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Battered men and our changing attitudes toward intimate partner violence

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BATTERED MEN AND OUR CHANGING ATTITUDES TOWARD
INTIMATE PARTNER VIOLENCE

A Dissertation

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ABSTRACT

The Center for Disease Control (CDC) (2009) estimates that 4.8 million women are victims of intimate partner assault and rape every year. Receiving far less attention in the intimate partner violence literature, however, are studies of the 2.9 million *male* victims of this type of abuse (CDC 2009). Here I seek to explore this evolving issue of intimate partner violence, and determine to what extent the situations of male victims imitate the abundant body of literature on male violence against women. Using Google's NGram word corpus (Michel et al. 2010), I examine important changes over time in the usage of the terms commonly associated with intimate partner violence and battering. Of interest is how fluctuation in the usage of these terms in public works correlates with major societal changes such as rights movements and changing laws. Based on what we know of framing of social issues and word choice for fueling social movements, I find that the recent increase of the use of terms associated with male victims has also potentially contributed to the increase in the resources available to aid male victims by increasing public awareness of the problem. Finally, through an online survey of battered men, I find that despite the theory that relationships involving violence against male partners are more often the result of situational fights or mutual couple violence, situations do exist in which males are victims of a manipulative and controlling partner as has often been observed in cases of battered women. In addition to abusers as main aggressors, other similarities to female victims include the use of multiple tactics such as psychological manipulation and insults, verbal abuse, physical abuse and even sexual coercion in order to display dominance or force compliance.

CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter will serve as an introduction to the purpose of this dissertation, which is to explore the changing landscape of the discussion about intimate partner violence from the early to mid 1900's when it was considered a private matter, through the battered women's movement, and ultimately to a place where the terms of this abuse can apply to partners married or unmarried, gay or straight, female or male. By examining visual representations of changes in the terms that have historically composed our discussion of intimate partner abuse, I seek to answer several important research questions: (1) How has the dialogue about violence between intimate partners changed over time, and (2) can these changes be compared to wider social movements such as the battered women's movement and legal changes such as the Violence Against Women Act? Also, (3) is the increased awareness that has followed the appearance of battered men and related terms in documented literature also been reflected in the social science literature, and (4) in the increase of support resources available to battered men, as was the case for battered women following increased visibility of the issue in the public eye?

In addition to exploring the entrance of battered men and its associated terms into the broader literature, I also conduct a survey of male victims of intimate partner violence to compare their experience to that of the wealth of information on female victims. With the information gathered from this survey, I explore (5) what role, if any, power, control, and dominance play as motivations for violence conducted against male partners, (6) whether or not violence against males changes over the course of the relationship, particularly in the way of escalation in frequency and severity that is often the case for female victims, and finally (7) in what form(s) violence against male intimate partners manifests.

The Question of Intimate Partner Violence in the Literature

This dissertation explores the changing nature of the discussion of intimate partner violence in the literature, and the emergence of male victims as a new aspect of this social problem. Specifically, how have societal changes affected the appearance of terms associated with intimate partner violence in published works, and how has the use of these terms evolved over time from terms like 'battered women' to the more inclusive and more recent 'intimate partner violence?' Another change concerning this paper is the recent emergence of research surrounding battered men; when terms related to male victims began appearing in the broader published literature.

The ability to track these changes is an important step in understanding not only the development of this issue in the wider literature, but how major societal changes can inform our discourse on social problems and vise-versa. Therefore, the first part of my dissertation asks the following research questions:

1. How has writing about violence between intimate partners changed over time?
2. Can changes in the written depictions of intimate partner violence be attributed to or compared to wider societal changes in the treatment of the issue?
3. To what extent is our recent increased awareness of battered men also reflected in the literature?

The existence of a body of research examining the issue of domestic violence can be traced back only as far as the early 1970's when the first articles began to appear in peer-reviewed journals. Early statistics reporting the prevalence of this phenomenon were as scarce as its appearance in published works, although incidences of abuse in the home were not. Until the battered women's movement gained momentum and forced the issue out in the open, the issue of domestic violence was considered a private matter to be dealt with privately (Martin 2005; Teays 1998; Tierney 1982). That makes the measure of these tangible changes in

publications and literature an important way to quantify the growth of the issue in our social consciousness.

The Battered Women's Movement, possibly encouraged by increased appearance of discussions of domestic violence in published works and the social science literature, made it more acceptable for women to come forward as victims, and the subsequent social and legal support that slowly followed in legislation like the Violence Against Women Act (1994) is also reflected in the literature. This is consistent with the idea that how often an issue appears in published works and how it is framed therein, previously studied primarily in terms of the media, can determine not only the development of an issue into a social problem, but the resulting social action and success of the movement (Benford & Snow 2000; Bullock & Cubert 2002; Gillespie, Richards, Givens, & Smith 2013; McVeigh, Myers & Sikkink 2004).

