GENDER SYMMETRY IN DATING VIOLENCE?

by

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(Under the direction of Steven R. H. Beach)

ABSTRACT

The present study examined the extent to which dating violence is accurately characterized by gender symmetry. Self-report data were collected from 450 undergraduate men and women at a large Southeastern university. Perpetration and victimization rates for psychological, physical, and sexual aggression are reported. Results suggest that dating violence is generally symmetrical with respect to gender at the level of a topographical analysis, with both men and women reporting violent experiences as commonplace within their heterosexual dating histories. However, at the level of an experiential analysis, gender asymmetries become apparent. These results are consistent with behavior analytic and feminist approaches.

INDEX WORDS: Dating violence, Gender differences

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B.S., The University of Virginia, 1996

A Thesis Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of The University of Georgia in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree

MASTER OF SCIENCE

ATHENS, GEORGIA

2002

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to express appreciation to my committee members, Dr. Ileana Arias, Dr. Steve Beach, and Dr. Lily McNair for the expertise and guidance they have shared with me. Certainly this project could not have been completed without them.

I would also like to acknowledge my family and friends for their encouragement and reminders that there is life outside of graduate school. I am especially honored to share credit for this accomplishment with my mother, Peggy Kapsiak, who taught me to from a young age that I could overcome whatever obstacles stood between me and my goals. Also, I dedicate this work to my husband, Kris Cercone-Keeney, for his humor that never fails to lift my spirits.

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INTRODUCTION

In 1981, Makepeace published the first study of physical aggression in dating relationships. Since that seminal work, numerous studies have generated data that illustrate the widespread prevalence of dating violence. Although the exact numbers vary (depending on the operational definition of violence, the target sample, etc.), there is overwhelming evidence that at least 1/3 of high school and college students have experienced dating violence, as perpetrators and/or recipients, at one or more times in their dating history (e.g., Arias & Johnson, 1989; Bookwala, Frieze, Smith, & Ryan, 1992; Breslin, Riggs, O'Leary & Arias, 1990; Foo & Margolin, 1995; Jezl, Molidor, & Wright, 1996; Katz, Street, & Arias, 1997; White & Koss, 1991).

This statistic is alarming for several reasons. Dating violence has been shown to be associated with a variety of negative outcomes including physical injury and medical attention-seeking (Makepeace, 1986), rapid repeat pregnancy (Jacoby, Gorenflo, Black, Wunderlich, & Eyler, 1999), psychological distress (Coffey, Leitenberg, Henning, Bennett, & Jankowski, 1996), disciplinary problems (Reuterman & Burcky, 1989), and low grade point average (Bergman, 1992). Perhaps of even greater concern is that dating violence has been implicated as a precursor of marital violence. For example, Walker (1993) indicated that retrospective accounts by battered women revealed instances of minor violence early in their relationships. Similarly, O'Leary, et al. (1989) noted that, for those couples who engaged in physical aggression during courtship, the likelihood that violence would also characterize their marital relationship was high. When dating

relationships are conceptualized as the context in which individuals are socialized for later marital roles, the potential path from dating violence to marital violence becomes apparent (Follette & Alexander, 1992; Roscoe & Benaske, 1985).

Symmetry in Perpetration

Although intimate partner violence is often described as a "women's issue" (i.e., men as perpetrators, women as victims), a recent meta-analysis (Archer, 2000) highlighted a controversial, yet well-replicated finding: women appear to engage in acts of nonsexual intimate partner violence as frequently, or even more frequently, than do men. In fact, data consistent with this contention have been available for over 20 years. For example, in the late 1970's and early 1980's, Steinmetz asserted that the incidence of husband-beating was analogous to the incidence of wife-beating, both in the United States and abroad (1978; 1980; 1981). Similarly, Straus (1980), in his analysis of a subset of data from the 1975 National Survey, noted that men and women were equally likely to describe engaging in violent behavior toward their spouse.

Similar findings were also described early on in the dating violence literature. In a 1983 survey of high school students, boys and girls reported initiating intimate partner violence at comparable rates (Henton, Cate, Koval, Lloyd, & Christopher, 1983). Likewise, Sigelman, Berry, & Wiles (1984) surveyed over 500 college students and found that men and women were alike in the overall amount of violence they expressed. This comparability in levels of intimate partner violence is somewhat surprising given robust gender differences in perpetration of violence toward same-sex friends and strangers (Hyde, 1986).

These early reports of symmetry of perpetration have been replicated numerous times over the years, both for marital violence (e.g., Cascardi, Langhinrichsen, & Vivian, 1992; Margolin, 1987; Straus, 1993; etc.) and dating violence (e.g., Arias, Samios, & O'Leary, 1987; Burke, Stets, & Pirog-Good, 1988; Caulfield & Riggs, 1992; Milardo, 1998; Straus, Hamby, Boney-McCoy, & Sugarman, 1996; White & Humphrey, 1994; etc.), and can no longer be easily dismissed.

Asymmetries in Consequences of Victimization and Predictors of Perpetration

Despite this overwhelming evidence that men and women engage in equal numbers of nonsexual violent acts against intimate partners, female victims of intimate partner violence have been repeatedly shown to be at greater risk than male victims for sustaining physical and psychological injury and, in extreme cases, death (e.g., Archer, 2000; Bookwala, et. al., 1992; Cascardi, Langhinrichsen, & Vivian, 1992; CDC, 1996; Foshee, 1996; Goldberg & Tomlanovich, 1984; Makepeace, 1986; Molidor & Tolman, 1998; O'Leary, 2000; Riggs, 1993; Vivian & Langhinrichsen-Rohling, 1994; etc.).

Differences in the patterns of predictors of male- and female-perpetration of intimate partner violence have also been identified (e.g., Bookwala, et al., 1992; Capaldi & Crosby, 1997; Mason & Blankenship, 1987; Tontodonato & Crew, 1992, etc.). Bookwala, et al. (1992), for example, found that more accepting attitudes toward violence and less traditional sex-role attitudes predicted men's dating violence; in contrast, less accepting attitudes toward violence and more traditional sex-role attitudes predicted women's violence. Similarly, Capaldi and Crosby (1997) found that although antisocial behavior predicted male perpetration of dating violence, depressive symptomatology and low self-esteem predicted female perpetration.

When the same predictors are identified for male and female perpetrators, the degree of their usefulness tends to vary by gender. For example, Riggs and O'Leary (1996) found that for both men and women, aggression in dating relationships was related to individuals' attitudes toward violence, their history of aggressive behavior, and conflict within the relationship. However, while these variables explained more than 60% of the variance in men's dating aggression, they accounted for only 32% of the variance in women's.

These gendered differences in both the consequences of victimization and the predictors of perpetration highlight the limitations of dating violence research that focuses more or less exclusively on the frequency with which men and women engage in various topographies of violent behavior. In contrast, research that looks beyond frequency to the context, function, and meaning associated with acts of dating violence by men and women may result in a more comprehensive understanding of this phenomenon.

Feminist Perspectives

Feminist analyses have been widely applied to intimate partner violence, particularly violence against women. Although there are many faces of feminism, and therefore variation among these analyses, they are consistent in their assumptions that gender, power, control, and oppression are critical components of this phenomenon. That is, feminist theory highlights the role of our patriarchal social structure in the development and maintenance of male privilege and power, which in turn creates an environment in which violence against women may flourish. For example, Dobash and Dobash (1992) noted, "Women are in a secondary position to men both in society and in

the family, and that this [sic] results in numerous problems for women, including economic disadvantage and the use of violence against them (p.17)". Others have further suggested that not only is violence against women a side effect of the hierarchy of patriarchy, as suggested by the preceding quotation, it is in fact one of the tools that men as a class have developed and applied to maintain their position of privilege in society (Lloyd & Emery, 2000).

Despite the historical emphasis on male-perpetrated intimate partner violence, feminist researchers have recently begun to acknowledge and address women's use of violence in intimate relationships. In fact, White and Kowalski (1994) debunked the myth of women as passive and nonviolent through their description of numerous aggressive acts frequently found in women's behavioral repertoire. More recently, Renzetti (1999) urged feminists to "own" women's intimate partner violence so that the meaning ascribed to it is appropriately contextualized: "By taking ownership of the tasks of researching and theorizing women's use of violence, feminists can at once lay bare women's strengths and women's suffering, a process that I think will both empower women and harness the backlash (p.52)."

Behavior Analytic Perspective

Behavior analytic approaches, emphasizing overt behaviors and their functions, have been less widely applied to intimate partner violence. However, Myers (1995) offered a sophisticated behavior analytic conceptualization of violence against women that focused on the ways in which the proximal three-term contingency of operant conditioning (i.e., antecedent, behavior, and consequence) can be mapped onto the interactions of a violent couple. Others have employed the behavioral concept of

punishment (i.e., the application of an aversive or noxious stimulus after a specific behavioral response that reduces the likelihood of that response occurring in the future) to explain victims' tendency to remain in abusive relationships (Long & McNamara, 1989).

Although often referred to as a unitary perspective, behaviorism, like feminism, actually consists of many, sometimes contradictory, variations on a theme (O'Donohue & Kitchener, 1999). However, common to many forms of behaviorism is the view that, through operant conditioning, features of the environment act to cause or control behavior. Skinner referred to this process as "selection by consequence" and proposed that it was similar to the biological phenomenon of natural selection (Ringen, 1999). Central to this view is the idea that behavior and its environment are a unitary integrated phenomenon. "From this perspective, behavior itself changes as the circumstances of its occurrence change, because the behavior and the circumstances are two aspects of a single event. Hugging one's lover is a different behavior than hugging one's child because it serves a different function, regardless of the similar movements involved. The meaning of a behavior is linked to its function…(Gifford & Hayes, 1999, p. 293)". Thus, it is not the structural properties of an act that interest behavior analysts, but the context in which the act occurs, and therefore, its presumed function.

Melding Behavior Analytic and Feminist Perspectives

Admittedly, this behavioral analytic perspective may at first glance appear contrary to the feminist perspective of violence against women, which emphasizes the extent to which this violence has grown out of a patriarchal social structure rather than the patterns of interaction within particular couples. However, the apparent differences of the behavior analytic and feminist perspectives can be reconciled. For example, the

system of patriarchy can be viewed, as Myers viewed it, as a collection of "overarching, contingency-specifying conditions (Myers, 1995, p.496)" that sets the stage for the violence of men to "work" in a way that women's violence does not. Furthermore, both feminist and behavior analytic perspectives predict that the context, function, and meaning of male- and female-perpetrated dating violence are different. They also share the belief that these differences may account for the seemingly symmetrical perpetration and yet asymmetrical predictors and outcomes of dating violence for men and women.

In fact, Gifford and Hayes (1999) noted that feminist theory is a form of descriptive contextualism while behavior analytic theory is a form of functional contexualism. According to these authors, descriptive contextualism works toward the goal of understanding, while functional contextualism works toward the goals of prediction and influence. Perhaps the melding of these two types of contextualism may allow for a more complete solution to the problem of dating violence (i.e., understanding, prediction, and influence).

