & Graham-Kevan (in press)

Felson (e.g. 2002) and Chivalry

- IPV not “special”, like other types of aggression rather than having different motives
- Society doesn’t tolerate it, quite the opposite
- Originating at early age where boys don’t hit girls
- Suggests norms of chivalry cause men to inhibit their aggression towards women
- Women have no such inhibitions as there are few social sanctions to their aggression
- Studies (e.g. Harris & Cook, 1994) suggest men’s violence is condemned much more

Is IPV different?

- Felson & Messner (1998) found that men and women who murder their partners were equally likely to have violent criminal records
- Feminist suggest female offenders would tend to be non-violent in other circumstances
- Personality factors and IPV perpetration are similar for men and women (e.g., Ehrensaft, Cohen & Johnson, 2006)
- IPV and same-sex aggression are related (Bates et al., 2014) and both are related to controlling behaviour

Malcolm George

- Examined history of male victims
- “Riding the Donkey backwards”
- Punishment = evidence of frequency of crime
- “Riding skimmington” – skimming ladle, seen as a weapon used by “Mrs Skimmington”
- Procession of victim and his wife (or neighbours!), loud musical instruments, animal horns (cuckolded)
- Supports assertion that patriarchy may be a symptom of an evolved evolutionary concern for paternity uncertainty
- Patriarchy reacting to tradition being threatened.

Is women's violence trivial?

- Hines, et al. (2007): callers to DAH, found over 90% experienced controlling behaviour and other reported being stalked, they were fearful
- They experienced frustrations with the systems in terms of seeking help.
- Other studies suggest men too suffer the mental health problems that are associated with IPV (e.g., Próspero & Kim, 2009; Hines & Douglas, 2011).
- Issue here is often due to the comparison of abused men to abused women, rather than non abused men (e.g. Herzberger, 1996).

Domestic Abuse Helpline for Men

- “ ...in addition, male victims have unique experiences in that their female abusers are able to use a system that is designed to aide female victims of domestic violence. Thus, some female perpetrators of IPV manipulate their husbands because they know that the system is designed without the abused male’s experiences in mind, and that more often than not people will not believe or take seriously these men’s victimisation.”

Hines et al., (2007)

Table 2 Physically aggressive and controlling behaviors experienced by the abused male callers to the DAHM

	% Who experienced it (<i>n</i>)
Type of physical aggression (<i>n</i> = 158 men who were asked this series of questions)	
Slapped/hit	43.7% (69)
Pushed	41.8% (66)
Kicked	39.2% (62)
Grabbed	31.0% (49)
Punched	24.7% (39)
Choked	22.2% (35)
Spit on	9.5% (15)
Stabbed	1.9% (3)
Scratched	1.3% (2)

Hines et al. (2007)

Examples from Callers

- “I tried to call the cops but she wouldn’t let me . . . She beat me up, punched me . . . She raped me . . . I tried to fight her off, but she was too strong. . . . I was bleeding and she wouldn’t let me got to the doctor’s.”
- “G reports that his estranged wife frequently targeted his genitals in her attacks, which included head butting and choking. Police were called to his home six times; one call resulted in the wife’s arrest.”
- “I was writhing, crying in the corner . . . I couldn’t get up for two hours . . . she kicked me in the groin at least 12 times.”
- “She held a knife to my genitals and threatened to cut them off.”