Rises in the number of books and articles that addressed this type of violence follow similar patterns as landmark advancements made in the fight against this abuse, and the specific terms through which we have conveyed the status of this issue may be equally telling. For example, terms that were common early on in the struggle for women's rights, such as 'battered women,' appear earlier and more frequently in the mid- to late-1970's. In contrast, terms that took hold as society advanced toward the acceptance of more than just female victims of spousal abuse, such as 'intimate partner violence' which allows for a victim of either gender who is married, cohabitating, or dating, peak later. These changes are important for understanding the major catalysts in our acceptance of this issue as a social problem, and the subsequent expansion of social support for its victims.

Particularly pertinent to this dissertation, examination of past changes may shed light on the role that attention in publications may take in advancing the cause of a new group of victims,

battered men, who rely on increased visibility to legitimize their situation and mobilize a social response. The increase in use of gender-neutral terms, for example, such as intimate partner violence and domestic violence, may indicate a possible space in which attention to male victims can emerge. Previously, attention to battered men in the media and wider literature has been spotty at best and inaccurate at worst. In particular, media portrayals of violence typically rely on data from law enforcement agents (Wozniak & McCloskey 2010), who in the past have been argued not to take cases of male victims seriously, or if they do give attention to these victims, fail to present the issue in the context of a wider social issue. An increase in our consciousness surrounding this issue, then, is instrumental in determining its development as a social problem that warrants a social response.

Resources for Battered Men

One of the most recent developments in the documented intimate partner literature is the inclusion of male victims. Although not necessarily a new issue, like the battered women's movement efforts have been made to increase awareness and resources available to male victims, in addition to reducing the stigma involved in coming forward to request support. As we have seen with battered women and in the movement of gay, lesbian and transgender, or LGBTQ, victims of violence (Jenness 1995), the inclusion of male victims in published works may be an important step toward not only advancing our knowledge of these victims, but expanding the network of social support available to them. Therefore the second part of my dissertation asks:

4. To what extent do written accounts of male victims reflect increases in the number of resources available to male victims, as was the case following the battered women's movement?

Through my attempt to solicit survey participation, I came across many online resources available to battered men, either in terms of websites for physical shelters or simply sites offering support, encouragement, and resources for those in need. One of the extraordinary benefits of social networking and online interaction is the ability to connect with others across social and geographical boundaries. This is particularly advantageous for individuals that would typically like to remain anonymous, which is often a characteristic of support groups. I suggest, then, that the appearance of these resources and shelters, from a time not long ago when battered men were rarely a topic of social discourse, may be a result of our increased attention to this issue as has been the case in the past following other social movements (Jenness 1995).

Characteristics of Intimate Partner Abuse Suffered by Men

The third part of this dissertation focuses more closely on the abuse suffered by men at the hands of intimate partners, and to what extent the experiences of these men can be compared to those of battered women. This section of my dissertation addresses the following research questions:

5. What role do power, control and dominance play as motivators of violence against male partners?
6. How does intimate partner violence against men changes over the course of a relationship?
7. What form does abuse take when directed toward men?

For example, because we know that violence against women is often motivated by traditional patriarchal approaches to intimate relationships (Dobash & Dobash 2005; Martin 2005; Miller and Wellford 1997; Johnson 2008; Wolf-Smith & LaRossa 1992), what does this mean for cases in which the female is the aggressor? In other words, is there also a culture of dominance and manipulation in situations of male victims, or are factors at the individual level

such as educational attainment or employment more influential? The answer to this question is important to determine the particular needs of these victims, and our ability to tailor our outreach and support services accordingly, both for victims and aggressors.

Another question this survey seeks to address is how intimate partner violence against men changes over the course of a relationship; what characterizes abuse early on versus toward the end of the relationship? And compared to what we know about battered women reasons for staying in an abusive relationship (Choice & Lamke 1997; Kurz 1987; Straus 1980; Wolf-Smith & LaRossa 1992), do men also remain in abusive relationships through continued abuse for the same or similar reasons? Again, because men often face added stigma against coming forward as victims of abuse by their intimate partners, whether or not abuse escalates in frequency or severity over time, for example, is important for developing our understanding of these situations and what prevents victims from seeking support.

And finally, what is the typical manifestation of abuse; is it physical, psychological, emotional? In Johnson's (2008) four major categories within the typology of domestic abuse, he claims that men are rarely involved in the type of patriarchal terrorism that so often characterizes abuse against women. Instead, abusive situations in which men are victims are more likely to exhibit characteristics of situational couple violence in which both parties participate in the argument and subsequent aggression. This survey attempts to establish whether or not there is support for that theory, and into which category of violence against women, if any, fits male victimization. I hypothesize that there are situations in which men are victims of abuse that are not simply the result of a simple two-sided fight, with each partner acting as aggressor. This situational violence implies that they may not need the same mechanisms of support in place, as would victims of prolonged abuse by a dominant and manipulative partner. Attempting to

establish characteristics that would lead to a typology of male victims of intimate partner abuse, then, is essential support for the expansion of what should be considered a necessary network of social support resources.

