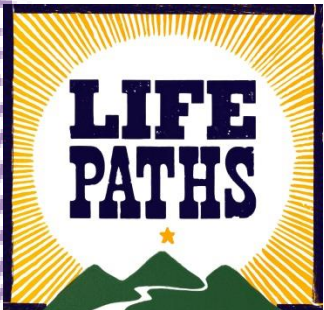


A Scientific Answer to a Scientific Question: The Gender Debate in Intimate Partner Violence



Sherry Hamby

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The University of the South

Presented 20 November, 2015 for Trajetvi (Trajectoires de Violence
Conjugale et de Recherche D'Aide)

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The Way Things Were... and were and were and were



Cain & Abel in
Titian's rendition



Rape of the Sabine Women, event 750BC
depicted by Nicolas Poussin about 1635



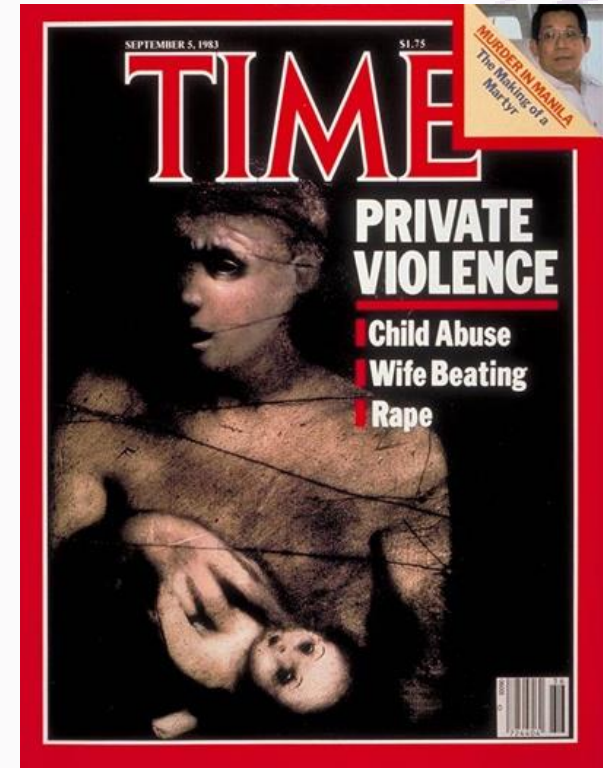
Pottery from the Moche culture in Peru, ca 600-1100 AD



Henry VIII,
problematic partner

The Modern Discovery of Family Violence

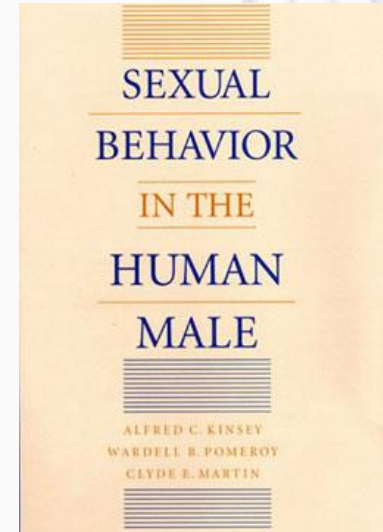
- 1800s, early 1900s:
 - 1st laws limiting or abolishing right to beat one's wife passed in England, France, some U.S. states.
 - Societies for Prevention of Cruelty to Children
- Early social science (Mowrer, 1938): marital cruelty one of the most common grounds for divorce.
- 1962—The medical establishment “discovers” child abuse as a cause of traumatic injury (Kempe, 1962).
- 1970s: Huge social movement emerged.
- Early shelters for battered women:
 - 1971
 - Chiswick's Women Aid, London
 - Kvindehuset, Copenhagen
 - 1972
 - Rainbow House, Phoenix, Arizona
 - Haven House, Pasadena, California
 - Interval House, Toronto



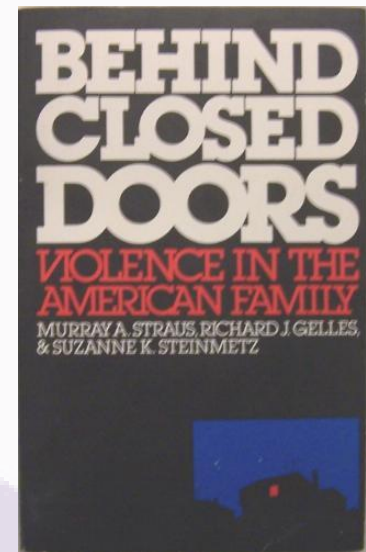
1983--1st Time cover to address intimate violence.

A Social Science Revolution

- Important innovations in social science research, such as the U.S. National Crime Survey and Kinsey's surveys on sexual behavior.
- Research established that people would disclose
 - Violent behavior
 - Intimate behavior
- Straus, Gelles, & Steinmetz established that people would also disclose *violence by intimates* to researchers.



1948: An early scientific bestseller



The 1975 National Family Violence Survey

The 1st National Data: 1975

- Now know that family violence not a rare act by deviant few but a major social problem that touches the lives of many.



Murray Straus



Rich Gelles



Suzanne Steinmetz

If You Have A Bunch of Scales & A Lump of Gold You Want to Weigh.....



10 grams



10 grams



10 grams



10 grams



10 grams



20 grams!?



If You Have A Bunch of Scales & You Want to Assess IPV.....

IP Homicide:

$M > F$



Arrests:

$M > F$



Reports to
Police: $M > F$



Witness
surveys: $M > F$



Other survey
formats: $M > F$



CTS-type
checklists:
 $F = M ! ?$



If You Have A Bunch of Scales & You Want to Assess IPV.....

Sexual assault:

M>F



Delinquency:

M>F



Weapon carrying: M>F



Other assault:

M>F



Robbery:

M>F



Gang, hate, you name it:

M>F



Or, in Wittgenstein's Terms:

- “As if someone were to buy several copies of the morning newspaper to assure himself that what it said was true.” (§265)
– *Philosophical Investigations*

Or, in Our Terms

- High reliability does not demonstrate high validity or any of the classic tests of validity, including:
 - False positives
 - False negatives

1996: The Revised Conflict Tactics Scales (CTS2)

This article describes a revised *Conflict Tactics Scales* (the CTS2) to measure psychological and physical attacks on a partner in a marital, cohabiting, or dating relationship; and also use of negotiation. The CTS2 has (a) additional items to enhance content validity and reliability; (b) revised wording to increase clarity and specificity; (c) better differentiation between minor and severe levels of each scale; (d) new scales to measure sexual coercion and physical injury; and (e) a new format to simplify administration and reduce response sets. Reliability ranges from .79 to .95. There is preliminary evidence of construct validity.

The Revised Conflict Tactics Scales (CTS2)

Development and Preliminary Psychometric Data

MURRAY A. STRAUS
SHERRY L. HAMBY

University of New Hampshire

SUE BONEY-McCOY
Eastern Connecticut State University

DAVID B. SUGARMAN
Rhode Island College

The *Conflict Tactics Scales*, or CTS (Straus, 1979, 1990a), measures both the extent to which partners in a dating, cohabiting, or marital relationship engage in psychological and physical attacks on each other and also their use of reasoning or negotiation to deal with conflicts. The most frequent application of the CTS has been to obtain data on physical assaults on a partner.