Expressive Vs. Instrumental Violence

One potentially fruitful way of conceptualizing the apparent dissimilarity in men and women's use of violence was proposed by Campbell, Muncer, and Coyle in 1992. They proposed two social representations of aggression (i.e., instrumental and expressive) and suggested that an examination of how men and women differ on their endorsement of these social representations might be one way of explaining differences in their overt behavior. They believed that men would be more likely to endorse an instrumental view of violence, with an emphasis on using violence to exert control over others. Women, on the other hand, would be more likely to endorse an expressive view

of violence, with an emphasis on loss of self-control during the use of violence. Several studies with varied samples have confirmed their original hypotheses (Archer & Haigh, 1997a; Campbell, Muncer, McManus, & Woodhouse, 1999; Campbell, Saponchnik, & Muncer, 1997).

Interestingly, although Campbell and colleagues did not couch these social representations of violence in behavioral terms, it is possible to explain the differences between expressive and instrumental violence in terms of intrinsic and social contingencies. From a radical behavioral perspective, expressive violence may be best conceptualized as negatively reinforced by reducing an internal, adverse emotional and physiological state of arousal. It seems likely that both men's and women's use of violence may be reinforced in this manner. In contrast, instrumental violence may be more accurately viewed as behavior that is either positively or negatively reinforced by compliance from the partner. Given the larger size and strength of most men compared to most women, it seems more likely that men's use of violence will result in the desired changes in the environment (e.g., partner compliance) than will women's. In fact, women's violence may actually be ignored (e.g., partner does nothing) or punished (e.g., partner retaliates).

In the current study, it is predicted that men and women will differ in their relative endorsement of instrumental and expressive representations of violence. That is, it is predicted that men will endorse a more instrumental view of violence. Furthermore, it is this predicted gendered difference in primary function of violence that shaped the selection of the other variables under examination.

Communication Skills

The relationship between conflicts of interest and intimate partner violence has been well established (e.g., Cascardi & Vivian, 1995; Christensen & Pasch, 1993; Dobash & Dobash, 1984; Edleson, Eisikovitz, Guttmann, & Sela-Amit, 1991). Of course, not all dating couples who experience many conflicts of interest will engage in violence. Therefore, it is necessary to consider under what circumstances might violence be more likely to occur. Theorists such as Cahn (1996) and Lloyd and Emery (1994) have taken a communication perspective on the development and maintenance of aggression in romantic relationships. From this perspective, violence serves a communicative function and is employed as a conflict negotiation strategy when other strategies fail to achieve desired ends. Thus, individuals with poor verbal communication skills should be more likely to resort to violence when conflicts of interest arise in their relationships.

There is extensive evidence supporting the association between communication skills and levels of intimate partner violence (e.g., Leonard & Senchak, 1996). Specifically, this relationship has been documented in studies of dating violence. For example, Follette and Alexander (1992) found that male communication patterns were related to the occurrence of violence in their dating relationships; that is, men's report of violence toward their partners was positively related to the frequency of his negative communication patterns. Similarly, Holtzworth-Munroe, Bates, Smutzler, and Sandin (1997) found that men who engaged in dating violence possessed fewer social skills, including communication skills, than did nonperpetrators.

In the current study, it is hypothesized that quality of communication skills and perpetration of dating violence will be negatively related such that participants who report poorer communication skills will also report higher levels of dating violence. It is expected that this relationship will hold true regardless of gender.

Desirability of Control

As previously mentioned, the perpetration of violence in intimate relationships has been hypothesized to stem from issues of control. For example, Walker (1979) entitled a section of her book 'Coercive Techniques in Battering Relationships'. Rouse (1990) described the dominance motive (i.e., a felt need for control in an interpersonal interaction) as a useful term to conceptualize a personal disposition associated with use of physical force in intimate relationships. Furthermore, Prince and Arias (1994) identified a subgroup of court-referred men who were at high risk for engaging in intimate violence; those men reported high levels of self-esteem, high levels of desirability of control, and low levels of perceived personal control.

Consistent with feminist perspectives, there is some evidence supporting the hypothesis that this issue of control characterizes male intimate partner violence but not female intimate partner violence. For example, Hamberger, Lohr, Bonge & Tolin (1997) examined the motivations for violence reported by court-referred men and women. In their sample, the following gender differences were identified: male perpetrators cited motivations for violence that were primarily related to issues of domination and control while, in contrast, female perpetrators cited retaliation for previous violence, self-defense, and escape from aggression as their primary motives for violent behavior. Similarly, Ehrensaft, Langhinrichsen-Rohling, Heyman, O'Leary, and Lawrence (1999) reported

that wives in aggressive couples attributed their spouses' aggression to a desire to control them.

In the current study, it is hypothesized that the relationship between desirability of control and dating violence will be moderated by gender. That is, men who report higher levels of desirability of control will be more likely to report engaging in dating violence.

Summary of Hypotheses

The current study sought to test a number of hypotheses that support the notion that the context, functions, and meanings of male- and female-perpetrated dating violence are different. Feminist and behavior analytic theory drove these hypotheses. If supported by the data, these predicted differences among perpetrators of dating violence may, in part, account for the symmetrical perpetration and asymmetrical outcomes of dating violence for men and women. Furthermore, support for this hypothesis may impact the quality of future intervention and prevention programs; that is, by taking into account the heterogeneity of dating violence perpetrators, such programs may be better able to reduce, and perhaps one day eliminate, dating violence.

H_1: Men and women will report engaging in an equal number of minor acts of dating violence. However, men will be more likely than women to report engaging in severe acts of dating violence.

H_2: Although men and women will both report sustaining injury as a result of a dating partner's violence, women will be more likely to report this than men.

H_3: There will be a gender difference in representations of physical aggression such that women will endorse relatively more expressive representations and men will endorse relatively more instrumental representations.

H_4: For both men and women, reported quality of communication will be related to reported perpetration of dating violence, such that poorer communication skills will be associated with higher levels of dating violence.

H_5: The relationship between quality of communication and perpetration of dating violence will be mediated by reports of expressive representations of violence.

H_6: Reported desirability of control will be related to reported perpetration of dating violence, such that higher desirability of control will be associated with higher levels of dating violence.

H_7: The relationship between desirability of control and perpetration of dating violence will be moderated by gender. That is, compared to women, men who report higher levels of desirability of control will be more likely to report engaging in more dating violence.

H_8: The relationship between the previously described interaction and perpetration of dating violence will be mediated by reports of instrumental representations of violence.

The relationships predicted by $H_4 – H_8$ are depicted in Figure 1.

METHOD

Participants

Data were collected from 450 undergraduate students who were recruited from introductory psychology courses at a large Southeastern university. An a priori G*Power analysis (Faul & Erdfelder, 1992), using $1-\beta = 0.80$, a conservative effect size of 0.25, and an alpha level of .05, indicated that this sample size was more than large enough to adequately address all of the aforementioned a priori hypotheses.

Participation in this study contributed to fulfillment of introductory psychology course requirements. It is important to note, however, that although these students opted to fulfill course requirements in this manner, they were not obligated to participate in this or any other research study; instead, they could have chosen to fulfill the relevant course requirements through the review of current publications. In addition, participants chose this particular study from a large array of available studies. Finally, participants had the option to terminate participation in this study at any time without fear of incurring a penalty (although no one in this sample chose to exercise that option).

Procedures

Through the completion of paper and pencil self-report measures, participants provided data on a number of variables related to their experiences in dating relationships. The data had no other purpose other than to inform the current study.

Testing was done in groups of no more than 20 participants. Consent forms were presented prior to collection of data. Participants were given ample time to review the

form and ask any questions that they may have had. They were asked to sign one copy of the form and keep another for their records. After the consent forms were turned in, the participants were asked to complete a questionnaire packet containing a demographics inventory and the measures described below. As they finished, participants were debriefed and thanked. Participation in this study was not associated with risk for physical harm. However, since it was possible that participants may have experienced some degree of discomfort or distress as a result of answering questions related to conflict and violence in their dating relationships, all participants received information detailing the availability of mental health services for students. From start to finish, the testing session took no longer than 1 hour.

Measures were taken to protect participants' anonymity. Participants were not asked to disclose their identity, other than as signatures on consent forms. In addition, consent forms and data were collected and stored separately; therefore, it was impossible for disclosures to be linked to a particular individual.

Measures

Measures are described below and presented in full in the appendix.

Revised Conflict Tactics Scales (CTS2; Straus, et. al., 1996)

The CTS2 is a 78-item paper and pencil self-report measure designed to assess respondents' behaviors during conflict in romantic relationships. It is composed of 5 scales, each of which is further divided into 2 subscales: Negotiation (e.g., "I showed my partner I cared even though we disagreed [Emotional]; "I suggested a compromise to a disagreement [Cognitive]"), Psychological Aggression (e.g., "I insulted or swore at my partner [Minor]"; "I destroyed something belonging to my partner [Severe]"), Physical

Assault (e.g., “Slapped my partner [Minor]”; “Beat up my partner [Severe]”), Sexual coercion (e.g., “Insisted on sex when my partner did not want to, but did not use physical force [Minor]”; “I used threats to make my partner have sex [Severe]”), and Injury (e.g., “I felt physical pain that still hurt the next day because of a fight with my partner [Minor]”; “I went to a doctor because of a fight with my partner [Severe]”). Items are presented twice, first with respect to the respondents’ own behavior and then with respect to the romantic partners’ behavior. Thus, the CTS2 yields perpetration and victimization data on 5 scales and 10 subscales.

Participants were asked to think about their dating history and to indicate on a 7-point scale the frequency with which they and their dating partner(s) engaged in various topographies of conflict resolution behavior during their relationship(s). Participants’ responses resulted in perpetration and victimization frequency scores corresponding to the 5 scales and 10 subscales of the CTS2. Frequency scores for each subdivision were derived by recoding 7 as 0 and adding the midpoints of the category indicated by the participant for each of the items (e.g., if a participant indicated 4 for the item, “I slapped my partner,” this would be scored as an 8, because 8 is the midpoint of 6-10 times). Prevalence scores for the Physical Assault scale were also calculated.

Straus and colleagues (1996) presented psychometric data obtained from a student population, the majority of whom were involved in dating, rather than marital, relationships. These data provided preliminary evidence for high internal consistency (i.e., α = .79 to .95), extensive construct validity, and moderate discriminant validity. Internal consistency coefficients for this sample are presented in Table 1.

Experience with Battering (EB)

The EB is a 10-item revision of the Women's Experience with Battering Scale (WEB; Smith, Earp, & DeVellis, 1995). This self-report measure was designed to avoid the "measurement trap" (i.e., a focus on the topography of perpetrators' actions; Smith, Smith, & Earp, 1999, p.177) when assessing women's psychological vulnerability as a result of experiences with chronic victimization by an intimate partner. High internal consistency (α = .99) was reported for the WEB. Furthermore, the WEB was shown to correlate significantly and in the expected direction with several related constructs including self-esteem, marital satisfaction, depression, and anxiety.

For the purposes of the current investigation, the items were changed from gender-specific statements to gender-neutral statements to which both the men and women in our sample could respond (e.g., from "I feel owned and controlled by him" to "I feel owned and controlled by my partner"). Similar to the change in the previous example, the changes were minor in all cases. Therefore, it was expected that, despite these changes, the previously documented psychometric properties of the measure would be maintained. Participants were asked to indicate the extent of their agreement with the 10 items on a 5-point scale. The 10 responses were summed to create an index of psychological vulnerability; higher scores represented higher levels of psychological vulnerability. An internal consistency coefficient of .90 was obtained with the current sample.