In the following chapters, I will systematically attempt to answer the above research questions. Chapter 2 reviews the literature on intimate partner violence, which will lay the foundation of what has previously been studied regarding intimate partner violence against women, and it's historical development throughout the wider published literature. It will also address the importance of framing and terminology for social problems, and the effect of those processes on the emersion of our social awareness of the unique issue of battered men. It will likewise explore the characteristics of the typology of battered women in an attempt to set up a comparison between these situations and those of battered men.

Chapter 3 will examine the methods used to address the research questions. It begins by describing the methods used to assess our changing dialogue on intimate partner violence. In order to examine these changes in our attention to terms associated with intimate partner violence, we must be able to track these changes longitudinally. The new Google NGram technology is excellently suited to allow us to track and graph these long-term linguistic changes, and will be described in detail in this chapter. Chapter 3 will also introduce the survey instrument, and summarize the survey elements designed to address the research questions. Finally, this chapter will discuss the specifics of the online data collection process.

Chapters 4, 5 and 6 present the three-part results of this dissertation. In Chapter 4 I present the first set of findings regarding the important question of what major terminology changes have taken place in the way we discuss intimate partner violence. I also examine why those changes are important to the development of violence between intimate partners as a social

problem, and connect those changes to the broader social context of this issue. In addition to the longitudinal changes in term usage, I examine the emergence of battered men in published works, and how that emergence has fed into the expansion of resources now available in support of these victims.

Chapter 5, then, outlines this increasing availability of support resources for male victims of intimate partner violence, both online and in the number of advocacy resources in the wider community. It also discusses whether or not this increase in the number of available resources can be tied into our increasing awareness through appearances in the wider publications. Finally, the results of the online survey and the victimization experiences of battered men are discussed in Chapter 6. Here I outline the factors that characterize these instances of abuse, and identify pertinent aspects of these relationships that emerge from the perspective of their victims.

Lastly, Chapter 7 summarizes the major findings and applies these data to the early development of a typology of battered men. I discuss the implications of this data for the intimate partner violence literature, and the possible direction(s) of the development of this social issue in the future, particularly as it pertains to the expansion of resources available to battered men. I also discuss limitations of these analyses, and avenues in which this research could be expanded in the future.

CHAPTER 2. REVIEW OF LITERATURE

This chapter will review the literature on the rise of the battered women's movement in social and legal consciousness, and explore the more recent argument for increasing attention and support for battered men. Throughout our history there have been major societal changes that have affected the movement to increase attention and support to the plight of women who fall victims to abuse at the hands of an intimate. This is also illustrated in the changes in frequency of the appearance of certain terms associated with intimate violence in published works. Here I review the literature tracing those major changes across history, and examine how those changes may have influenced the discussion of this issue in published works. I then discuss the most recent addition to this movement and its literature in the form of male victims of this same violence. Of particular interest is how this abuse has previously been characterized in the literature as compared to violence against women.

The movement to bring to light violence between intimate partners with the hope of protecting its victims from future violence has had a long road, and in many ways has had tremendous success. Prior to the 1970's, virtually no statistics were available on the number of female victims who suffered abuse by a spouse or significant other, a crime that until then was treated as insignificant (Schechter 2005: 198). It was not until what is now recognized widely as the battered women's movement in the mid 1970's that the issue was dragged from its position inside the privacy of the home out into the public eye (Gillespie, Richards, Givens, & Smith 2013; Tierney 1982). That certainly does not mean that there were no earlier instances of intimate partner abuse, however, or that it was a new problem. For as Downs (1972) illustrates, the development of a social problem does not indicate that a change has taken place in the actions of individuals, but simply that an existing issue has been raised into the consciousness of

others for whom it was not previously a problem. Central, then, to the development of this social problem has been the act of bringing it to the public's attention and getting that public to speak out and launch a response (Jenness 1995). That has been a slow journey for the battered women's movement, and is just now being joined by advocates for male victims of abuse. Here I trace some of the major changes in society that have affected this movement as an important step in establishing the connection between social movements and our dialogue regarding social problems.

The Importance of Terminology and Framing for the Development of Social Movements

The importance of the framing of social issues has been addressed in previous literature in terms of media portrayals of violence and other social problems. The media in particular are instrumental in shaping the public's ideas of what is and is not a social problem (Bullock & Cubert 2002; Gillespie et al. 2013; Vasterman 2005; Wozniak & McCloskey 2010). The issues that the media chooses to portray, and the way in which those issues are framed, indicates to the general public what issues are and are not important (Bullock & Cubert 2002; Gillespie et al. 2013; Wozniak & McCloskey 2010), and can set in motion events that wouldn't have been possible otherwise (Benford & Snow 2000; Vasterman 2005). One important way that increased media portrayal can support the emergence of a social problem is by promoting increased reporting of the issue by victims (Jenness 1995; Vasterman 2005). Once a problem becomes more widely visible, and subsequently socially acceptable, victims feel less intimidated from coming forward. This is one of many reasons that emergence of these social problems into the media and wider literature can be instrumental in determining their success.