Authors' Note: Revision of a paper presented at the Theory and Methodology Workshop during the annual meeting of the National Council on Family Relations in Portland, Oregon, November 15, 1995. It is a pleasure to express appreciation to Susan Ross for the initial work on the injury scale; to the members of the Family Research Laboratory Seminar; and to the discussants of the conference presentation, Lance C. Egley, Patrick C. McKenry, and Constance L. Shehan. This article is a publication of the Measurement Research Program of the Family Research Laboratory, University of New Hampshire, Durham, New Hampshire 03824. A list of publications will be sent on request. The research has been funded by National Institute of Mental Health Grant T32MH15161 and the University of New Hampshire.

JOURNAL OF FAMILY ISSUES, Vol. 17 No. 3, May 1996 283-316
© 1996 Sage Publications, Inc.

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Sincere Efforts Can Still Be Improved

- Strengths of the CTS2:
 - Gender neutral
 - Clarified wording for many items
- Limitations of the CTS2:
 - Changed numerous parameters at once
 - Sexual coercion items limited to coerced intercourse
- ...and, those that depend on the research questions:
 - We chose not to include items on children, pets, guns, either because those did not apply to all couples or because they are rare in many settings. Useful for college samples, etc.
 - However, these choices also mean that most of the most serious offenses are missing, and these are more highly gendered.

The 1st Efforts to Address False Positives

- Holly Johnson and the Statistics Canada team had suggested that “threw something that could hurt you” would be better than “threw something at him/her” for eliminating pillow fights or similar incidents (H. Johnson & Sacco, 1995).
- “This [the original CTS item] does not indicate whether it was a pillow or a brick” (Straus, Hamby, et al., 1996, p. 287). The revised CTS2 item attempts to correct this problem with the item wording “Threw something at my partner that could hurt.”

Under-appreciated Issues in the Controversy

- Many explanations, such as differences due to sampling frame, do not explain why some surveys (NVAWS, NCVS, NSA, etc) do not show gender symmetry and some surveys do.
- Many explanations, such as the issue of self-defense, are potentially important issues but are probably less relevant for community samples.
- Other issues, such as hypotheses related to context, initiation, etc, have been disconfirmed.

First forays, 2005 & 2009

Sex Roles, Vol. 52, Nos. 11/12, June 2005 (© 2005)
DOI: 10.1007/s11199-005-4195-7

Measuring Gender Differences in Partner Violence: Implications from Research on Other Forms of Violent and Socially Undesirable Behavior

Sherry L. Hamby^{1,2}

Psychological Trauma: Theory, Research, Practice, and Policy
2009, Vol. 1, No. 1, 24–34

© 2009 American Psychological Association
1942-9681/09/\$12.00 DOI: 10.1037/a0015066

The Gender Debate About Intimate Partner Violence: Solutions and Dead Ends

Sherry Hamby
Sewanee, The University of the South

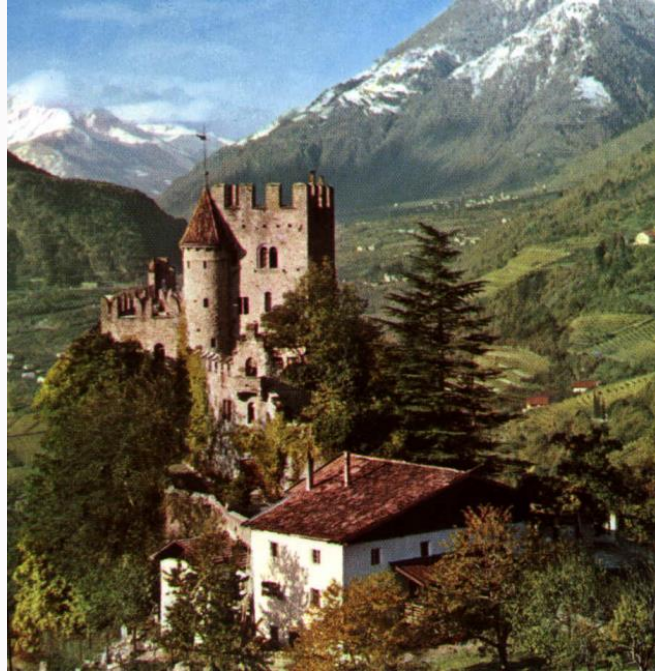


**These critiques had little impact on
researcher behavior.**

My new hypothesis:

“Birds gotta fly, fish gotta swim.”

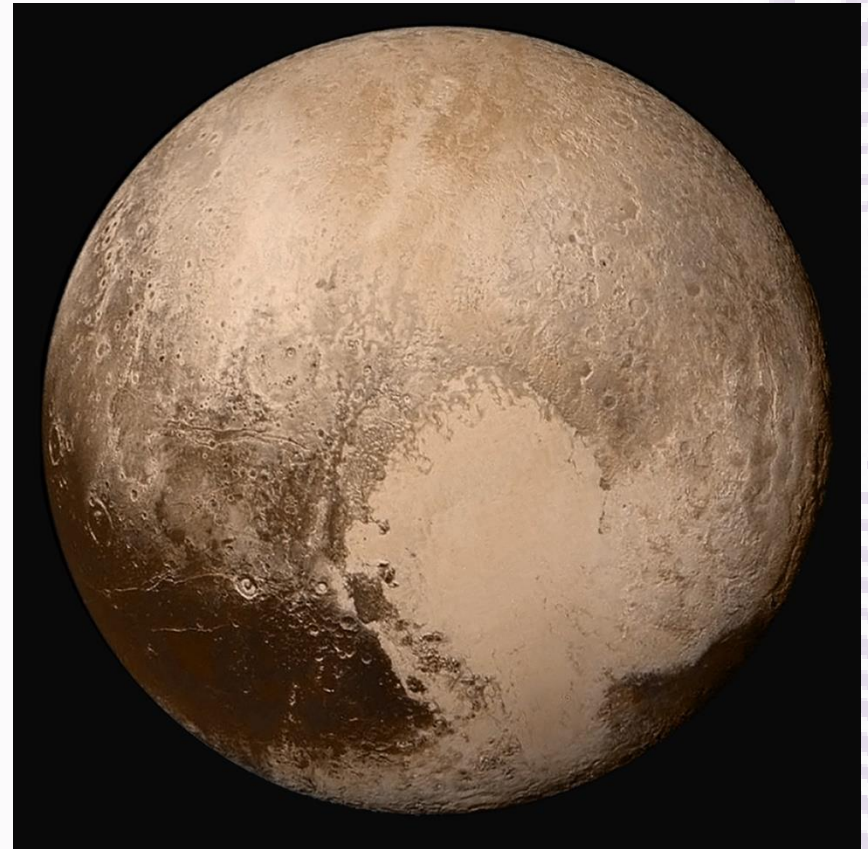
**Clearly, alternative measures were
needed.**



Brunnenburg Castle, Dorf Tirol, Italy
2004

The “Fuzzy Boundaries” of Many Scientific Concepts

- Physically forceful incidents that are not violence:
- being cut open by a surgeon
- tackled in a football game
- jostled in a crowd
- hit by an actor or stunt person
- shoved out of harm’s way
- knocked over accidentally
- consensually participating in sadomasochism.



Pluto for many years was considered a planet but is now considered a dwarf planet.

Survey Science:

Experiments in Victimization Assessment

- Started with victimization only. Why?
- Victimization is easier to assess than perpetration.
 - Less social desirability (Sugarman & Hotaling)
- Victimization is the focus of most national surveillance in the U.S..
 - NISVS
 - NCVS
 - NVAWS
 - NatSCEV
- Because of NatSCEV and the JVQ, I have conducted a number of recent studies on development of victimization items.