Expagg (Campbell, Muncer, McManus, & Woodhouse, 1999)

The Expagg questionnaire was designed to assess participants' conceptualizations of their own physically aggressive behavior as relatively expressive or relatively

instrumental. Although originally made up of 20 items (Campbell, Muncer, & Coyle, 1992) and then expanded to 40 items (Archer & Haigh, 1997a), the present study included the recently revised Expressive and Instrumental Scales. Both are 8-item pencil and paper self-report measures that allowed participants to indicate, on a 5-point scale, the extent to which they agreed with each of the items in the context of their dating history. Since the 2 scales were used together, the items were interspersed, as recommended by Campbell, et al., 1999. Participants' scores were derived for each of the two scales and for the ratio of instrumental responses to expressive responses (I-to-E ratio).

Adequate Cronbach's alpha coefficients have been reported for both the Expressive (α = .64) and the Instrumental (α = .80) Scales (Campbell, Muncer, McManus, & Woodhouse, 1999). Furthermore, several recent studies of intimate partner violence have used various forms of the Expagg (e.g., Campbell, Muncer, & Coyle, 1992; Campbell, Saponchnik, & Muncer, 1997; Archer & Haigh, 1997a; Archer & Haigh, 1997b). Internal consistency coefficients for this sample were .79 and .86 for the Expressive and Instrumental Scales respectively.

Fear of Conflict Tactics Scale (FCTS)

The FCTS is a 39-item elaboration of the CTS2 (Straus, et. al., 1996) designed for the purposes of this study to assess participants' fear of dating partners' potential behaviors during conflict. Participants were asked to indicate on a 5-point scale the extent to which they would be afraid if one of their dating partners engaged in each action described in the CTS2. Participants' responses resulted in fear scores that corresponded

to the previously described 5 scales and 10 subscales of the CTS2. Obtained internal consistency coefficients are presented in Table 2.

Ineffective Arguing Inventory (IAI; Kurdek, 1994)

The IAI is an 8-item paper and pencil self-report instrument designed to measure participants' perceptions of the quality of their verbal communication during conflicts. Evidence for the reliability of the IAI with a diverse sample of couples included a Cronbach alpha coefficient of .89 for internal consistency, a Pearson correlation coefficient of .72 for test-retest reliability over a period of 1 year, and a single-factor model revealed through confirmatory factor analysis. Kurdek (1994) also provided evidence of validity, including positive relationships between couple members' IAI scores, IAI scores and relationship satisfaction, and IAI scores and relationship dissolution.

Using a 5-point scale, participants were asked to rate the extent to which they agree or disagree with each of the items. Items 1, 3, and 8 were reverse coded before participants' scores were derived. Higher scores represented poorer communication. Cronbach's alpha for the sample in this study was .87

Desirability of Control Scale (DCS; Burger & Cooper, 1979)

The DCS scale is a 20-item paper and pencil self-report inventory designed to assess participants' motivation to control the events in their lives. Rather than assessing perceived control, it assesses whether or not control is attractive. Using a 7-point scale, participants were asked to indicate the extent to which they agreed with each of the items. Sample items include: "When I see a problem, I prefer to do something about it rather

than sit by and let it continue," and "I enjoy being able to influence the actions of others." Higher scores on the DCS represented higher desirability of control.

Burger and Cooper reported evidence of the reliability of this measure including an internal consistency coefficient of .80 and a test-retest coefficient of .75 over a 6-week period. Data demonstrating the discriminant validity from measures of locus of control and social desirability were also made available. Furthermore, this measure has been used in previous studies of intimate partner violence (e.g., Prince & Arias, 1994). For this sample, the internal consistency coefficient was .78.

RESULTS

Sample Characteristics

As indicated previously, the initial sample included 450 undergraduate men (*n* = 206) and women (*n* = 244) recruited from introductory psychology courses at a large Southeastern university. Given the current investigation's emphasis on violence that occured within the context of heterosexual dating relationships, participants who endorsed bi/homosexuality (*n* = 11) or indicated that they had never been on a date (*n* = 3) were excluded from the analyses. Similarly, participants who were missing 4 or more items from one or more measures central to the a priori hypotheses (i.e., CTS2, Expagg, IAI, and DCS; *n* = 9) were excluded from the analyses. Missing data points in the remaining sample were replaced with the mean of the relevant (sub)scale.

The remaining sample included 427 undergraduates (194 men and 233 women). With the exception of age, for which there was a statistically (but not theoretically) significant difference, male and female participants did not differ on demographic variables. On average, the men were approximately 6 months older (*M* = 19.5) than were the women (*M* = 19). The majority of the sample (90.7% of the men; 86.7% of the women) identified themselves as Caucasian. As such, this sample generally reflected the racial make-up of the undergraduate population at the university. With respect to their dating history, 86% of the men and 87% of the women indicated that they had been involved in at least one romantic relationship of 3 or more months. A smaller percentage (11.3% of the men; 9.4% of the women) indicated that they had been involved in at least

one romantic relationship of less than 3 months, while relatively few (2.6% of the men; 3.4% of the women) indicated that they had been on dates but not involved in a relationship per se of any length.

A priori Analyses

Intimate partner violence prevalence data were generated based on participants' reports on the CTS2. Participants were considered perpetrators of a particular type of violence (e.g., minor psychological aggression) if they reported engaging in one or more of the behaviors associated with the relevant scale. Victims were classified in a similar manner. These data are displayed in Table 3. As predicted (i.e., H_1), male and female participants (36 and 37% respectively) were equally likely to be perpetrators of minor physical assault ($\chi 2 = .143$, $p = .705$). However, contrary to predictions, female participants (15%) were significantly more likely than male participants (8%) to be perpetrators of severe physical assault ($\chi 2 = 4.904$, $p = .027$). Also contrary to predictions (i.e., H_2), female participants were not significantly more likely than male participants to be victims of injury, either minor or severe, as a result of a dating partner's violence (7 and 12% respectively, $\chi 2 = 2.592$, $p = .107$; 1 and 2% respectively, $\chi 2 = .051$, $p = .821$). The only other observed gender difference was with respect to the perpetration of minor sexual coercion, with male participants being significantly more likely to be perpetrators of such acts than female participants (34 and 13% respectively, $\chi 2 = 25.877$, $p = .000$).

Frequency data were then generated. For each type of violence, only the data from participants who had previously been identified as perpetrators/victims were included. That is, the mean for a particular type of violence represents the average

frequency with which this occurred among those who reported at least one act of that particular type of violence. This was done so that the large number of participants with scores of zero did not inappropriately skew the mean (Straus, et al., 1996). These data are displayed in Table 4. No statistically significant gender differences in the frequency of violent acts were observed among the perpetrators/victims.

An examination of responses to the Expagg indicated that, as expected (i.e., H_3), male and female participants differed significantly on the extent of their endorsement of instrumental representations of physical aggression, with men endorsing relatively more instrumental representations than women ($t = 11.74$, $p < .001$). However, contrary to predictions, men also endorsed relatively more expressive representations of violence than did women ($t = 4.40$, $p < .001$). When only those who reported perpetration of physical assault against a dating partner were considered, men and women continued to differ significantly with respect to instrumental representations ($t = 6.51$, $p < .001$). No gender difference was observed with respect to expressive representations when the sample was restricted ($t = 1.60$, $p = .1$).

The remaining hypotheses (i.e., H_4-H_8) were addressed through both logistic and multiple regressions. These complementary analyses allowed flexibility with respect to the question under consideration. In the logistic regression analyses, the criterion variable was a dichotomous, categorical variable in which participants were classified as either nonperpetrators or perpetrators based on their scores on the Physical Assault Scale of the CTS2. As described previously, participants were considered perpetrators if they reported engaging in one or more of the behaviors that comprised the Physical Assault Scale. These analyses allowed us to examine the degree to which the variables under

consideration functioned as predictors of perpetration status. That is, they yielded an estimate of the odds that an individual was a perpetrator given the predictors under consideration. The specifics of each logistic regression analysis are outlined below.

In order to address the hypothesized relationship between quality of communication, expressive representations of physical aggression, and perpetration status (H_5), Baron and Kenny's (1986) guidelines for testing mediation were followed. Prior to conducting the analyses, the zero-order correlations among the relevant variables were examined. As shown in Table 5, quality of communication was significantly correlated with expressive representations. Furthermore, quality of communication and expressive representations were both significantly correlated with perpetration status. It is important to note that the positive correlation between quality of communication and perpetration status is consistent with predictions (H_4), because higher scores on the Ineffective Arguing Inventory represented poorer communication skills. Thus, the test of mediation was justified.

First, the mediator variable (i.e., expressive representations) was regressed on the predictor variable (i.e., quality of communication). Then, the criterion variable (i.e., perpetration status) was regressed on the predictor variable. Finally, the criterion variable was regressed on the predictor and mediator variables simultaneously. As shown in Table 6, expressive representations failed to mediate the relationship between quality of communication and perpetration status. Although quality of communication significantly predicted expressive representations in the first equation and perpetration status in the second equation, expressive representations did not significantly predict perpetration status in the third equation. Thus, although poorer communication skills were associated

with increased likelihood of perpetrator status, expressive representations of physical aggression were not the mechanism through which this relationship occurred. Notably, the relationship between quality of communication and perpetration status remained significant even when the effects of victimization were controlled (b = .065, p = .001). Thus, poor communication predicted perpetration status net of victimization for both men and women.

The hypothesized relationship between desirability of control, gender, and perpetration status (H_7) was evaluated following Baron and Kenny's (1986) guidelines for testing moderation. First, the criterion variable (i.e., perpetration status) was regressed on the predictor (i.e., desirability of control) and moderator (i.e., gender) variables simultaneously. Second, the criterion variable was regressed on the predictor variable, the moderator variable, and the product variable (i.e., desirability of control * gender) simultaneously. As shown in Table 7, gender was a significant moderator of the relationship between desirability of control and perpetration status. In other words, the relationship between desirability of control and perpetration status depended on the gender of the individual.

To explicate the nature of this interaction, the zero-order correlations between desirability of control and perpetration status were examined separately for men and women. For men, there was an unexpected significant negative relationship between the two variables, such that as men increased in desirability of control, they became less likely to be perpetrators of physical assault in their dating relationships (r = -.194, p = .007). In contrast, for women, there was not a significant relationship between the two variables (r = .057, p = .387). It is important to note, however, that after controlling for

the effects of victimization, this interaction was reduced to a marginally significant predictor of perpetration status (b = .034, p = .082).

In order to address the hypothesized relationship between the interaction of desirability of control and gender, instrumental representations of physical aggression, and perpetration status (H_8), Baron and Kenny's (1986) guidelines for testing mediation were again followed. Prior to conducting the analyses, the zero-order correlations among the relevant variables were examined. As shown in Table 5, instrumental representations were not significantly correlated with perpetration status. Thus, the test of mediation was not justified.

Table 8 and Figure 2 summarize the significant relationships observed through the logistic regression analyses.

In contrast to the logistic regression analyses, in the multiple regression analyses, the criterion variable was a continuous variable based on the frequency scores on the Physical Assault Scale of the CTS2 for those participants who had previously been identified as perpetrators. These analyses allowed us to examine the degree to which the variables under consideration functioned as predictors of the extent of perpetration, given that perpetration occurred. The specifics of each multiple regression analysis are outlined below.