The problem with the media's portrayal of domestic violence is that it has been inconsistent. In fact, few resources, particularly early on, frame the issue as a wider social problem of domestic violence, instead choosing to portray it as an isolated incident (Bullock & Cubert 2002; Gillespie et al. 2013; Wozniak & McCloskey 2010). In a study of newspaper articles covering homicides resulting from prior domestic violence, Bullock & Cubert (2002) found that fewer than 10% of articles framed these homicides as part of a larger social context of intimate partner violence, and in a similar study Wozniak & McCloskey (2010) found that 72% of newspaper articles failed to mention domestic violence at all, and none mentioned any efforts at larger community intervention. A series of isolated incidents, in contrast to a pattern of common situations all leading to a similar outcome, is an inadvertent denial of the larger social issue.

This inconsistent or nonexistent coverage of intimate partner violence also conveniently relieves the public from any responsibility in addressing the issue (Gillespie et al. 2013; Wozniak & McCloskey 2010). It becomes a personal problem for someone else to solve, and one that wouldn't affect the reader (Bullock & Cupert 2002). Bullock & Cupert (2002) establish that out of the 230 articles they examined on news coverage of domestic violence, very few portrayed domestic violence as having the potential to affect the reader.

This is particularly a problem for battered men, whose portrayal in both media and wider published works has only recently been enough to convince anyone the possibility exists that it *is* a social problem. Even more importantly, when these issues *are* placed in a broader social context, the public's perception of the problem shifts from that of individual responsibility to societal influences on that individual (Vasterman 2005; Wozniak & McCloskey 2010). Once society views it as a social problem, resources can be mobilized in support (Jenness 1995).

Just as the media ignoring a problem can mean a problem doesn't exist in the public consciousness, the media also has the power to create the perception of a problem in the public's mind. Vasterman (2005) found that the media were able to take isolated incidents and insert fear into readers' minds that random acts of violence were in fact a "new and frightening social problem" (Vasterman 2005: 525). By reporting different incidents under the same threat umbrella, the media are able to create a 'new' or rising problem and fuel public outrage. This perception can be the crucial foundation that leads to the formation of a widespread social problem.

Although most research concerning framing covers news media, it is still important to determine whether or not the public is processing accurate information. Wider bodies of published works reflect this public perception of issues, and that is what this paper examines. Fluctuations in perception not only affect the success of social movements, but the subsequent mobilization of social resources to address them. The bottom line is the power of what we hear and read and its influence on our interpretations and subsequent definitions of social problems; particularly as that determines our response to them and their victims.

The Fluid Intimate Partner Violence Terminology

Answering the first research question of how our written dialogue about intimate partner violence has changed over time requires that we define the terms that have been associated with this issue, as terminology can be an important aspect of the definition of a social problem. Without a problem being specifically defined as such, there can be no need for a solution (Gillespie et al. 2013). Defining this problem of intimate partner violence is complicated,

however, by the inability of scholars to agree on appropriate terminology (Bullock & Cubert 2002; Eigenberg 2001; Gillespie et al. 2013).

Several different terms have been used over the course of both the literature and broader published works. Walker (1979) describes an early attempt at classifying symptoms of intimate violence as simply learned helplessness, using the term conjugal violence. Victims of partner abuse were even briefly considered a manifestation of Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) (Meyer-Emerick 2001; Walker 1979). When the issue first began to appear regularly in the mid 1970s the feminist movement advocated on behalf of 'battered women' or 'battered wives,' giving that now widely used name to the resulting movement. 'Domestic violence' also emerged at that time and continues to be a recognized term, whereas before that time domestic violence in the news referred to riots (Gillespie et al. 2013; Tierney 1982).

'Domestic violence' or 'spousal violence' were an attempt at a more inclusive, gender-neutral approach in terms following the research by Straus and Gelles (1986) which suggested that females were not the only victims of abuse in the home and that couples may in some cases exhibit comparable levels of violence. 'Battered men' on the other hand, indicates a clear aggressor and a clear victim, for example, whereas gender-neutral terms leave multiple possibilities open. This is not necessarily a popular approach with advocates of battered women, who argue that gender neutral terminology normalizes gender equality in victimization, despite a reality in which women are still much more often victims of male abusers (Bullock & Cubert 2002). Even more inclusive, the term gaining currency on the most recent literature, 'intimate partner violence,' allows for victimization at the hand of an intimate partner of either gender whether married, cohabitating, or simply dating. These adapting terms reflect different historical

periods within the literature and are important contributions to our understanding of its development.