Ways Violence Measures Screen for False Positives

- NCVS—Collects incident data, reviewed afterward to see if meet criteria for crime
- Homicide—Limited to cases where IPV is falsely accused
- Arrest—Likewise
- NSA, more recent NISVS reports, Hamby & Turner, other surveys—Focus on severe incidents that are most relevant for law enforcement, public health (e.g., injurious, sexual, fear-inducing)
- CTS, CADRI, ISA, etc--None

A stylized, light purple landscape illustration at the bottom of the page, featuring three mountain peaks and a winding river. The background is white with a large, faint, circular pattern of radiating lines in the upper half.

INSIGHTS FROM OTHER WORK

Sexual assault by known adult	2.67	2.68
Exposed to parent beaten	2.48	2.80 **
Exposed to parent threatened	2.47	2.58
See murder	2.43	2.78
Sexual assault (nonspecific)	2.40	2.81
Witness domestic violence	2.38	2.56 **
Exposed parent hit	2.34	2.55 **
Exposed parent push	2.26	2.46 **
Exposed shooting	2.23	2.23
Witness parental assault sibling	2.22	2.34
Physical abuse by caregiver	2.18	2.28
Gang/group	2.18	2.16
In middle of war	2.13	2.35
School threatened	2.13	2.26
Exposed parental displaced agg	2.10	2.24 *
Kidnap	2.07	2.47 *
Threaten	2.04	2.12
Someone close murdered	2.04	2.18
Neglect	2.01	2.25
Assault with weapon	1.97	1.86
Psychological abuse	1.96	1.85
Rape	1.88	2.39 *
Custodial interference	1.88	2.01
Exposed other family violence	1.86	1.98
Attempted assault	1.84	2.02 **
Bias assault	1.82	1.91
Witness assault with weapon	1.72	2.09 ***
Assault no weapon	1.69	1.72
Sexual assault by peer	1.65	2.18 **
Witness assault no weapon	1.61	1.84 ***
Robbery	1.61	1.56
Bullying	1.54	1.51
Emotional bullying	1.48	1.44
Sexual harassment	1.42	1.50
Vandalism	1.40	1.38
Household theft	1.38	1.54 **
Theft	1.37	1.38
Peer/sibling assault	1.32	1.36
Nonsexual genital assault	1.29	1.70 ***
School vandalism	1.26	1.41 ***
Flashed	1.24	1.55 **
Dating violence	1.11	2.28 ***
Sexual misconduct/stat rape	1.08	1.39 *

Fear Ratings Ranked by Male Score

Sexual assault (nonspecific)	2.40	2.81
Exposed to parent beaten	2.48	2.80 **
See murder	2.43	2.78
Sexual assault by known adult	2.67	2.68
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Theft	1.37	1.38
Peer/sibling assault	1.32	1.36

Fear Ratings Ranked by Female Score

The Most Fear-Inducing Victimizations

Females

Sexual assault (nonspecific)	2.81
Exposed to parent beaten	2.80 **
See murder	2.78
Sexual assault by known adult	2.68
Exposed to parent threatened	2.58
Witness domestic violence	2.56 **
Exposed parent hit	2.55 **
Kidnap	2.47 *
Exposed parent pushed	2.46 **
Rape (including attempted)	2.39 *
In middle of war	2.35
Witness parental assault sibling	2.34
Dating violence	2.28 ***
Physical abuse by caregiver	2.28
School threatened	2.26

Males

Sexual assault by known adult	2.67
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Witness parental assault sibling	2.22
Physical abuse by caregiver	2.18
Gang/group	2.18
In middle of war	2.13
School threatened	2.13
Exposed parental displaced agg	2.10 *

The Least Fear-Inducing Victimizations

Females

Psychological abuse	1.85
Witness assault no weapon	1.84 ***
Assault no weapon	1.72
Nonsexual genital assault	1.70 ***
Robbery	1.56
Flashed	1.55 **
Household theft	1.54 **
Bullying	1.51
Sexual harassment	1.50
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School vandalism	1.41 ***
Sexual misconduct/statutory rape	1.39 *
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Males

Sexual assault by peer	1.65 **
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School vandalism	1.26 ***
Flashed	1.24 **
Dating violence	1.11 ***
Sexual misconduct/statutory rape	1.08 *

Observational data on horseplay— college cafeteria, 2014

3 shoulder punches

hit kid on back

stomach jab

chest bump, shouts "come at me!"

2 arm punches while yelling

2 swatted with plate

throwing napkins at each other

Hit back of head to get attention

Kick shoe

Slaps shoulder, shouts "Bro!"

4 play/mock fights

stealing phone from another

punching

running at like body slam

slap on bottom

slapping leg with plate

2 shoulder bites

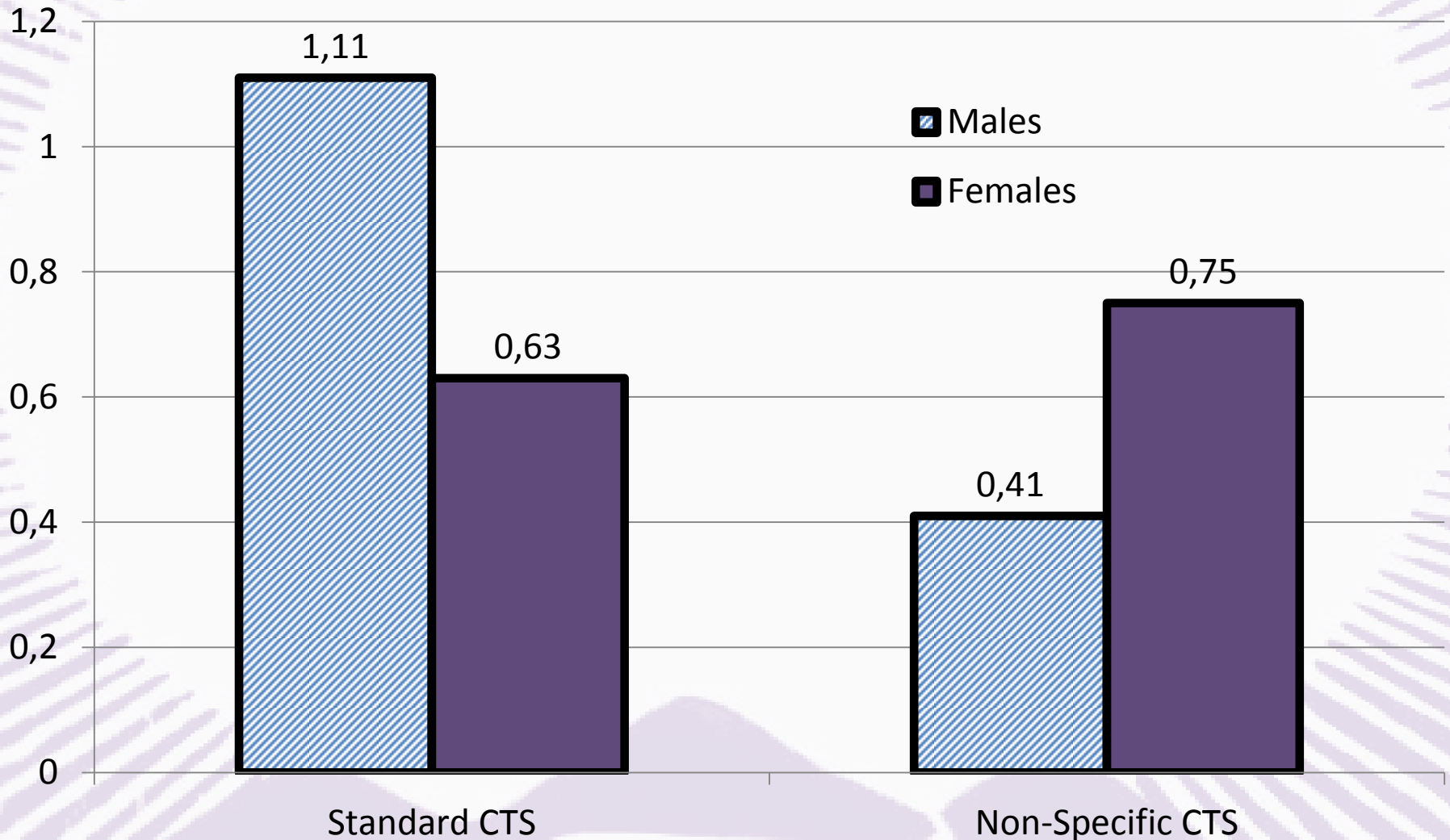
Approximately 1 physically forceful incident every 66 minutes, even in this setting surrounded by faculty & staff