Control

- Foundation of feminist theory – posited to be a male phenomenon.
- Emotional abuse, controlling behaviour, psychological aggression – big overlap
- Includes financial control, humiliation, trying to control their behaviour, restrict time with family and friends
- Studies have found control is associated with higher levels of aggression (e.g. Bates et al., 2014)
- Predicts worse health outcomes (e.g. Leone et al., 2004)
- Acknowledged now as a crime

Table 2 Physically aggressive and controlling behaviors experienced by the abused male callers to the DAHM

	% Who experienced it (<i>n</i>)
Type of Controlling Behaviors (<i>n</i> = 155 men who were asked this series of questions)	
Does your partner try to control you?	94.8% (147)
Of those who were controlled, how were they controlled?	
Through coercion and threats	77.6% (114)
Through emotional abuse	74.1% (109)
Through intimidation	63.3% (93)
Through blaming, minimizing, and denying	59.9% (88)
Through manipulating the system	50.3% (74)
Through isolation	41.5% (61)
Through economic abuse	38.1% (56)
Through the children (<i>n</i> = 107)	64.5% (69)

Examples of women's use of control

- “I don't know our phone number here because she changed it and it's unlisted. I have tried to get it but I haven't been able to She checks the caller ID to see who has called when she comes home from work and she locks up my sneakers in the daytime.”
- “She convinces me that I am wrong all the time. She came at me flailing her arms hitting me and I went outside to get away from her and she locked me out...but she wouldn't let me back in.”
- “Yelling, screaming at me that if I don't shut up, I won't live to see tomorrow.”
- “I started the car and she stood behind the car with the baby... Then she put the baby on the ground behind the car where I couldn't see her so I wouldn't leave.”

Same-Sex Aggression

- Sex difference usually in favour of men
- Archer (2004) Sex differences in real world settings confirmed this
- Supported by crime statistics – 19% of 16-25 commit violent crimes compared to 10% women.
- Felson (2002) men are most at risk for being victims of violence
- Why? Women and fear?



Do women increase, or men decrease, their violence from same-sex to partner?

- Tee & Campbell (2009) had participants rate the likelihood of using physical & verbal aggression to a same-sex and opposite sex target
- Found women were more likely to be aggressive to partner and men more likely to be aggressive to same-sex.
- Men's decrease was greater than women's increase
- Richardson & Green (2006) – similar study manipulating target gender and relationship – relationship type here was more important

Aims (Part 1)

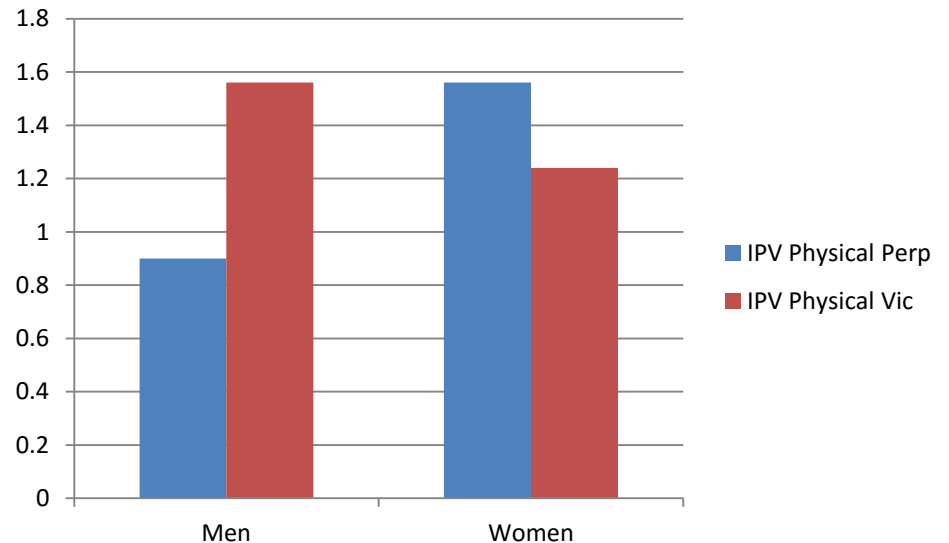
- To test the male control theory (feminist perspective) of IPV
 - Men would show more controlling behavior to partner
 - Controlling behavior to a partner would be linked to IPV for men but not for women;
 - Men's controlling behavior to a partner would be unrelated to their physical aggression to same-sex non-intimates
- Additionally test assumptions from Johnson's Typology:
 - Similar proportions of men and women are to be found among perpetrators of low-level non-controlling physical aggression ("situational couple violence"),
 - Men are to be found disproportionately among the perpetrators of high-level controlling physical aggression ("intimate terrorists").