The Social Foundations of the Intimate Partner Violence Movement

In addition to answering the question of how these terms have changed over time, the first part of this dissertation will examine how these changes in dialogue and issue visibility can be connected to wider societal changes. These changes and their influence on our social dialogue about domestic violence, for instance, have also been instrumental in shaping the transformation of the resulting movement to address this kind of violence (Benford & Snow 2000; Bullock & Cubert 2002; Gillespie et al. 2013; McVeigh et al. 2004). The more visibility an issue receives, the more social outrage is inspired, and the more likely a social response will follow (Jenness 1995; McVeigh et al. 2004; Wozniak & McCloskey 2010). This understanding is important for our ability to predict the development of future similar movements, particularly, as it concerns this paper, that of battered men. Below, I review the major developments from the inception of the battered women's movement to the recent emergence of male victims in our social consciousness, and the role society has had in shaping that trajectory.

Historically, society has supported a patriarchal family model in which men are the autonomous rulers (Miller and Wellford 1997; Johnson 2008; Wolf-Smith & LaRossa 1992). Wives were viewed as man's property, with whom to do as he saw fit (Dobash & Dobash 2005; Martin 2005), especially when she required 'chastising' as long as the weapon was no larger than the width of his thumb (Dowd 1992; Straus & Gelles 1986). Despite this generally accepted rule of thumb, more violent beatings were not uncommon and often overlooked (Schechter 2005; Straus & Gelles 1986). In this context of male as master of his domain, it was natural that

domestic problems were personal matters not to be addressed by society, its police, or its laws. The home was private, and what happened therein not the business of others (Martin 2005; Teays 1998; Tierney 1982).   Not only was it not considered a deviant act, but surveys of family violence even found approval for a man's right to employ violence within your own home (Dobash & Dobash 2005; Martin 2005). Many battered wives reported knowing that neighbors were aware of the abuse going on, but that they would willfully feign ignorance or ignore their own eyes and ears (Martin 2005). It is this passive cultural acceptance of this type of controlling patriarchy that contributes to the broad social context in which this violence is permitted to occur. After all, what did women have to gain from seeking help from a society in which no one would acknowledge her plight; a society in which she was powerless, composed of men no different than her aggressor (Dowd 1992)? It is in this context that Teays (1998) argues that instead of applying the condition of 'learned helplessness' to victims, we should have recognized that these women had instead learned "there is no help" (Teays 1998: 71).

Bopp & Vardalis (1987) claim that there have been instances recorded of wife abuse as early as 1830, supporting what we already know is not a new problem. Some state courts set precedents as early as 1871 that a husband no longer had a legal or moral right to harm his wife (Dobash & Dobash 2005), but that unfortunately did not necessarily mean a change in the tide of public feeling. Only when women came together late in the 1960's to discuss issues pertaining to themselves and their lives at the very start of the women's movement did they realize that their problems were shared, and particularly that none of them were alone in facing abuse and hardship in their homes (Straus, Gelles & Steinmetz 1980).

This realization sparked a new trend of social awareness, not unprecedented in the field of social movements. And although England's Erin Pizzey championed for battered women

before the movement had begun in the United States (Martin 2005; Straus et al. 1980), by 1971 the first research studies about battered women that gained widespread attention were published in the 1971 Journal of Marriage and the Family. The women's movement was gaining momentum and feminists were beginning to argue against traditional gender roles, citing them as the source of violence between intimates in contrast to any theories of individual inadequacy as the source (Ferraro 2005). In order to fight this abuse, then, we also had to fight to change our patriarchal society and the family model that puts men in positions of dominance and allows – or even encourages- violence as a means to maintain that dominance.

As attention to the issue of battered women began to spread, so did support services such as shelters, and the first federal legislation passed in support of battered women was the Violence Against Women Act of 1994 (Eigenberg 2001; Meyer-Emerick 2001). A budget of $1.6 billion was allocated to the project which aims to protect not only female victims of abuse in their homes and from husbands who follow them over state lines, but women in general on college campuses, on public streets, and victims of gender discrimination (Eigenberg 2001). A similar movement was also taking place for victims of violence in the LGBTQ community, with the same dynamic of increased social and legal support resulting only from increased visibility of the issue (Jenness 1995).

Even as late as 1996, however, the study of battered women was still a "young and fragmented field" (National Research Council 1996: 2), despite the fact that by then public outcry had escalated and female victims were being turned away from overcrowded shelters, further exacerbating their already intolerable situations (Teays 1998). But laws were and are still changing in an attempt to keep up with the increased attention being paid to this now social problem. One very visible response has been mandatory arrest laws.

These laws can either require an arrest or indicate an arrest as the preferred response following a domestic violence call, provided that violence is believed to have taken place (Eigenberg 2001). In 1986, only 6 states had laws mandating arrest in situations where there was clear probable cause in the form of visible injury, property damage or witnesses (Ferraro 2005). Currently the total is up to 22 states with mandatory arrest and another 6 with policies of preferred arrest with probable cause (Hirschel 2008). Despite criticism regarding the efficacy of these laws in preventing violence against women (Binder & Meeker 1988; Eigenberg 2001; Elliot 1989; Fagan 1989; Lempert 1989; Miller 1993; Mills 1998; Schechter 2005; Wanless 1996), and some debate as to whether legal changes such as these have helped or hindered the protection of the victims, one thing that needs no debate is that these advancements have succeeded in continually increasing the necessary public awareness of domestic violence.