The background features a stylized landscape with purple mountains and a winding path at the bottom. A large, light purple sunburst pattern with many thin rays surrounds the central text area.

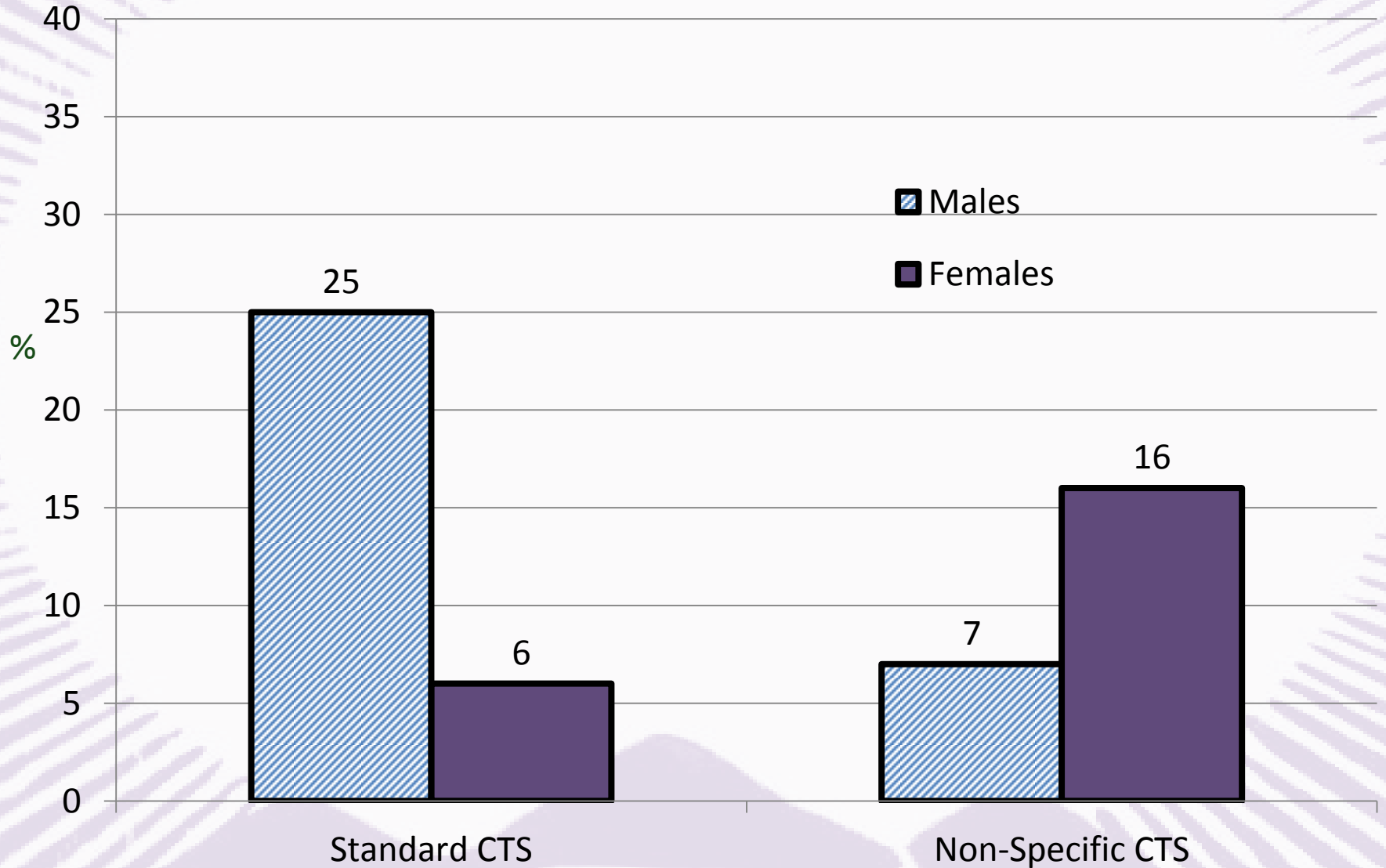
EXPERIMENTAL STUDIES OF WORDING

Study 1 (n=238 college students)

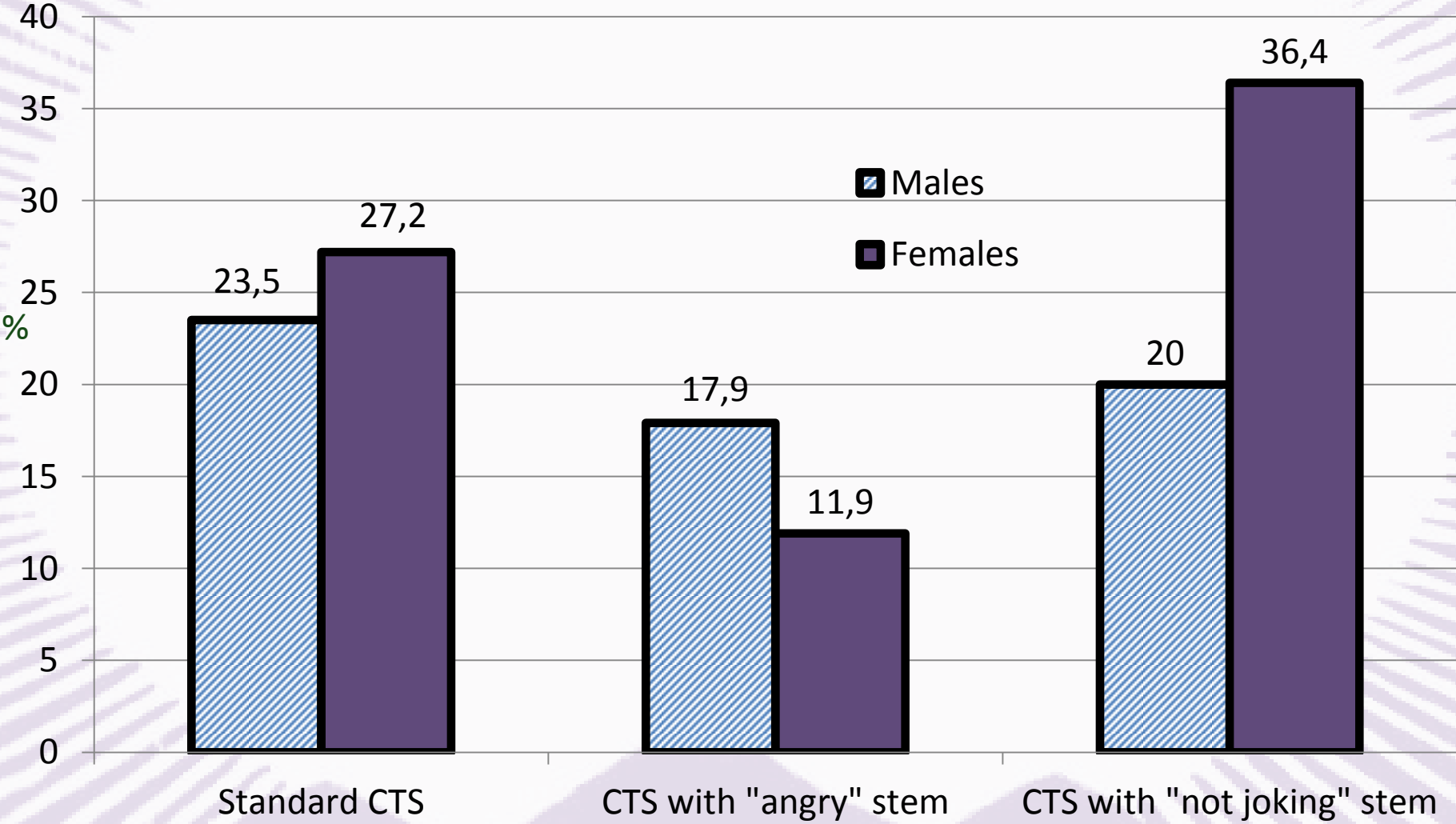
of IPV Modes (IPV poly-victimization), $p=.039$