Method

- 1104 participants were recruited with 706 women and 398 men. There was an average age of 23.55
- Some online and some paper version
- The following measures were used:
 - Conflict Tactics Scale (Straus, 1979) – Perpetration and Victimisation for IPV, Perpetration for aggression to same-sex non-intimates
 - Controlling Behaviour Scale (CBS-R: Graham-Kevan & Archer, 2005) – Perpetration and Victimisation

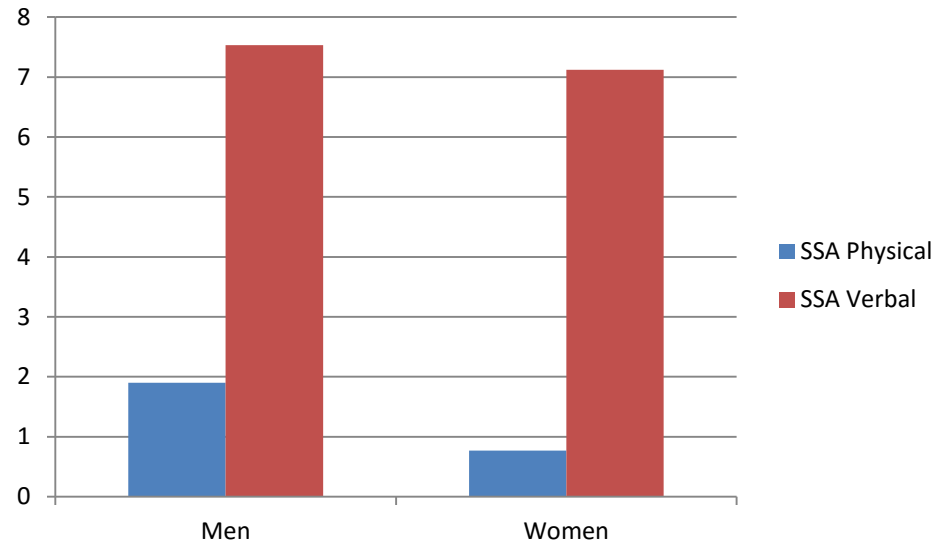
Results

- Women perpetrated significantly more physically and verbally aggression
- Women reported more verbal aggression from partner but no difference for physical



Results

- Men used significantly more verbal and physical aggression to same-sex non intimates