According to the Bureau of Justice Statistics (BJS) (1983), although women are still more often victimized by intimates than strangers, we have seen an overall decline of over 60% in victimization by an intimate partner for not just women but both sexes (Catalano 2012). This decline can likely be attributed to several factors including but not limited to those outlined briefly here: Feminism and the battered women's movement, the strides made toward gender equality and changes in society's idea of the family and traditional patriarchies, subsequent increased opportunities for women in the workplace, and importantly for this study, legislation in support of victims and the resulting changes in visibility and attention members of lay society and government at all levels have attributed to this issue since the 1970's.

By 2014, intimate partner violence research has spanned decades and disciplines. This crossover of attentions from scholars in disciplines such as social science, law, and mental and physical health, has both increased the overall wealth of information on the topic and made it

difficult to get a clear, cohesive picture of the problem. One reason for this is the lack of an overarching definition of the problem or even the appropriate terms to use universally to describe this type of violence, leaving many unknowns (National Research Council 1996). Eigenberg (2001) gives an excellent overview of the many components of intimate partner violence that can be included in the definition that examines various elements of physical, emotional, psychological, and sexual abuse.

The complex web of interaction that these dimensions of abuse create not only makes defining the issue difficult, but creates an added difficulty in comparing and collecting reliable data sources that have named or defined the problem differently, even extending into the legal setting where there exist disparities in the treatment and recording of such cases (Eigenberg 2001; National Research Council 1996). It is for this reason that the ability to simultaneously graph the appearance of related terms longitudinally, in wider publications that reflect social consciousness, can help create a clearer picture of the development of this issue, particularly in light of the social and legal developments that may serve as focal points for increases in appearances over time.

Social Support for Victims

Another topic of focus for this dissertation is whether or not the recent emergence of battered men in the social science and broader literature is predictive of a similar increase in support services to victims as happened for women as a result of the battered women's, and LGBTQ movements (Jenness 1995). From the birth of openness and collective consciousness about abuse outlined above, and the start of questioning society's role rather than pointing to individual flaws, came the first shelters and helplines in the United States around 1973 (Renzetti

& Bergen 2005; Tierney 1982). These early shelters developed slowly, (Schechter 2005), and received varying levels of outside influence that were both good and bad. For example although media attention was essential to the movement (Downs 1972), and necessary aid was successfully solicited through this channel, there were also occasions in which the media portrayed battered women as extreme, often unbelievable exaggerations which weakened the legitimacy of the problem (Schechter 2005). Tierney (1982) confirms that early news articles were spotty until late 1976 when the New York Times discussed shelters and legal cases involving battered women, and because of this reliance on media which would surely dissipate, she also predicted that interest and public support for the cause would eventually wane (Tierney 1982).

Likewise, aid was spotty from courts and government agencies. Many courts in the 1970's, far from having laws protecting these victims, chastised or even punished women for coming forward or attempting to leave the relationship. Women in Chicago were denied welfare by courts, thus denying them a means of living independently, based on their ineligibility because of their husband's income (Schechter 2005). Local agencies and zoning boards made it difficult for shelters to obtain permits, preventing them from building or acquiring adequate facilities (Schechter 2005). Women who applied for restraining orders or requested arrest for their husbands were denied. In Washington, DC in 1966, of the 7,500 women who requested warrants only 200 received them (Schechter 2005), again based on the mentality that it was a minor problem to be resolved within the family. Schechter (2005) was sure to point out, however, that in some areas this was not the case and agencies such as the United Way and YWCA were supportive of the efforts. In addition, at various times states and counties across the country have made attempts at amending orders of protection, firearm possession laws, and

resolving interstate or multi-jurisdictional issues to better protect victims (Gagne 1996; Eigenberg 2001).

So the movement survived despite early setbacks and Tierney's (1982) prediction, and despite the negative perception of feminism at the time; a perception which many still hold today, misinterpreting the movement as man-hating or simply lesbianism (Schechter 2005). Programs popped up in communities such as The Domestic Abuse Intervention Program (DAIP) in Duluth, MN, to not only protect victims by ensuring that help and shelter were available, but also to amend laws, and get abusers into court and successfully prosecuted or rehabilitated (Eigenberg 2001). By 1989 inclusion by the Department of Justice of violence perpetrated by family members into the National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS) (Bachman 2000) made it an officially measurable offense.

The question is, will we see a similar development of available resources targeted toward male victims following the emergence of our social dialogue about this issue? Slowly, shelters have begun to extend services to victims of both genders, and with the rise of the internet and its host of social support at our fingertips, it bears examination whether these resources will, in a similar way, benefit male victims who may have added stigma associated with coming forward as abuse victims. The inherent anonymity of the internet may be particularly suited to this issue, and the widespread availability of online interaction may make these resources even more obtainable at less personal risk for this new pool of abuse victims.