Baron and Kenny's (1986) guidelines for testing mediation were once again employed in order to address the hypothesized relationship between quality of communication, expressive representations of physical aggression, and perpetration status (H_5). The test of mediation was not conducted because examination of the zero-order correlation (shown in Table 9) between expressive representations and frequency of

perpetration revealed that there was not a significant relationship between the two. Nevertheless, consistent with predictions (H_4) and the results of the parallel logistic regression analysis, quality of communication was significantly related to frequency of perpetration such that poorer communication skills were associated with more frequent perpetration ($\boldsymbol{b}$ = .638, p = .022). In contrast to the results of the logistic regression analysis however, this relationship was no longer significant when the effects of victimization were controlled ($\boldsymbol{b}$ = .177, p = .496).

The hypothesized relationship between desirability of control, gender, and perpetration status (H_7) was again evaluated following Baron and Kenny's (1986) guidelines for testing moderation. First, the criterion variable (i.e., frequency of perpetration) was regressed on the predictor (i.e., desirability of control) and moderator (i.e., gender) variables simultaneously. Second, the criterion variable was regressed on the predictor variable, the moderator variable, and the product variable (i.e., desirability of control * gender) simultaneously. As shown in Table 10, gender was a significant moderator of the relationship between desirability of control and frequency of perpetration. That is, the relationship between desirability of control and frequency of perpetration varied as a function of gender. Notably, in contrast to the results of the parallel logistic regression analysis, this interaction remained significant even after controlling for the effects of victimization ($\boldsymbol{b}$ = .230, p = .02).

In order to explicate the interaction, the zero-order correlations between desirability of control and frequency of perpetration were examined separately for men and women. Similar to the results of the logistic regression analysis, for men, there was an unexpected significant negative relationship between the two variables, such that as

men increased in desirability of control, they decreased in frequency of perpetration (r = -.315, p = .007). In contrast, for women, there was not a significant relationship between the two variables (r = .069, p = .510).

Finally, in order to address the hypothesis that instrumental representations of physical aggression would mediate the relationship between this interaction and frequency of perpetration (H_8), Baron and Kenny's (1986) guidelines for testing mediation were once again employed. An examination of the zero-order correlations shown in Table 9 revealed that instrumental representations were significantly correlated with frequency of perpetration as required. However, in the first step, the product variable (i.e., desirability of control * gender) failed to significantly predict the mediator variable (i.e., instrumental representations; b = -.044, p = .456). As a result, continuation of the test of mediation was not justified. Although instrumental representations could therefore not be tested as a mediator, they were observed to have a significant main effect on frequency of perpetration (b = .171, p < .001).

Table 11 and Figure 3 summarize the significant relationships observed through the multiple regression analyses.

Post-Hoc Analyses

As noted earlier, frequency of victimization was a significant predictor of both perpetration status and frequency of perpetration. This correlation was of interest in its own right as a possible index of the extent to which reciprocal or defensive aggression may account for reports of perpetration. An examination of the zero-order correlations between frequency of victimization and perpetration status for men (r = .393, p < .01) and women (r = .340, p < .01) suggested that there was not a theoretically interesting

gender difference with respect to the magnitude of that relationship. In contrast, when those identified as perpetrators were considered, the correlation between frequency of victimization and frequency of perpetration for men (r = .357, p < .01 appeared to be significantly lower than the parallel correlation for women (r = .696, p < .01). That is, for women, frequency of victimization appeared to account for almost 50% of the variance in frequency of perpetration, while for men, frequency of victimization appeared to account for only 12 % of the variance in frequency of perpetration. In order to test the significance of this difference, the zero-order correlations were transformed to z scores using Fisher's r-to-z transformation. The obtained z scores were then subjected to a z-test, which was statistically significant (z = -4.973, p < .001; Howell, 1997).

An examination of responses to the EB revealed that, for those who were victims of physical assault in dating relationships, that experience did not meet the level of battering. The mean scores on this measure represented low levels of psychological vulnerability for both men and women (M = 13.86 and M = 14.64, respectively) and men and women's mean scores were not significantly different from one another (t = -.812 , p = .418).

However, an examination of responses to the FCTS by those previously identified as victims of physical assault revealed gender differences with respect to experiences of fear in reaction to partners' conflict tactics. A repeated measures within subjects ANOVA substantiated not only statistically significant main effects of type of tactic, F (9, 1539) = 270.009, p < .000, with participants reporting greater fear as tactics increased in severity, and gender F (1, 171) = 75.713, p < .000, with women reporting greater fear

than men, but also an interaction effect of type of tactic by gender, F (9, 1539) = 42.095, $p < .000$, with women reporting differentially more fear than men for more severe items.

As shown in Figure 4, this type of tactic by gender interaction was most evident when the data points from minor psychological aggression to minor physical assault were considered. That is, women's reported fear increased substantially from minor psychological aggression to severe psychological aggression and from severe psychological aggression to minor physical assault, suggesting that they considered these tactics to be very different from one another. In contrast, men's reported fear varied little over these three data points, suggesting that they experienced these three types of tactics as relatively similar with regard to the amount of fear they induced. In Figure 5, the data corrected for the main effect of gender are shown. In order to obtain the corrected values, the male and female grand means were subtracted from each of the respective minor means. When the data are considered in this way, it appears that the transition from psychological aggression to physical assault is of primary importance in accounting for the pattern of gender differences, with women showing greater relative fear only for the physically aggressive behaviors.

DISCUSSION

The current investigation was designed to explore the extent to which gender symmetry accurately describes dating violence. Broadly, it was proposed that gender symmetry at the level of a topographical analysis masks gender asymmetry at the level of a functional analysis. That is, drawing from feminist and behavioral analytic approaches, it was proposed that the predictors and consequences of dating violence, particularly physical assault, would be different for men and women. Although the specific hypotheses of this study were largely not supported by the data, a number of potentially important gender differences were noted, thereby strengthening the overarching notion that men and women experience dating violence differently.

The results of the current investigation concurred with previous studies (e.g., Arias, Samios, & O'Leary, 1987; Harned, 2001) in finding that the dating histories of heterosexual, undergraduate men and women commonly include violent experiences. In fact, the high rates of minor psychological aggression suggest that this form of violence is actually normative in dating relationships! Fully 86% percent of men and 87% of women reported perpetration of minor psychological aggression. Although the rates of severe psychological aggression were lower, they were far from rare, with 30% of men and 26% of women reporting perpetration. Nor were acts of minor physical assault uncommon. Thirty-six percent of men and 37% of women reported perpetrating such acts. In addition, 8% of men and 15% of women reported perpetration of severe physical assault.

Finally, 34% of men and 13% of women reported perpetration of minor sexual coercion, while 3% of men and .5% of women reported perpetration of severe sexual coercion.

Reported rates of victimization were generally comparable to reported rates of perpetration. The most notable exception was with respect to minor sexual coercion. Men were significantly more likely than women to report perpetration, but were equally likely as women to report victimization. That is, although only 13% of women reported perpetration of minor sexual coercion, 31% of men reported victimization experiences. This discrepancy may be attributed to the nature of the investigation, as the participants in this study were not couples reporting on shared experiences but individuals reporting on their own experiences. Methodological considerations aside, the high rate of reported male sexual victimization warrants attention. In previous research, sexual coercion has been the one area of intimate partner violence consistently characterized by gender asymmetry at a topographical level (O'Leary, 2000). Harned (2001) did recently report that 30% of the men in her sample experienced sexual victimization in dating relationships, but partially attributed this surprisingly high rate to the inclusion of homosexual and bisexual individuals. However, that explanation is untenable in this case, as only heterosexual individuals were included. Other possibilities consistent with the current data would be different perceptions of the same events or differential self-report of similar behaviors. As the present data do not allow more than speculation, future studies should attend to this issue.

As predicted, male perpetrators were equally likely as female perpetrators to endorse expressive representations of violence, but more likely to endorse instrumental representations of violence. Expressive representations highlight a loss of self-control

during the use of physical aggression and may therefore be conceptualized as negatively reinforced by reducing an internal, adverse emotional and physiological state of arousal. It seems likely that both men's and women's use of violence may be reinforced in this manner, resulting in equal endorsement of these representations. In contrast, instrumental representations focus on the use of physical aggression to control others. Given the larger size and strength of most men compared to most women, it seems more likely that men's use of violence will result in the desired changes in the environment (e.g., partner compliance). In contrast, women's violence may be ignored (e.g., partner does nothing) or punished (e.g., partner retaliates). It therefore is not surprising that men are more likely to endorse instrumental views of physical aggression. From a behavior analytic perspective, this observed gender difference must be accounted for in our understanding of dating violence, as an act and its function are meaningful only when considered together.

As mentioned previously, the predicted model of physical assault in dating relationships went largely unsubstantiated by the data. Among the variables under consideration, only frequency of victimization and quality of communication were statistically significant predictors of perpetration status. As individuals' victimization experiences increased in number, so did the likelihood that the individuals in question reported at least one act of perpetration of physical assault. This is consistent with previous findings that suggest dating violence is often characterized by mutuality (Gray & Foshee, 1997). Also consistent with previous literature (Follette & Alexander, 1992; Holtzworth-Munroe, et al., 1997), there was an inverse relationship between communication skills and likelihood of perpetration, such that poorer communication

skills were associated with increased likelihood of perpetration of physical assault. Cahn (1996) and Lloyd and Emery (1994) provide one explanation for this finding. From their perspective, violence serves a communicative function and is likely to be employed as a conflict negotiation strategy when other tactics have failed to achieve desired ends. Individuals with poor communication skills are seemingly more likely to have their tactics fail than individuals with adequate communication skills and are thereby more likely to resort to violence when conflicts of interest arise in their relationships.

The variables under consideration fared better as predictors of frequency of perpetration, although the hypothesized relationships among the variables remained largely unsupported. Frequency of victimization, instrumental representations of violence, and desirability of control, moderated by gender, were all significant predictors of frequency of perpetration, given that perpetration occurred. Comparable to the relationship observed between frequency of victimization and perpetration status, as individuals' experiences with victimization increased, so did the number of acts of physical assault they perpetrated. The association between instrumental representations and frequency of perpetration was also in the expected positive direction; as endorsement of instrumental representations of physical assault increased, so too did frequency of perpetration.

The nature of the observed relationships between desirability of control, gender, and frequency of perpetration was surprising. For women, desirability of control was unrelated to frequency of perpetration. This is consistent with behavior analytic and feminist theories which suggest it is unlikely that women will be able to exert control over a male romantic partner through the use of physical aggression. However, in

contrast to previous findings (Ehrensaft, et al., 1999; Hamberger, et al., 1997), there was an inverse relationship between desirability of control and men's frequency of perpetration, such that men who found control more desirable perpetrated fewer acts of physical assault. This inconsistency may be attributable to the differences in samples under investigation. In Hamberger and colleagues (1997) study, the sample consisted of court-referred men and women who were presumably engaging in more severe violence than the participants in the current investigation. In Ehrensaft and colleagues (1999) study, the sample consisted of married men and women. It is possible that the marital relationship lends itself to exertion of control across spheres (e.g., economic) in a way that the dating relationship does not. Alternatively, it may be that this young college-age sample responded to the desirability of control items with a focus on aspects of their lives other than romantic relationships.

In summary, the data from this sample indicate very few gender differences with respect to the prevalence of various types of dating violence and no gender differences with respect to the frequency of violent acts within dating relationships, given that violence occurred. Thus, at a topographical level, the dating violence assessed in this study was indeed characterized by gender symmetry. Likewise, the a priori hypotheses about gender differences with respect to desirability of control as a predictor of physical assault were not confirmed. However, in addition to the observed gender difference with respect to instrumentality, other findings of the current investigation highlight the importance of looking beyond topography to the context, function, and meaning of dating violence.