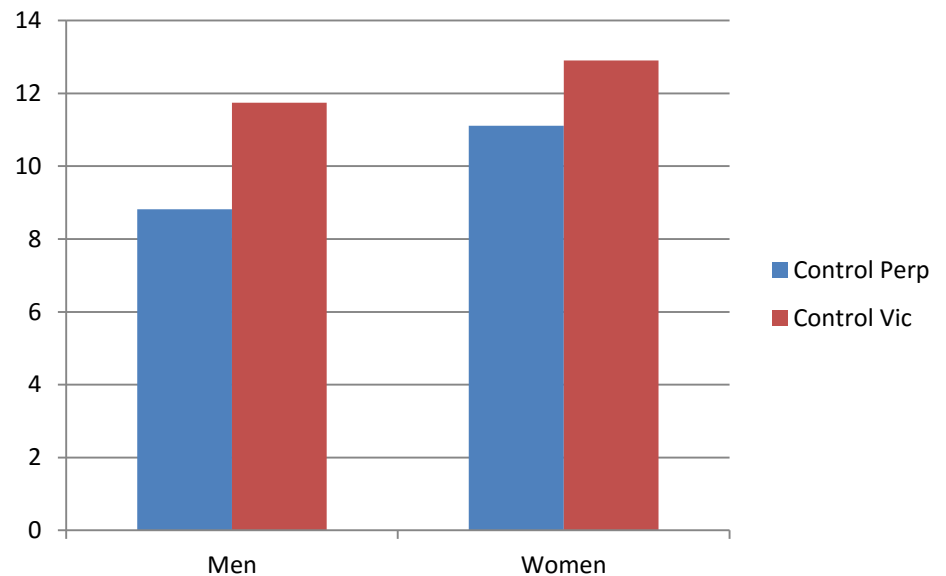


Results

- Within-subjects analyses of d values were performed to ascertain the extent to which men and women were raising or lowering their aggression from same-sex non-intimates to their partners
- The within-subjects effect size for physical aggression was $d = -.22$ ($t = -4.21$, $p < .001$) for men, and $d = .20$ ($t = 5.21$; $p < .001$) for women.
- This indicates that men lower their aggression from same-sex non-intimates to their partners whereas women raise their aggression from same-sex non-intimates to partner to a similar extent.

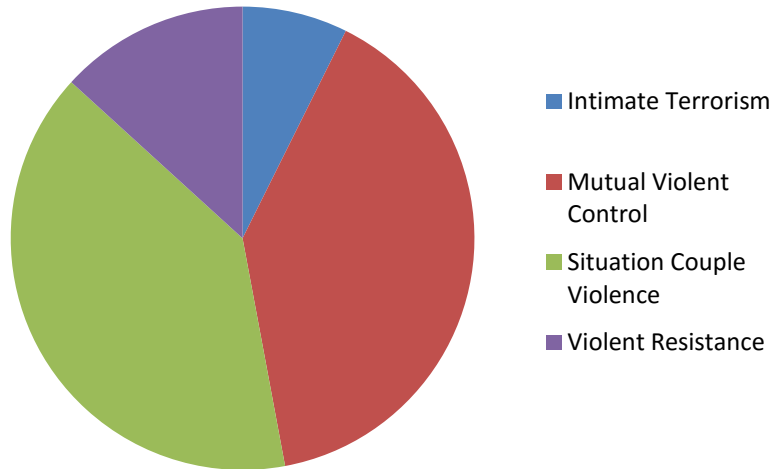
Results

- Women perpetrated significantly more controlling behaviour but similar victimisation scores

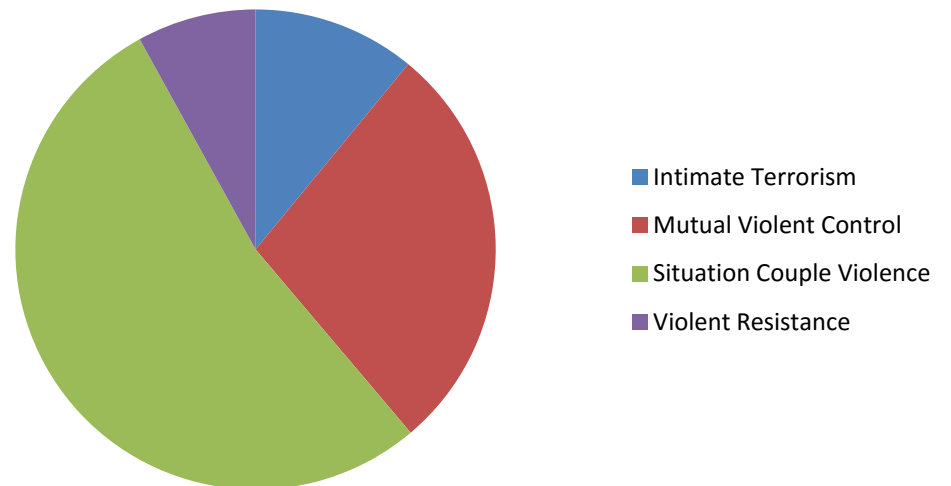


Johnson's Typology

Men



Women



IPV and Aggression to Same-Sex Others

- IPV, aggression to same-sex others and control were all strongly associated
- These were strongly associated for both men and women
- Men and women had similar predictors
- In correlation and regression analysis
- Similar magnitude
- Contradicts several aspects of the theory