Lifetime Rate, Severe IPV (p=.005)

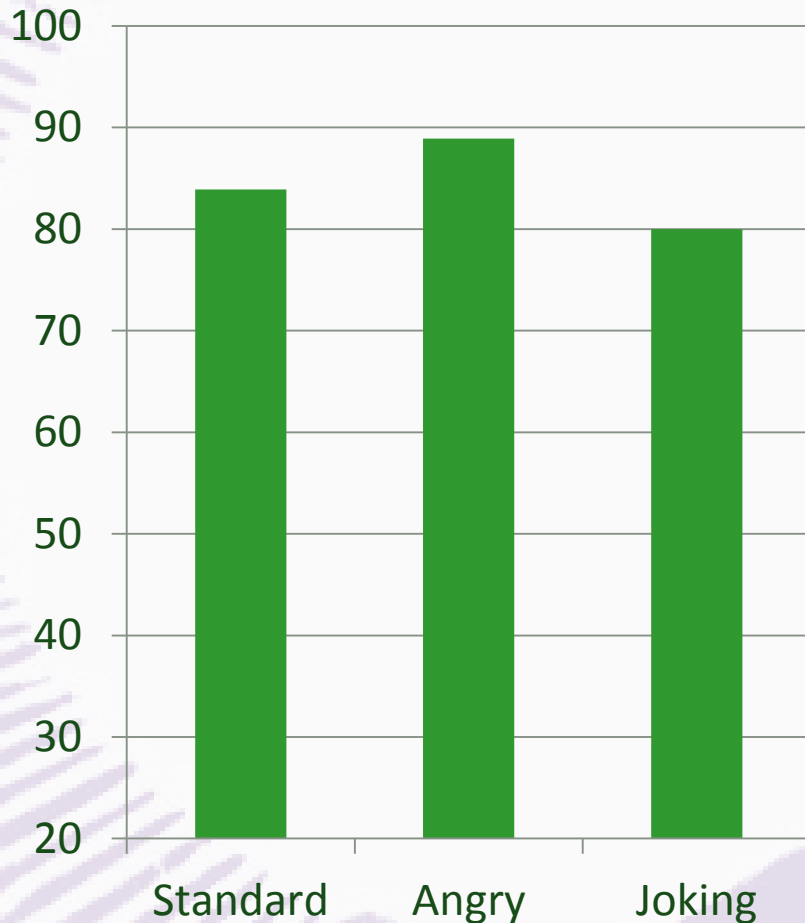


Study 2 (n =251 college students): Victimization Rates For 3 Wordings

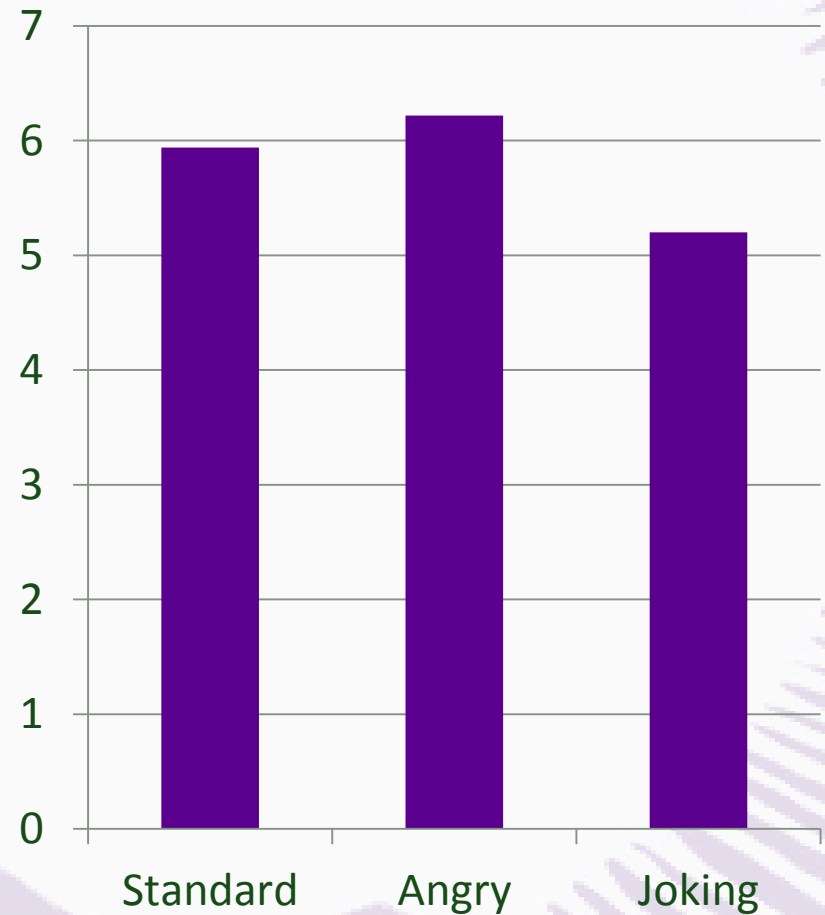


Study 3: 98 low-income, agency-involved women

Dichotomous Prevalence



IPV Poly-victimization



No significant differences, relatively similar rates and modes.