For example, women who had previously been victims of physical assault responded to potential acts of dating violence more fearfully than their male counterparts. This was especially apparent at the transition from severe psychological aggression to minor physical assault. Most likely, this is related to knowledge about the greater physical harm that can be inflicted by men's use of force. It is consistent with the report of Follingstad & Wright (1991), who noted that 47% of female victims, but only 14% of male victims endorsed fear on a checklist of possible consequence of their partners' physical assault. The current investigation extended that finding by providing information about the amount of fear experienced across a variety of potential partner behaviors.

The gendered nature of fear may offer a partial explanation for the greater psychological injury experienced by female victims of dating violence. In this case, women who had previously experienced physical assault at the hands of one or more dating partners expressed greater fear than men with similar experiences of dating violence in response to potential violent behaviors. That suggests that not only do women experience more fear during the violent act itself, but they also experience more fear when they consider that such events may occur again. Such continued apprehensive expectation may make female victims more vulnerable to the development of anxious and depressive symptomatology.

A secondary implication of this finding is that it may be possible to modify the CTS2 to capture both gender symmetry and gender asymmetry by asking about victims' reactions to each type of behavior, thereby addressing some of the criticism aimed at the widespread use of the CTS in intimate partner violence research. Furthermore, through

such modifications, the severity of acts may be determined, in part, by respondents' perceptions of their own experiences rather than researchers' evaluation of topographical characteristics.

The extent to which victimization and perpetration were associated also varied by gender. For women, frequency of victimization accounted for almost 50% of frequency of perpetration. As these data were correlational, directionality cannot be determined. That is, it could be the case that women were largely engaging in violence in response to their partners' perpetration (i.e., in self-defense). Or, it could be the case that when women perpetrated physical assault, their partners were likely to retaliate, resulting in correlated frequency of occurrence. Either way, this makes it unlikely that women's use of violence served to exert control over their partners. In contrast, for men, frequency of victimization accounted for only 12% of the variance in frequency of perpetration, suggesting either that fewer men responded defensively to partner aggression or that fewer of their partners retaliated to their aggression. Regardless, it seems that factors other than victimization played a more important role in determining the extent of men's use of physical assault in their dating relationships. Although the explanation for this gender difference remains elusive, it appears to be of some importance and worthy of future attention. In particular, it may be worth exploring the possibility that men's greater endorsement of instrumental reasons for their physically aggressive behavior is related to their greater report of perpetration net victimization.

Taken together, these findings raise the issue of whether common couple violence should be described, as it was by Johnson (1995, p. 291), as nongendered. Although gender neutral at the topographical level, dating violence is characterized by gender

differences at the functional level. Perhaps it is differences like these that set the stage for the development of patriarchal terrorism.

The results of this investigation must be considered within the context of its limitations. First, the sample consisted exclusively of undergraduate students whose experiences are most accurately described as low level, mutual violence. As a result, the generalizability of these findings is limited, particularly with respect to symmetry of perpetration. Certainly they should not be extended to clinical samples, such as women seeking asylum at shelters. Second, participants were asked to report retrospectively on their experiences throughout their dating history. The length of the referent period most likely introduced error variance related to memory biases. Third, a correlational design was employed. Therefore, although theoretical considerations prompted the direction of the relationships in the tested models, inferences about causal relationships should not be drawn. Finally, this investigation did not include measures of psychological outcomes beyond the measure of fear. Had it included additional measures, it is likely that more support would have been obtained for the gendered experience of dating violence.

Future research should continue to explore the context within which acts of dating violence are embedded. As noted recently by Harned (2001), "to accurately determine whether women and men are equally abused within dating relationships, one must go beyond simple summations of aggressive acts to consider the impact they have on those who experience them. When this is done, it becomes evident that women are more often abused by their dating partners than men, not because they experience violent acts more frequently, but because they suffer more damage" (p. 283).

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MEASURES

CTS2©

No matter how well a couple gets along, there are times when they disagree, get annoyed with the other person, want different things from each other, or just have spats or fights because they are in a bad mood, are tired, or for some other reason. Couples also have many different ways of trying to settle their differences. Below is a list of things that might have happened when you and your romantic partners had differences. Please circle how many times you and your romantic partners did each of these things.

1 = Once in my dating history
2 = Twice in my dating history
3 = 3 – 5 times in my dating history
4 = 6 – 10 times in my dating history
5 = 11 – 20 times in my dating history
6 = More than 20 times in my dating history
7 = Never

I showed my partner I cared even though we disagreed. [EMOTIONAL NEGOTIATION]	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
My partner showed care for me even though we disagreed.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
I explained my side of a disagreement to my partner. [COGNITIVE NEGOTIATION]	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
My partner explained his or her side of a disagreement to me.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
I insulted or swore at my partner. [MINOR PSYCHOLOGICAL AGGRESSION]	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
My partner did this to me.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
I threw something at my partner that could hurt. [MINOR PHYSICAL ASSAULT]	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

My partner did this to me.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
I twisted my partner's arm or hair. [MNOR PHYSICAL ASSAULT]	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
My partner did this to me.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
I had a sprain, bruise, or small cut because of a fight with my partner. [MINOR INJURY]	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
My partner had a sprain, bruise, or small cut because of a fight with me.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
I showed respect for my partner's feelings about an issue. [EMOTIONAL NEGOTIATION]	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
My partner showed respect for my feelings about an issue.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
I made my partner have sex without a condom. [MINOR SEXUAL COERCION]	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
My partner did this to me.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
I pushed or shoved my partner. [MINOR PHYSICAL ASSAULT]	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
My partner did this to me.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
I used force (like hitting, holding down, or using a weapon) to make my partner have oral or anal sex. [SEVERE SEXUAL COERCION]	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
My partner did this to me.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
I used a knife or gun on my partner. [SEVERE PHYSICAL ASSAULT]	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
My partner did this to me.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
I passed out from being hit on the head by my partner in a fight. [SEVERE							

INJURY]	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
My partner passed out from being hit on the head in a fight with me.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
I called my partner fat or ugly. [SEVERE PSYCHOLOGICAL AGGRESSION]	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
My partner called me fat or ugly.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
I punched or hit my partner with something that could hurt. [SEVERE PHYSICAL ASSAULT]	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
My partner did this to me.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
I destroyed something belonging to my partner. [SEVERE PSYCHOLOGICAL AGGRESSION]	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
My partner did this to me.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
I went to a doctor because of a fight with my partner. [SEVERE INJURY]	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
My partner went to a doctor because of a fight with me.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
I choked my partner. [SEVERE PHYSICAL ASSAULT]	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
My partner did this to me.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
I shouted or yelled at my partner. [MINOR PSYCHOLOGICAL AGGRESSION]	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
My partner did this to me.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
I slammed my partner against a wall. [SEVERE PHYSICAL ASSAULT]	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
My partner did this to me.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
I said I was sure we could work out a problem. [EMOTIONAL							

NEGOTIATION]	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
My partner was sure we could work out a problem.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
I needed to see a doctor because of a fight with my partner, but I didn't. [SEVERE INJURY]	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
My partner needed to see a doctor because of a fight with me, but didn't.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
I beat up my partner. [SEVERE PHYSICAL ASSAULT]	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
My partner did this to me.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
I grabbed my partner. [MINOR PHYSICAL ASSAULT]	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
My partner did this to me.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
I used force (like hitting, holding down, or using a weapon) to make my partner have sex. [SEVERE SEXUAL COERCION]	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
My partner did this to me.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
I stopped out of the room or house or yard during a disagreement. [MINOR PSYCHOLOGICAL AGGRESSION]	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
My partner did this to me.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
I insisted on sex when my partner did not want to (but did not use physical force). [MINOR SEXUAL COERCION]	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
My partner did this to me.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
I slapped my partner. [MINOR PHYSICAL ASSAULT]	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
My partner did this to me.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
I had a broken bone from a fight with my							

partner. [SEVERE INJURY]	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
My partner had a broken bone from a fight with me.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
I used threats to make my partner have oral or anal sex. [SEVERE SEXUAL COERCION]	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
My partner did this to me.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
I suggested a compromise to a disagreement. [COGNITIVE NEGOTIATION]	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
My partner did this to me.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
I burned or scalded my partner on purpose. [SEVERE PHYSICAL ASSAULT]	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
My partner did this to me.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
I insisted my partner have oral or anal sex (but did not use physical force). [MINOR SEXUAL COERCION]	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
My partner did this to me.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
I accused my partner of being a lousy lover. [SEVERE PSYCHOLOGICAL ABUSE]	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
My partner accused me of this.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
I did something to spite my partner. [MINOR PSYCHOLOGICAL ABUSE]	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
My partner did this to me.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
I threatened to hit or throw something at my partner. [SEVERE PSYCHOLOGICAL AGGRESSION]	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
My partner did this to me.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

I felt physical pain that still hurt the next day because of a fight with my partner. [MINOR INJURY]	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
My partner felt physical pain the next day because of a fight we had.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
I kicked my partner. [SEVERE PHYSICAL ASSAULT]	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
My partner did this to me.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
I used threats to make my partner have sex. [SEVERE SEXUAL COERCION]	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
My partner did this to me.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
I agreed to try a solution to a disagreement my partner suggested. [COGNITIVE NEGOTIATION]	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
My partner agreed to try a solution I suggested.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Experience with Battering

Please read each statement and then circle the number that best describes how much you agree or disagree with each statement.

Strongly Disagree -- Disagree -- Neither Agree Nor Disagree -- Agree -- Strongly Agree

	1	2	3	4	5
My partner makes me feel unsafe even in my own house.	1	2	3	4	5
I feel ashamed of the things that my partner does to me.	1	2	3	4	5
I try not to rock the boat because I am afraid of what my partner might do.	1	2	3	4	5
I feel like I am programmed to react in a certain way to my partner.	1	2	3	4	5
I feel like my partner keeps me prisoner.	1	2	3	4	5
My partner makes me feel like I have no control over my life, no power, no protection.	1	2	3	4	5
I hide the truth from others because I am afraid not to.	1	2	3	4	5
I feel owned and controlled by my partner.	1	2	3	4	5
My partner can scare me without laying a hand on me.	1	2	3	4	5
My partner has a look that goes straight through me and terrifies me.	1	2	3	4	5

Expagg

Please read each statement and then circle the number that best describes how much you agree or disagree with each statement.