Hypotheses

- Men would show more controlling behavior to partner
- Controlling behavior to a partner would be linked to IPV for men but not for women;
- Men's controlling behavior to a partner would be unrelated to their physical aggression to same-sex non-intimates
- Similar proportions of men and women are to be found among perpetrators of low-level non-controlling physical aggression (“situational couple violence”),
- Men are to be found disproportionately among the perpetrators of high-level

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Summary of Findings

- Sex differences in both types of aggression
- Partial support for Johnson's typology
- Very little support for male control theory
- Similar findings for men and women
- Association of control and same-sex aggression
- Men inhibited their aggression towards their partners

Implications for Research

- Supports studying IPV within context of other types of aggression – focus on perpetrator characteristics not societal values
- Control and same-sex aggression - controlling IPV perpetrators have a coercive interpersonal style rather than being patriarchal
- Support for chivalry theory and normative protection of women

An alternative model

- Explored other explanations and factors of IPV – focusing on perpetrator characteristics
- There is a wealth of literature that details the risk factors and assessment measures used within the field of adult violence (e.g., Douglas & Skeem, 2005).
- These include impulsivity (e.g., Campbell, 2006), personality disorder (e.g., Berman, Fallon & Coccaro, 1998) and anxiety (e.g., Gratz, Tull & Gunderson, 2007).

Finkel (2007)

- Finkel (2007) - used self-regulatory literature to create a framework, a process-oriented meta-theory
- Encompasses that risk factors may strengthen the impelling forces, weaken the inhibiting forces, or both
- Finkel's (2007) I³ theory
- Instigating trigger (e.g. feelings of jealousy), for IPV to occur there must be an interaction between the impelling and inhibiting forces of the perpetrator.

Finkel (2007)

- Examples of strong impelling forces include personality disorders and attachment anxiety,
- Examples of weak inhibiting forces include low self-control and low empathy.
- The interaction of these variables leads to an output that determines the risk of violence in any given conflict situation
- Support for this model has been found in a number of experimental studies (e.g. Finkel & Foshee, 2006; Finkel, DeWall, Oaten, Slotter & Foshee, 2009; Finkel et al., 2012)

Aims (part 2)

- Investigate an alternative framework for exploring risk factors for aggression
- Sex specific and aggression specific effects
- Presented within Finkel's framework
- Series of impelling and inhibiting variables
- Multi-study paper – subsets of original data set

Method

- Multi-study
- Student samples – N = between 345-395
- Minimum 33% male sample to allow gender comparisons
- Measures included CTS (Straus, 1979) and CBS (Graham-Kevan & Archer, 2005)
- Testing impelling and inhibiting influences on IPV and same-sex aggression

Study 1

- Tested pairs of impelling (perceived benefits and instrumental beliefs) and inhibiting (perceived costs and expressive beliefs) forces
- Cost-Benefit analysis (e.g. Archer et al., 2010) and Instrumental/Expressive beliefs (e.g. Campbell & Muncer, 1987)
- Both types of men's aggression was predicted by perceived benefits and instrumental beliefs; women's IPV was predicted by perceived costs and expressive beliefs whereas their SSA was predicted by instrumental beliefs and perceived costs.

Study 2

- Inhibiting forces (namely self-control, anxiety and empathy)
- Less research focused on risk assessment in terms of inhibiting forces
- Self-control was the strongest predictor of both types of men's and women's aggression.