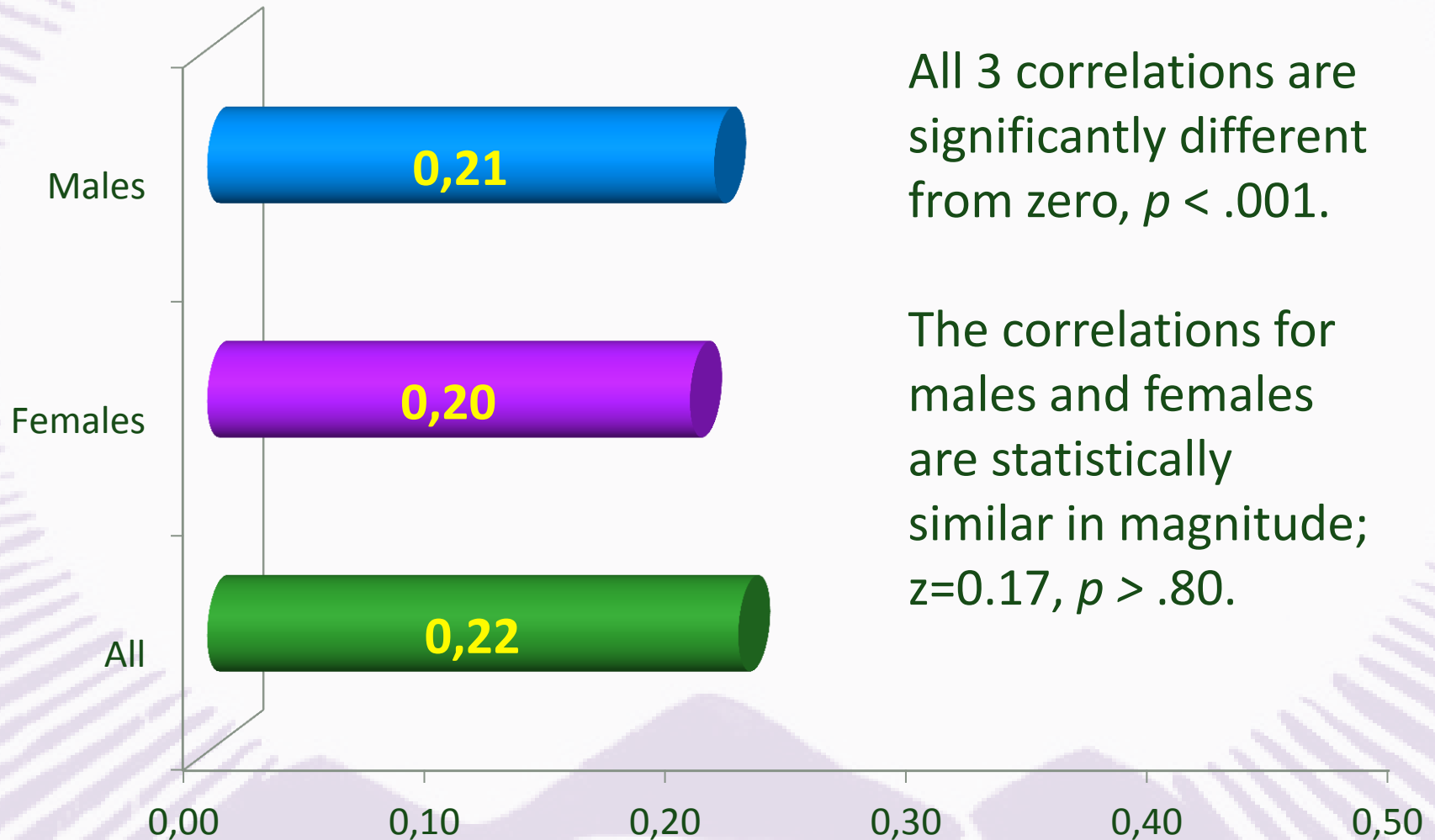


**ROLLING OUT 1 VERSION IN A
LARGE COMMUNITY STUDY**

Study 4 (n=1207 community adults): The Partner Victimization Scale (Hamby, 2014)

	Female %	Male %	OR
<i>Not including horseplay or joking around.....[at start of each physical item]</i>			
Partner threatened to hurt ***	23.5	9.1	3.06
Partner pushed or grabbed ***	27.8	12.6	2.67
Partner hit **	21.1	14.2	1.62
Partner beat up ***	12.4	2.3	5.98
Partner did unwanted sexual acts ***	11.5	1.8	7.12
Any partner victimization ***	34.1	18.7	2.26
IPV Poly-victimization (mode, $\alpha=.85$) ***	0.95 (.05)	0.40 (.07)	

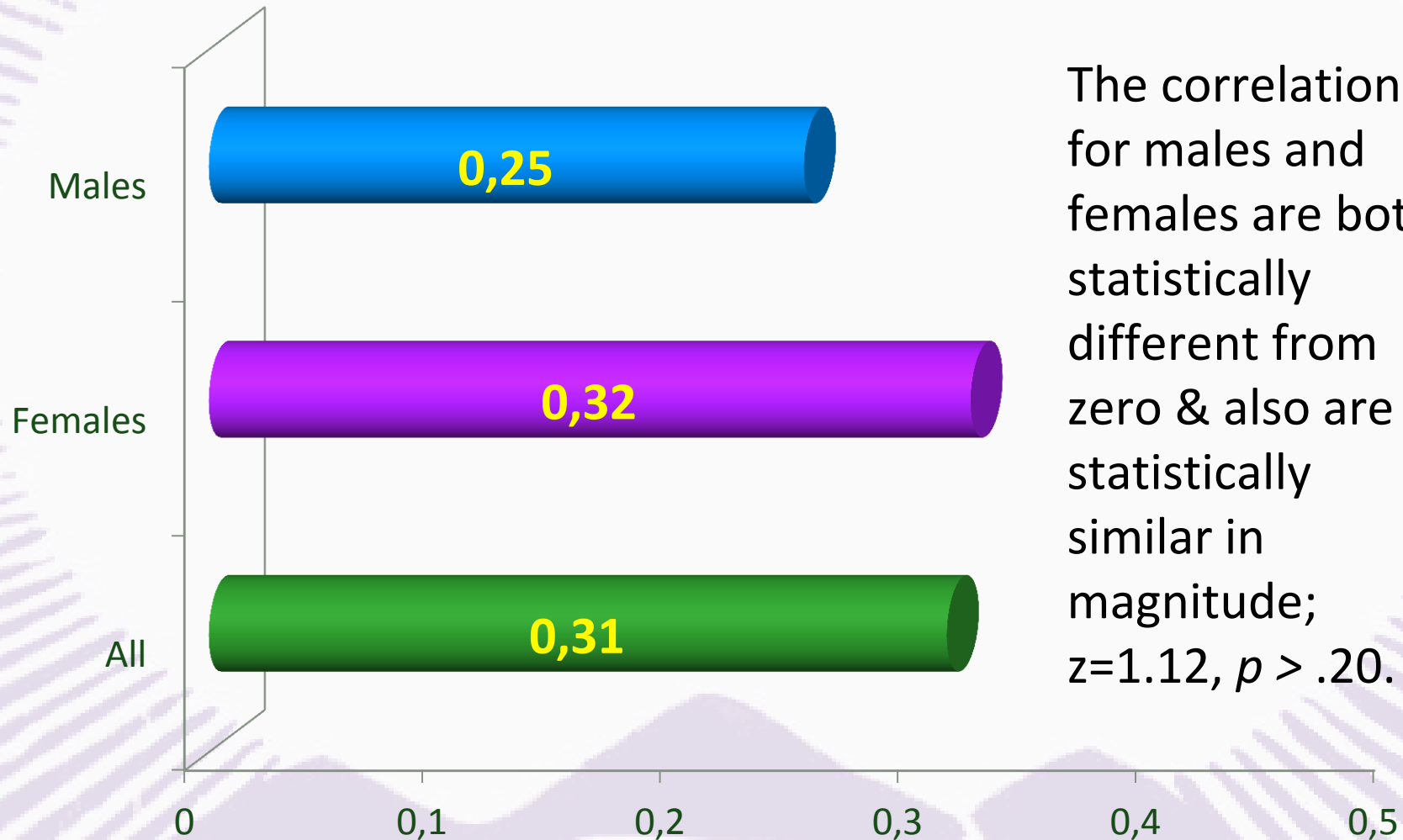
Construct Validity: Correlation with Trauma Symptoms



All 3 correlations are significantly different from zero, $p < .001$.