The Overlooked Issue of Battered Men

The acknowledgement in the social science literature of the presence of male victims, although arguably not a new development, is one that also seems to be getting markedly

increased attention since the mid to late 1980's, possibly in conjunction with the move toward

gender neutrality in terms. A 1983 BJS report stated that 95% of all domestic violence victims

were women. However a more current study by the BJS reports that 85% of victims are women

(Catalano 2012). While women are notably disproportionate victims of violence by intimates,

there is still debate regarding whether literature and statistics have ignored or underrepresented

men as an equally important group of victims. In pursuit of an answer to this question, this study

also aims to establish to what extent our seeming increased awareness of this issue is also

reflected in the literature, and how these instances are portrayed. This is an important step in

understanding this type of abuse, and working toward the development of a typology.

Motivators in Situations of Intimate Partner Abuse Against Men

Instances of intimate partner violence are not yet fully understood in cases of male

victims. A good starting point for examining the issue of intimate partner violence against men

might draw upon studies of situations in which females have used physical abuse, or even

homicide, in retaliation for previous abuse (Edwards 1990, as cited in McColgan 1993; Gagne

1996; Gauthier & Bankston 1997). These studies have shown for example, that a full 75% of

women who kill their husbands had been previously been victims of intimate partner violence by

their husbands (Edwards 1990).

The question of the presence of power, control and dominance as motivators in situations

of intimate partner violence against men is another that this paper addresses, particularly in

comparison to what we know of female victims. Conceptually, authors of battered women

literature have been principally interested in issues of balance of power and control which

facilitates abuse, learned helplessness on the part of the victims which prohibits them from

leaving or seeking help, and the role of social and individual resources in perpetuating the

relationship. We know from this literature, for example, that intimate violence toward women is

often the result of women being treated as subordinates by the males in their lives, whether their

fathers or their significant others (Miller and Wellford 1997; Johnson 2008; Wolf-Smith &

LaRossa 1992). Miller and Wellford (1997), assert that male abusers seek to exert power and

authority in their relationships with women, which is in line with a traditional patriarchal view of

society. In this delicate balance of power, abusers believe that they are solely in control of the

relationship and women are inferior; so the violence is not only accepted it may even be

encouraged. Passive cultural acceptance of this type of controlling patriarchy contributes to the

broad social context in which this violence is permitted to occur, and this acceptance may even

be shaped by media portrayals.

Escalation of Abuse in Intimate Relationships

The question of how abuse changes over the course of intimate relationships, and in the

case of escalation of frequency and/or severity, why victims remain, is another that this paper

addresses. Choice and Lamke (1997) reviewed several major theories that have been applied to

battered women, and the amount of overlap among them. Learned helplessness (Seligman 1975;

Teays 1998; Walker 1978, 1973) is one of the frameworks through which researchers view the

reasoning of these female victims. Learned helplessness describes three areas of deficit within

battered women, which eventually prevent them from escaping their situation. *Motivational*

deficit occurs when it is perceived by a victim that her actions no longer affect her outcome

(Walker 1978, 1973). She believes that no matter what she does, the consequences will be the

same and so she stops trying to prevent what she now believes is inevitable. This eventually

leads to a *cognitive deficit*, in which she is so convinced that her actions are meaningless that she is also no longer able to imagine that that ineffectiveness would change with a new environment. Finally, *affective deficit* results in the form of depression and complacence, which feeds into the motivational and cognitive deficits and begins a cycle (Walker 1978). This lack of self-efficacy, combined with the lack of an attractive alternative or support system to reach out to, often make it impossible or *undesirable* for a woman to leave her abusive relationship (Choice & Lamke 1997).

Another issue that Kathleen J. Ferraro (1997) examines is how men often isolate women from friends and family in an effort to control them, thereby depriving them of social resources and support systems that would generally provide an alternative to sustained abuse. Since women rarely leave a partner after the first instance of abuse, the subsequent isolation makes it increasingly difficult for abused women to access support networks when the violence escalates (Ferraro 1997; Renzetti 1997). Wolf-Smith and LaRossa (1992) argue that abusers may show remorse and offer an act of contrition after the first violent episode which, if honored, can legitimize the abuse. Over time, the abusers rationalize their behavior making continued abuse easier and more justifiable to the abuser (Wolf-Smith & LaRossa 1992). In addition to being isolated, battered women are often tied to their abusers emotionally and financially (Walker 1977), or by the perceived level of investment in the relationship. The various mechanisms that tie battered women to their abusers, including fear, force many women to stay in abusive relationships even when the level of violence increases (Johnson 2008).

This is a particularly important question to address for male victims, as several factors can distinguish these victims from their female counterparts. As it has been theorized that intimate partner violence committed against men is more often a case of situational fights rather

than prolonged periods of control and dominance (Flynn 1990; Johnson 2008), it would seem that issues such as learned helplessness and isolation would not be a factor in these relationships. Likewise, because men are less likely to be financially dependent on partners, there is reason to question whether or not the mechanisms of fear and dependency are present for male victims. This also raises the question of what motivates them to remain in these relationships despite indications that this abuse will continue if it is not a factor of submissiveness, fear or dependence.