Study 3

- Followed up on Study 2 regarding self-control by exploring psychopathic traits;
 - Primary psychopathy representing a lack of anxiety
 - Secondary psychopathy representing a lack of self-control.
- Primary psychopathy predicted men's IPV but secondary psychopathy predicted men's SSA.
- For women, primary predicted women's SSA and secondary predicted women's IPV and SSA

Summary of findings

- The findings indicated that IPV and SSA share some similarities and differences in the predictive power of these variables
- There were also similarities and difference in predictors for men and women.
- The findings demonstrated both impelling and inhibiting factors has predictive power over aggression

Implications for Policy and Practice

- Current IPV interventions in UK, US and Canada, roots in feminist research and theory
- The Duluth Model (Pence & Paymar, 1993) designed to protect women from controlling and abusive men – curriculum based on power and control, perceived to be male problem
- This model not only excludes the possibility of female perpetrators, but also many male perpetrators who are not controlling and whose aggression could be attributed to other variables, such as personality disorders or a lack of self-control.
- It doesn't accommodate IPV within same-sex relationships

The Duluth Model



- Low quality or no published evaluations
- Broadly “pro-feminist signifying that they consider violence against women to be an issue of gender power & domination” (Dobash 2000)
- High attrition

Pro-feminist Duluth Approach

- Not based on strong empirical evidence
- Educational not designed to be therapeutic
- Ineffective: "there is little support for the Duluth Model regarding the effectiveness of these types of programs in reducing violence ... Meta-analytic reviews of outcomes for these approaches have consistently found them to be of limited effectiveness, with effect sizes near zero" (Jewel & Wormith, 2010)

Duluth Model

- Ignores:
 - Risk factors that have been demonstrated to be associated with both aggressive behaviour
 - Overlap between IPV, other types of aggression, control etc
 - The research detailing gender parity in IPV frequency and prevalence of perpetration (e.g., Archer, 2000)
 - Mutuality in most IPV (e.g., Stets and Straus, 1992),
 - The finding that people perceive women's use of IPV to be more acceptable and men's use to be abhorrent (e.g., Sorenson & Taylor, 2005).

Effectiveness

- Research often suggests it to be unsuccessful – e.g. Babcock et al. (2004) meta-analysis of 22 studies found minimal effects, as effective as arrest or other CJS sanctions
- Effectiveness of programmes is affected by the position of the researcher
- Feminist researchers tend to speak more favourably (e.g. Gondolf & Jones, 2001)
- Others grounded in evidence based practice (e.g. Dutton & Corvo, 2007; Graham-Kevan, 2009) are more critical and using different methods have demonstrated different outcomes
- Akoensi et al. (2013) reviewed existing provision within Europe finding only 12 evaluations that fulfilled their criteria

What about the impact for victims?

- 12 organisations offer refuge for male victims in the UK
 - total of 63 spaces, of which 17 are dedicated to male DV victims only (the rest being for victims of either gender).
- For female victims, there are nearly 400 specialist domestic violence organisations providing 4,000 spaces.
- On at least 120 occasions in 2010 a caller decided not to consider a refuge or safe house because they were too far away and would mean having to completely uproot their lives, often having to leave their children and their job behind.
- [Mankind Initiative](#)

Concluding Thoughts

- Research examining male victims and their experience is increasing
- There is a need for change for:
 - More services for men
 - Intervention for women perpetrators
 - Perpetrator programmes grounded in evidence based practice and not politics
- More research e.g. LGBT, Perpetrator programme evaluations

Thank you for listening!

- Any questions?
- Bates, E. A., Graham-Kevan, N., & Archer, J. (2014) Testing predictions from the male control theory of men's partner violence. *Aggressive Behavior*, 40 (1) 42-55
- Bates, E. A. & Graham-Kevan, N. (in press) Is controlling aggression related to problem presentation? A test of Johnson's assumptions regarding sex-differences and the role of control. *Partner Abuse*.
- Bates, E. A., Archer, J. & Graham-Kevan, N. (2014) Impelling and Inhibiting influences of Aggression towards Partners and Same-Sex Others. Manuscript under review..