The correlations for males and females are statistically similar in magnitude; $z=0.17, p > .80$.

Construct Validity: Exposure to DV in Childhood



The correlations for males and females are both statistically different from zero & also are statistically similar in magnitude; $z=1.12, p > .20$.

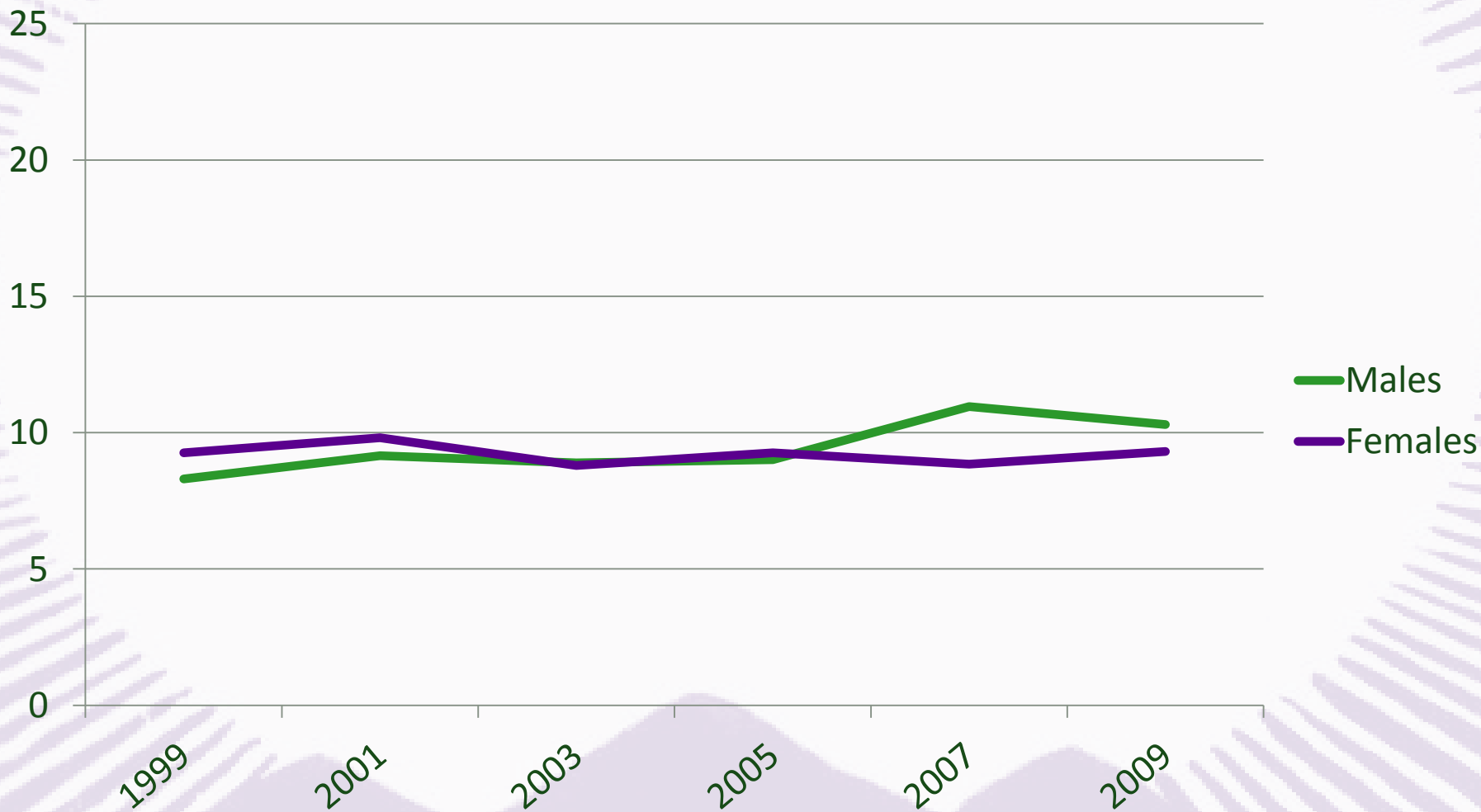
PVS replication (n=665 community adults)

	Female %	Male %	OR
<i>Not including horseplay or joking around.....[at start of each physical item]</i>			
Partner threatened to hurt ***	32.2	16.7	2.37
Partner pushed or grabbed ***	35.2	19.4	2.25
Partner hit *	30.0	22.3	1.49
Partner beat up **	17.9	8.5	2.34
Partner did unwanted sexual acts ***	15.1	5.1	3.31
Any partner victimization ***	44.9	30.0	1.91
IPV Poly-victimization (mode) ***	1.30 (.08)	0.71 (.11)	

Similar Findings By Another Team

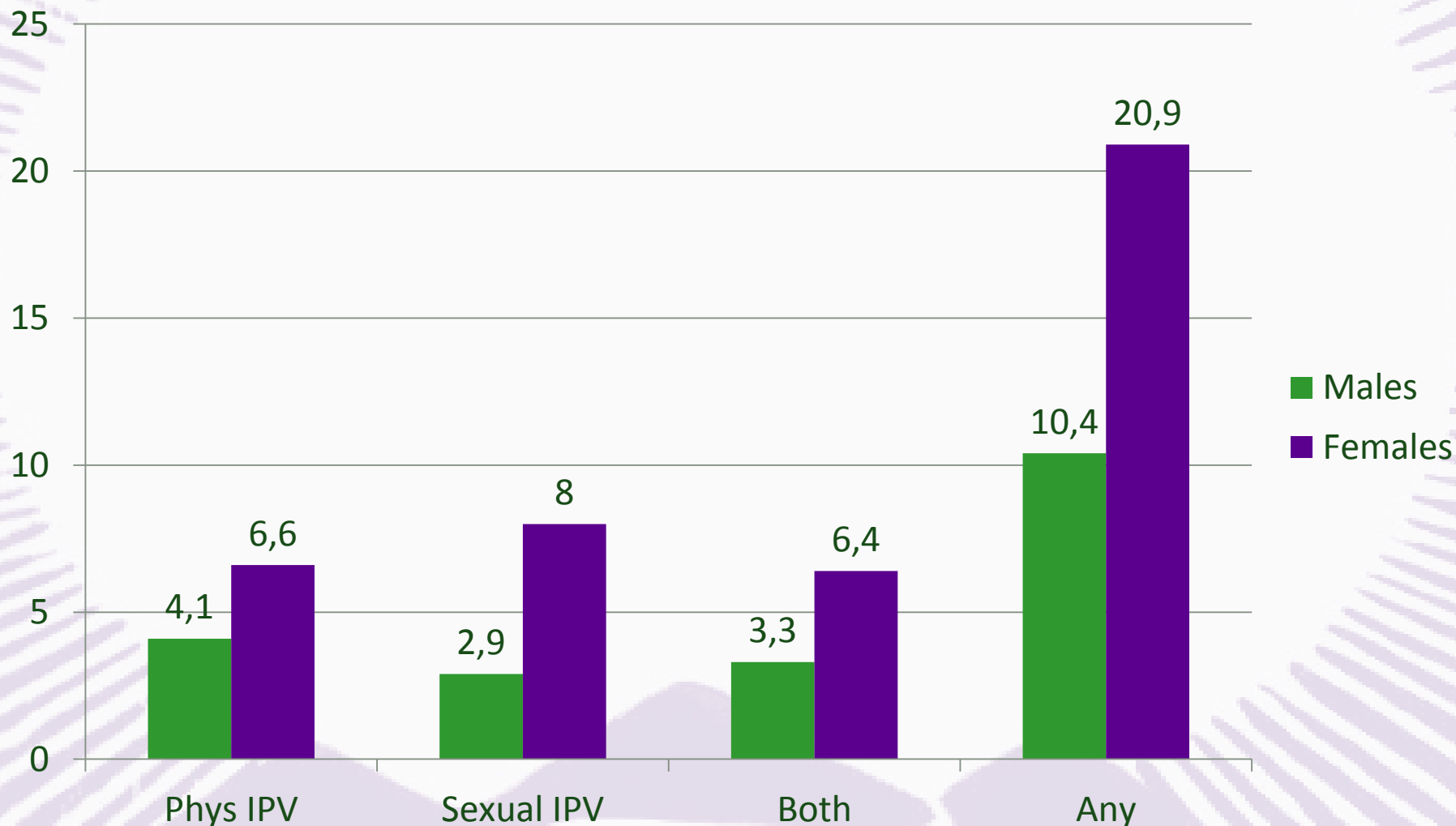
- The CDC YRBS has found gender symmetry for teen dating violence for many years.
- Old question: "During the past 12 months, did your boyfriend or girlfriend ever hit, slap, or physically hurt you on purpose?"
- New, emphasis on threshold (similar one on sexual assault):
- "During the past 12 months, how many times did someone you were dating or going out with physically hurt you on purpose? (Count such things as being hit, slammed into something, or injured with an object or weapon). (developed by Rothman et al)