Strongly Disagree -- Disagree -- Neither Agree Nor Disagree -- Agree -- Strongly Agree

	1	2	3	4	5
I believe that physical aggression is necessary to get through to some people. [INSTRUMENTAL]	1	2	3	4	5
During a physical fight, I feel out of control. [EXPRESSIVE]	1	2	3	4	5
If I hit someone and I hurt them, I feel as if they were asking for it. [INSTRUMENTAL]	1	2	3	4	5
I am most likely to get physically aggressive when I've been under a lot of stress and some little thing pushes me over the edge. [EXPRESSIVE]	1	2	3	4	5
I am most likely to get physically aggressive when I feel another person is trying to make me look like a jerk. [INSTRUMENTAL]	1	2	3	4	5
After a physical fight, I feel drained and guilty. [EXPRESSIVE]	1	2	3	4	5
In an argument, I would feel more annoyed with myself if I cried than if I hit the other person. [INSTRUMENTAL]	1	2	3	4	5
After I lash out physically at another person, I would like them to acknowledge how upset they made me and how unhappy I was. [EXPRESSIVE]	1	2	3	4	5
The best thing about physical aggression is that it makes the other person get in line. [INSTRUMENTAL]	1	2	3	4	5
I believe that my aggression comes from					

losing my self-control. [EXPRESSIVE]	1	2	3	4	5
If someone challenged me to a fight in public, I'd feel cowardly if I backed away. [INSTRUMENTAL]	1	2	3	4	5
I am more likely to hit out physically when I am alone with the person who is annoying me. [EXPRESSIVE]	1	2	3	4	5
After I lash out physically at another person, I would like them to make sure to never annoy me again. [INSTRUMENTAL]	1	2	3	4	5
When I get to the point of physical aggression, the thing that I am most aware of is how upset and shaky I feel. [EXPRESSIVE]	1	2	3	4	5
I am more likely to hit out physically when another person shows me up in public. [INSTRUMENTAL]	1	2	3	4	5
In a heated argument, I am most afraid of saying something that I can never take back. [EXPRESSIVE]	1	2	3	4	5

Fear of Conflict Tactics Scale

No matter how well a couple gets along, there are times when they disagree, get annoyed with the other person, want different things from each other, or just have spats or fights because they are in a bad mood, are tired, or for some other reason. Couples also have many different ways of trying to settle their differences. Below is a list of things that might happen when you and a romantic partner have differences. For each of the statements below, please check the box that best shows how afraid you would be if the event described actually happened.

Not at all afraid –- A little afraid –- Some afraid –- Mostly Afraid –- Very afraid
1 2 3 4 5

You thought your partner would show care for you even though you disagreed. [EMOTIONAL NEGOTIATION]	1	2	3	4	5
You thought your partner would explain his or her side of a disagreement to you. [COGNITIVE NEGOTIATION]	1	2	3	4	5
You thought your partner would insult or swear at you. [MINOR PSYCHOLOGICAL AGGRESSION]	1	2	3	4	5
You thought your partner would throw something at you that could hurt. [MINOR PHYSICAL ASSAULT]	1	2	3	4	5
You thought your partner would twist your arm or hair. [MINOR PHYSICAL ASSAULT]	1	2	3	4	5
You thought you have a sprain, bruise, or small cut because of a fight with your partner. [MINOR INJURY]	1	2	3	4	5
You thought your partner would show respect for your feelings about an issue. [EMOTIONAL NEGOTIATION]	1	2	3	4	5
You thought your partner would make you have sex without a condom. [MINOR SEXUAL COERCION]	1	2	3	4	5
You thought your partner would push or					

shove you. [MINOR PHYSICAL ASSAULT]	1	2	3	4	5
You thought your partner would use force (like hitting, holding down, or using a weapon) to make you have oral or anal sex. [SEVERE SEXUAL COERCION]	1	2	3	4	5
You thought your partner would use a knife or gun on you. [SEVERE PHYSICAL ASSAULT]	1	2	3	4	5
You thought you would pass out from being hit on the head by your partner in a fight. [SEVERE INJURY]	1	2	3	4	5
You thought your partner would call you fat or ugly. [SEVERE PSYCHOLOGICAL AGGRESSION]	1	2	3	4	5
You thought your partner would punch or hit you with something that could hurt. [SEVERE PHYSICAL ASSAULT]	1	2	3	4	5
You thought your partner would destroy something that belonged to you. [SEVERE PSYCHOLOGICAL AGGRESSION]	1	2	3	4	5
You thought you would need to go to the doctor because of a fight with your partner. [SEVERE INJURY]	1	2	3	4	5
You thought your partner would choke you. [SEVERE PHYSICAL ASSAULT]	1	2	3	4	5
You thought your partner would shout or yell at you. [MINOR PSYCHOLOGICAL AGGRESSION]	1	2	3	4	5
You thought your partner would slam you against a wall. [SEVERE PHYSICAL ASSAULT]	1	2	3	4	5
You thought your partner would say he or she was sure you could work out a					

problem. [EMOTIONAL NEGOTIATION]	1	2	3	4	5
You thought you would need to see a doctor because of a fight with your partner, but wouldn't go. [SEVERE INJURY]	1	2	3	4	5
You thought your partner would beat you up. [SEVERE PHYSICAL ASSAULT]	1	2	3	4	5
You thought your partner would grab you. [MINOR PHYSICAL ASSAULT]	1	2	3	4	5
You thought your partner would use force (like hitting, holding down, or using a weapon) to make you have sex. [SEVERE SEXUAL COERCION]	1	2	3	4	5
You thought your partner would stomp out of the room or house or yard during a disagreement. [MINOR PSYCHOLOGICAL AGGRESSION]	1	2	3	4	5
You thought your partner would insist on sex when you did not want to [but would not use physical force]. [MINOR SEXUAL COERCION]	1	2	3	4	5
You thought your partner would slap you. [MINOR PHYSICAL ASSAULT]	1	2	3	4	5
You thought you would have a broken bone from a fight with your partner. [SEVERE INJURY]	1	2	3	4	5
You thought your partner would use threats to make you have oral or anal sex. [SEVERE SEXUAL COERCION]	1	2	3	4	5
You thought your partner would suggest a compromise to a disagreement. [COGNITIVE NEGOTIATION]	1	2	3	4	5
You thought your partner would burn or scald you on purpose. [SEVERE					

PHYSICAL ASSAULT]	1	2	3	4	5
You thought your partner would accuse you of being a lousy lover. [SEVERE PSYCHOLOGICAL AGGRESSION]	1	2	3	4	5
You thought your partner would insist you have oral or anal sex (but not use physical force). [MINOR SEXUAL COERCION]	1	2	3	4	5
You thought your partner would do something to spite you. [MINOR PSYCHOLOGICAL AGGRESSION]	1	2	3	4	5
You thought your partner would threaten to hit or throw something at you. [SEVERE PSYCHOLOGICAL AGGRESSION]	1	2	3	4	5
You thought you would feel physical pain that still hurt you the next day because of a fight with your partner. [MINOR INJURY]	1	2	3	4	5
You thought your partner would kick you. [SEVERE PHYSICAL ASSAULT]	1	2	3	4	5
You thought your partner would use threats to make you have sex. [SEVERE SEXUAL COERCION]	1	2	3	4	5
You thought your partner would agree to try a solution you suggested. [COGNITIVE NEGOTIATION]	1	2	3	4	5

Ineffective Arguing Inventory

Below are descriptions of the kinds of arguments people in relationships are likely to experience. Please circle the number that best indicates how much you agree or disagree that each statement accurately describes your romantic relationships.

Strongly Disagree -- Disagree -- Neither Agree Nor Disagree -- Agree -- Strongly Agree

	1	2	3	4	5
By the end of an argument, each of us has been given a fair hearing. [REVERSE]	1	2	3	4	5
When we begin to fight or argue, I think, "Here we go again."	1	2	3	4	5
Overall, I'd say we're pretty good at solving our problems. [REVERSE]	1	2	3	4	5
Our arguments are left hanging and unresolved.	1	2	3	4	5
We go for days without settling our differences.	1	2	3	4	5
Our arguments seem to end in frustrating stalemates	1	2	3	4	5
We need to improve the way we settle our differences.	1	2	3	4	5
Overall, our arguments are brief and quickly forgotten. [REVERSE]	1	2	3	4	5

Desirability of Control Scale

Please read each statement carefully and respond to it by expressing the extent to which you believe the statement applies to you. Circle the number that best expresses your belief when the scale is defined as follows:

1 = The statement doesn't apply to me at all.
2 = The statement usually doesn't apply to me.
3 = Most often, the statement does not apply to me.
4 = I am unsure about whether or not the statement applies to me / It applies to me about half the time.
5 = The statement applies more often that not.
6 = The statement usually applies to me.
7 = The statement always applies to me.

I prefer a job where I have a lot of control over what I do and when I do it.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
I enjoy political participation because I want to have as much of a say in running government as possible.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
I try to avoid situations where someone else tells me what to do.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
I would prefer to be a leader rather than a follower.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
I enjoy being able to influence the actions of others.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
I am careful to check everything on an automobile before I leave for a trip.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Others usually know what is best for me. [REVERSE]	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
I enjoy making my own decisions.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
I enjoy having control over my own destiny.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
I would rather someone else took over the leadership role when I'm involved in a group project. [REVERSE]	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

I consider myself to be generally more capable of handling situations than are others.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
I'd rather run my own business and make my own mistakes than listen to someone else's orders.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
I like to get a good idea of what a job is all about before I begin.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
When I see a problem, I prefer to do something about it rather than sit by and let it continue.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
When it comes to orders, I would rather give them than receive them.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
I wish I could push many of life's daily decisions off on someone else. [REVERSE]	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
When driving, I try to avoid putting myself in a situation where I could be hurt by someone else's mistakes.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
I prefer to avoid situations where someone else is telling me what it is I should be doing.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
There are many situations in which I would prefer only one choice rather than having to make a decision. [REVERSE]	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
I like to wait and see if someone else is going to solve a problem so that I don't have to be bothered by it. [REVERSE]	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Table 1.

Internal Consistency Coefficients for the 5 Scales and 10 Subscales of the CTS2.

Scale	*a* Perpetration	*a* Victimization
Negotiation	.86	.86
Emotional	.72	.71
Cognitive	.78	.79
Psychological Aggression	.75	.77
Minor	.80	.79
Severe	.62	.72
Physical Assault	.83	.75
Minor	.75	.75
Severe	.84	.50
Sexual Coercion	.77	.39
Minor	.62	.48
Severe	1.00	.27
Injury	.44	.34
Minor	.42	.49
Severe	.59	.59

Table 2.

Internal Consistency Coefficients for the 5 Scales and 10 Subscales of the FCTS.

Scale	α
Negotiation	.77
Emotional	.62
Cognitive	.56
Psychological Aggression	.80
Minor	.85
Severe	.90
Physical Assault	.97
Minor	.95
Severe	.96
Sexual Coercion	.93
Minor	.86
Severe	.93
Injury	.96
Minor	.88
Severe	.95

Table 3.

Prevalence Rates.

Scale	% of Sample Perpetrators		% of Sample Victims	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Psychological Aggression				
Minor	85.57	87.12	84.02	84.12
Severe	30.41	25.75	29.90	23.18
Physical Assault				
Minor	35.57	37.34	41.75	33.48
Severe	7.73	14.59*	15.02	12.45
Sexual Coercion				
Minor	34.02	13.30**	31.44	28.76
Severe	2.58	.43	2.06	3.86
Injury				
Minor	11.34	6.44	11.86	7.31
Severe	1.55	.43	1.55	1.29

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .001$

Table 4.

Frequency of Violent Acts Experienced by Perpetrators and Victims.