OLD YRBS Showing Gender Symmetry



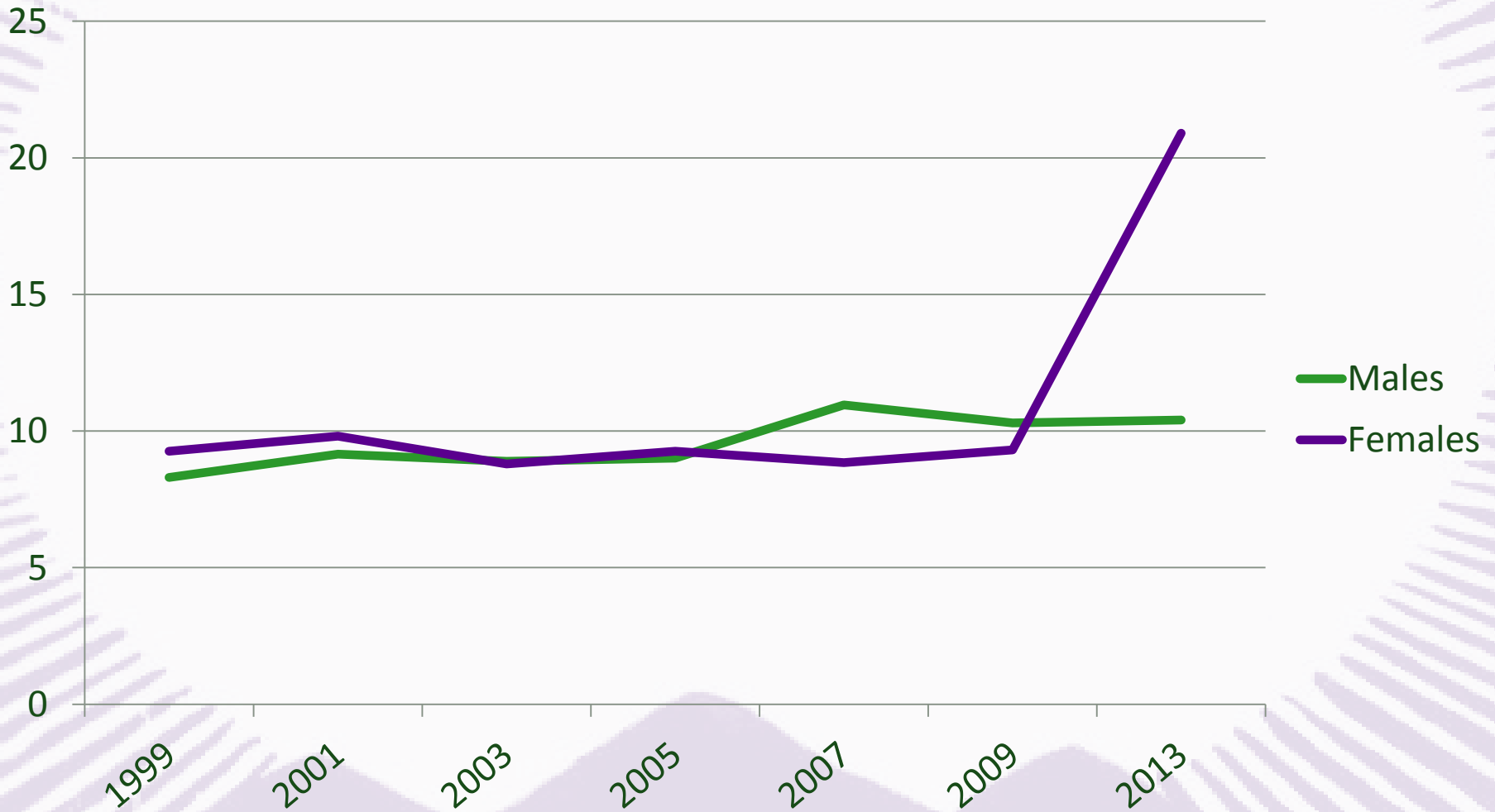
From Rothman & Xuan, 2011

No Gender Symmetry in New YRBS Items (2013 data; Vagi et al., 2015)



N = 9900; From Vagi et al., 2015

OLD YRBS Showing Gender Symmetry



From Rothman & Xuan, 2011

Where We Can Go



A technician preparing penicillin in 1943

***WE CAN HONOR THE
ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE
PAST WITHOUT GETTING
STUCK IN THE PAST.***

- If you want to use a brief, self-report measure that shows multi-method convergence & evidence of reliability and construct validity, use the PVS or one of the other available strategies that do not produce gender symmetry.
- Is this the end? Of course not! This is science; there is no end, there is always striving for better. Science is novelty, not convention. The frontier.
- The good news: There is information to guide us and advances are readily attainable in survey science.
- We need to push back on the institutional forces that inhibit the best scientific practices.

Free resources:

Narrative and strengths-based measures & resources at
<http://lifepathsresearch.org>

Strengths-based safety planning for domestic violence:
<http://thevigor.org>

Poly-victimization info at the Crimes Against Children Research Center:
http://www.unh.edu/ccrc/jvq/index_new.html

Poly-victimization materials at the National Children's Advocacy Center:
<http://www.nationalcac.org/calio-library/polyvictimization.html>

Basic therapy skills & self-help at *Psychology Today* blog, Web of Violence:
<https://www.psychologytoday.com/blog/the-web-violence>

Save the Date:

July 10 to 13, 2016

July 13: Resilience Con 2016!

A day devoted entirely to shifting to a strengths-based approach.

International Family Violence & Youth Victimization Research Conference
Portsmouth, NH