	Perpetrators		Victims	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Scale	*M* (*SD*)	*M* (*SD*)	*M* (*SD*)	*M* (*SD*)
Psychological Aggression				
Minor	15.90 (18.58)	19.09 (20.70)	16.80 (19.29)	17.70 (20.06)
Severe	4.19 (8.43)	4.32 (6.95)	7.74 (14.84)	4.46 (6.00)
Physical Assault				
Minor	9.33 (17.77)	9.01 (12.88)	10.70 (16.78)	9.45 (14.81)
Severe	14.33 (25.58)	3.62 (4.64)	7.03 (11.56)	6.62 (8.90)
Sexual Coercion				
Minor	10.85 (14.71)	7.23 (8.29)	10.93 (14.04)	6.99 (8.07)
Severe	25.40 (42.29)	1.00 (0.00)	7.75 (6.75)	2.22 (1.20)
Injury				
Minor	9.18 (12.75)	4.80 (4.87)	4.43 (5.78)	6.24 (8.09)
Severe	12.33 (13.32)	2.00 (0.00)	.05 (.51)	.05 (.48)

Table 5.

Correlations among Predictor and Criterion Variables for the Entire Sample.

Variable	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.
1. Perpetration Status	--	.023	.111*	.049	.297**	-.065	.361**
2. Gender	--	--	-.205**	-.503**	-.032	-.149**	-.063
3. Expressive Representations	--	--	--	.558**	.220**	.000	.124*
4. Instrumental Representations	--	--	--	--	.191*	.107*	.135**
5. Quality of Communication	--	--	--	--	--	-.079	.271**
6. Desirability of Control	--	--	--	--	--	--	-.001
7. Frequency of Victimization	--	--	--	--	--	--	--

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$

Table 6.

Test of Expressive Representations as a Mediator between Quality of Communication and Perpetration Status.

Step	*b*	*SE*	Odds Ratio
1. Expressive Representations *on* Quality of Communication	.227*	.049	N/A
2. Perpetration Status *on* Quality of Communication	.103*	.018	1.108
3. Perpetration Status *on* Quality of Communication,	.099*	.018	1.105
Expressive Representations	.018	.017	1.018

* $p < .001$

Table 7.

Test of Gender as a Moderator Between Desirability of Control and Perpetration Status.

Step	*b*	*SE*	Odds Ratio
1. Perpetration Status *on*			
Desirability of Control,	-.010	.008	.990
Gender	.058	.202	1.060
2. Perpetration Status *on*			
Desirability of Control,	-.031*	.012	.969
Gender,	.065	.203	1.067
Desirability of Control * Gender	.041	.016	1.042

* $p < .01$

Table 8.

Model Observed through Logistic Regression Analyses.

	b	*SE*	Odds Ratio
Perpetration Status *on*			
Frequency of Victimization	.246*	.041	1.278
Quality of Communication	.066*	.020	1.069

* $p < .001$

Table 9.

Correlations among Predictor and Criterion Variables for Perpetrators Only.

Variable	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.
1. Frequency of Perpetration	--	-.047	.045	.258**	.178*	-.159	.462**
2. Gender	--	--	-.124	-.461*	-.052	-.013	.123
3. Expressive Representations	--	--	--	.451**	.160*	.096	.123
4. Instrumental Representations	--	--	--	--	.144	.078	.191*
5. Quality of Communication	--	--	--	--	--	-.038	.287*
6. Desirability of Control	--	--	--	--	--	--	.023
7. Frequency of Victimization	--	--	--	--	--	--	--

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$

Table 10.

Test of Gender as a Moderator Between Desirability of Control and Frequency of Perpetration

Step	*b*	R^2
1. Frequency of Perpetration *on*		
Desirability of Control,	-.158	
Gender	-.044	.027
2. Frequency of Perpetration *on*		
Desirability of Control,	-.402*	
Gender,	-.026	
Desirability of Control * Gender	.331*	.077

* $p < .005$

Table 11.

Model Observed through Multiple Regression Analyses.

	b	R^2
Frequency of Perpetration *on*		
Frequency of Victimization,	.493**	
Instrumental Representations,	.158**	
Desirability of Control,	-.228**	
Gender,	.072	
Desirability of Control * Gender	.149*	.316

* $p < .01$, ** $p < .001$

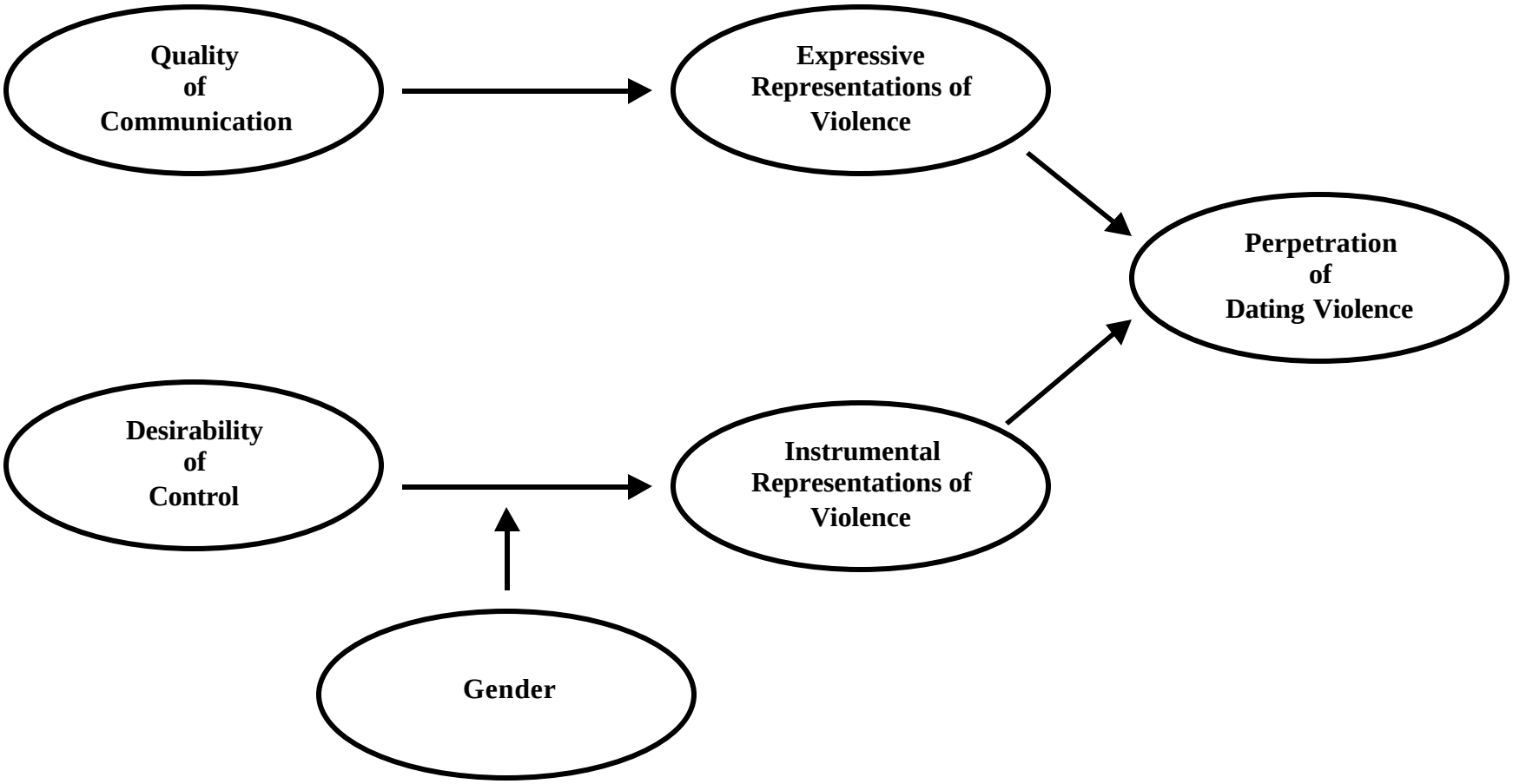

Figure 1.

Predicted Model.

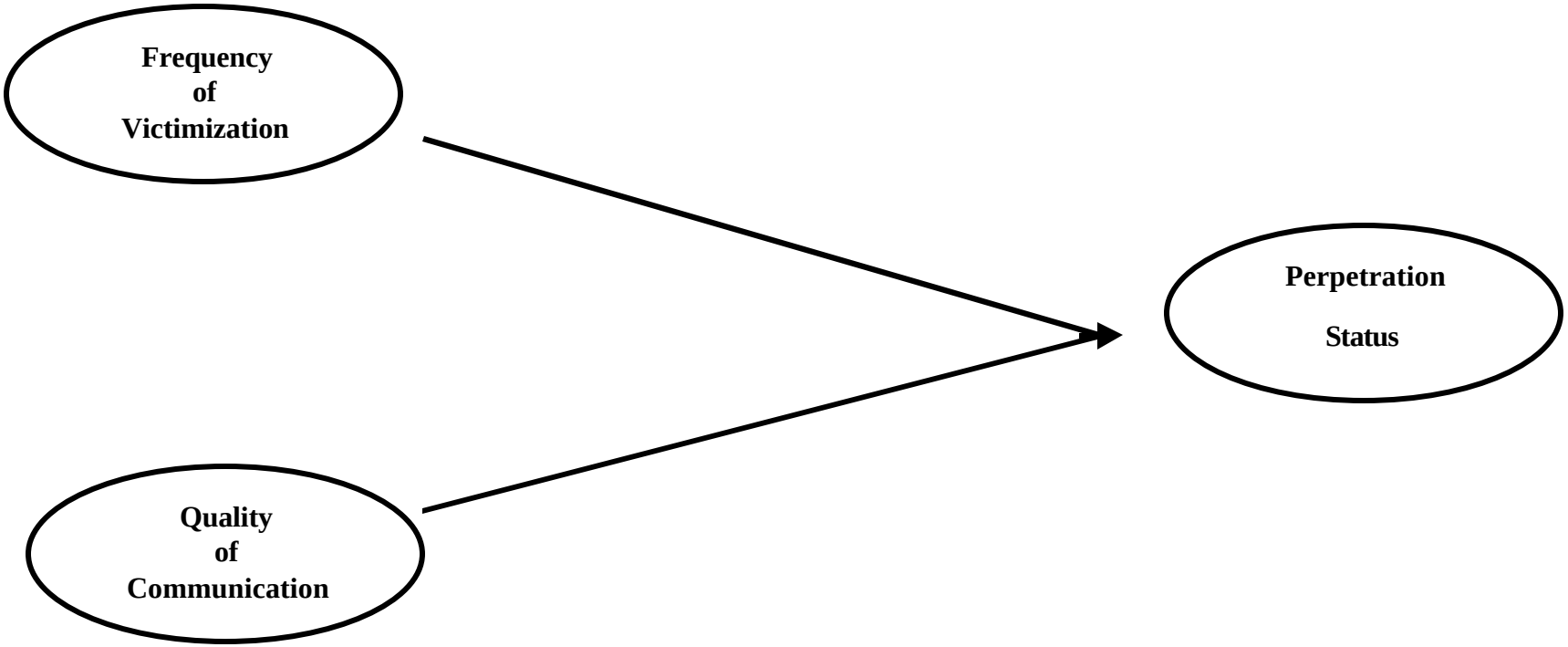

Figure 2.

Model Observed through Logistic Regression Analyses.

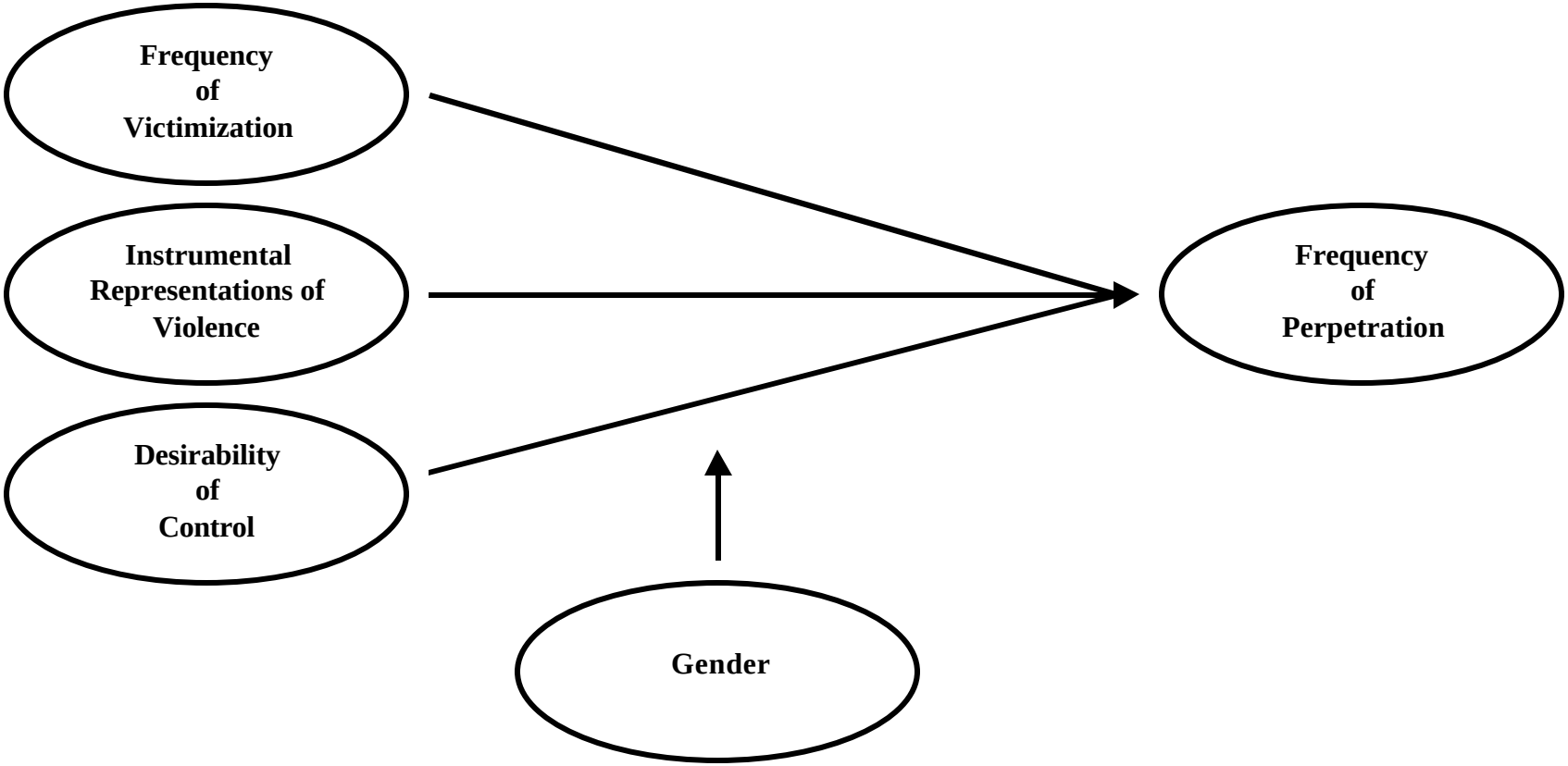

Figure 3.

Model Observed through Multiple Regression Analyses.

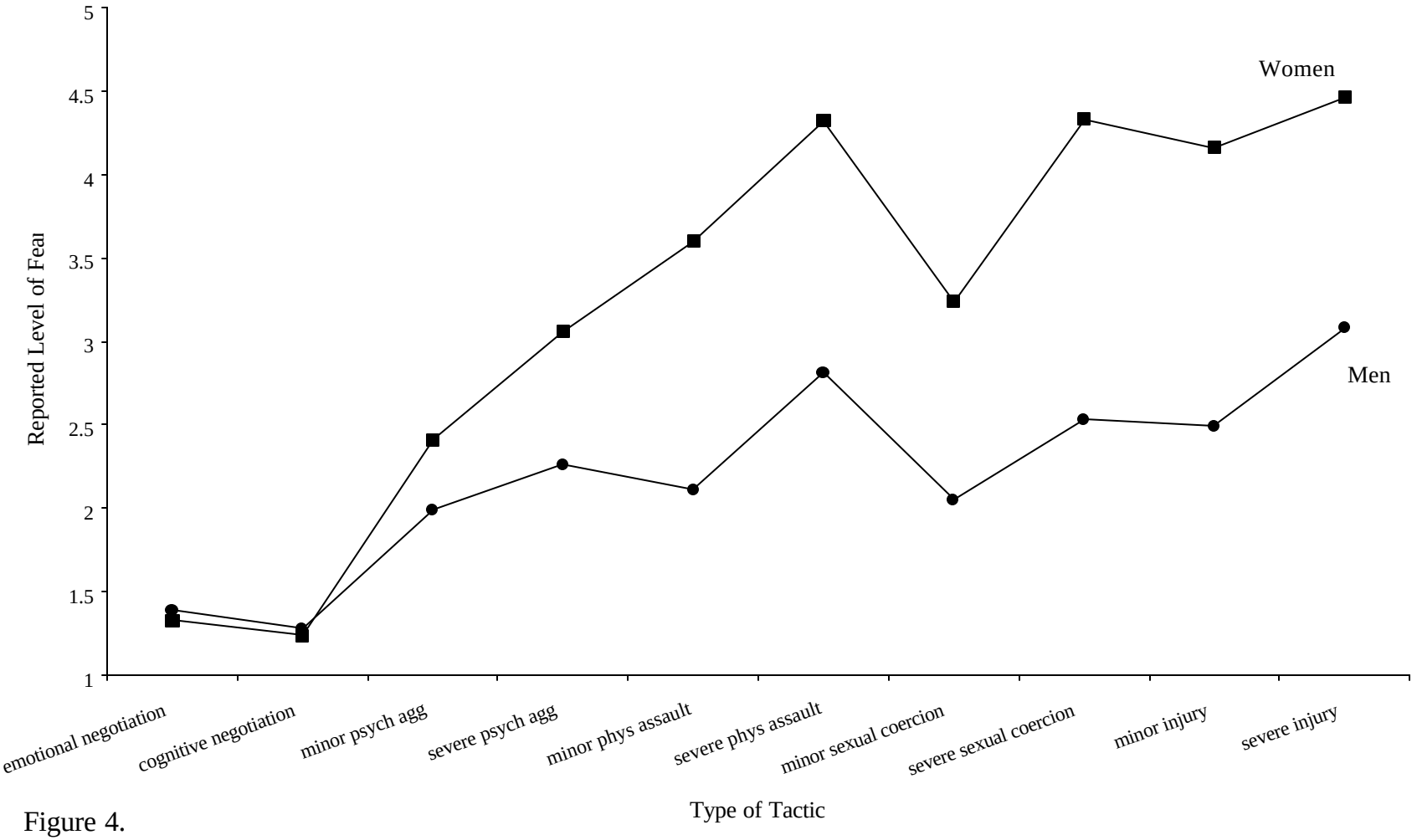

Figure 4.

~~Gender Differences in Fear of Conflict Tactics for Victims of Physical Assault.~~

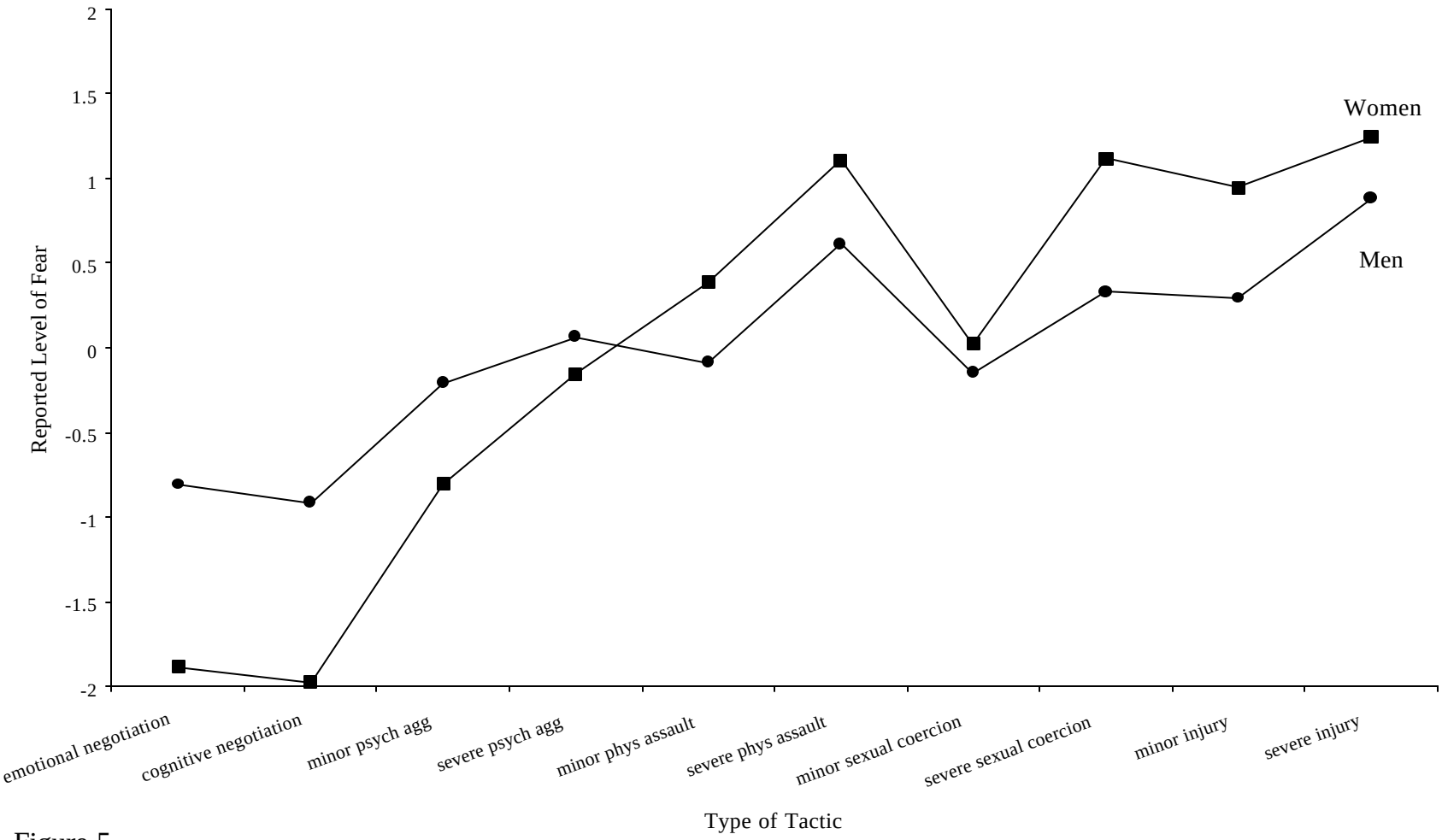

Figure 5.

~~Gender Differences in Fear of Conflict Tactics after Correction for Main Effect of Gender.~~