Manifestations of Abuse Against Men

The final research question that this paper addresses is an examination of the forms of violence directed toward male intimate partners. Overall, informed by the above theories, these leading issues have emerged in the battered women literature: First, abuse against women can take many forms such as physical, sexual, and emotional, and male abusers seek to exert power, control, or dominance over their female victims, often creating lasting psychological effects in addition to physical violence. Second, despite the fact that male violence against their intimate female partners tends to escalate over time, women stay in abusive relationships for various reasons even though they understand that further instances of abuse are likely (Choice & Lamke 1997; Kurz 1987; Straus 1980; Wolf-Smith & LaRossa 1992). The question here is can these generalizations also be extended to intimate partner abuse against men?

In his book A Typology of Domestic Violence, Michael P. Johnson (2008) asserts that there are several different types of domestic violence as we know it, and that which is most associated with male victims is typically more situational and argumentative in nature in which both parties are participants. He asserts that it rarely involves prolonged periods of control and

manipulation at the hands of a female aggressor, as is more often the case in wife battering at the hands of a dominant male (Johnson, 2008). He cautions, however, that comparisons between the two events are challenging. Considering the wide range of mutually reinforcing forms of intimate partner violence, including its psychological verbal, physical, and sexual forms, he suggests that it is important to distinguish between the various circumstances under which this type of violence occurs when discussing participation by both genders. He claims that support for violence committed by women in the partner abuse literature does not refer to the same type of violence that battered women experience.

For instance, in what he terms Intimate Terrorism, the abusive partner is controlling, demeaning, and violent, and almost always male (Johnson 2008). Intimate Terrorism is most closely associated with what people know as 'domestic violence.' On the other hand, Violent Resistance occurs when the male partner is dominant and controlling, and the female responds with violence but no attempt at control. Situational Couple Violence occurs when both partners are violent, but only as a reaction to periodic disagreements (Johnson 2008). There is no expression of control or dominance by either partner, and therefore the motivation and consequences of Situational Couple Violence differ significantly from Intimate Terrorism. Situational Couple Violence, Johnson (2008) claims, is the most common type of couple violence and not necessarily to what authors should be referring when they study domestic violence. Finally, in cases of Mutual Violent Resistance, both partners are both violent and controlling (Johnson 2008).

Other scholars contend that intimate partner violence against men is not all retaliatory; that cases exist in which abused males were not previously abusers; and that these cases may be occurring more frequently than we acknowledge (Gelles 2007; Marriott & Byrd 2003;

Migliaccio 2002; Straus 1980; Straus 2006). Few studies have examined instances of intimate

partner violence in which females abused males. Many assume that this is because the instances

of this type of violence are also rare. However an article in Newsweek magazine citing a study

done in 1985, funded by the National Institute of Mental Health, called "Truths about Spouse

Abuse" (Cose 1994) suggests that it may not be as rare an occurrence as is widely assumed.

They suggested that women are just as physically abusive as men; however women's aggressions

against men were limited mainly to situations of pushing and shoving rather than more severe

physical violence that would warrant hospitalization (Cose 1994). This difference in levels of

physical injury may be another reason for the prevailing belief that intimate partner violence by

females is either less frequent or less serious than when females are the victims (Straus 2006).

It is no secret, though, that women are capable of violence. However, as in Johnson's

book (2008), the common assumption is that females are generally violent as a reaction to

previous, or to avoid further victimization. Kruttschnitt and Carbone-Lopez (2006) examined

women's participation as both offenders and victims of violent crime. Their analysis of 106

narratives written by women who were incarcerated for committing acts of violence against

another, they found that women share some of the same motives for committing violent crime as

males. For example, three of the five main motives that were reported in the study were

perceived humiliation or insult, jealousy, and victim precipitation (Kruttschnitt & Carbone-

Lopez 2006). More importantly, although self-defense was a prominent motivation for violence,

it was still reported less often than either disrespect or jealousy. Their findings suggest that, like

men, women are also capable of using violence as a method for resolving a dispute or conflict.

Todd Migliaccio (2002) came to a similar conclusion regarding the motivations of female

abusers in his examination of abused husbands. He analyzed 12 narratives written by men who

claimed to have been abused by their partners. His definition of abuse, using previous literature on domestic violence against women, was a *pattern* of behavior, whether physical, mental, emotional, psychological, verbal, or sexual. He stressed that although previous studies on domestic violence have used the idea of male patriarchy as an explanation for this abuse, he was focusing more broadly on the idea that domestic abuse, whether committed by a male or a female, *was* mainly intended to control or demean the abused (Migliaccio 2002).

This preliminary study indicated that female batterers not only exist, but may also exhibit many of the same characteristics of male abusers. The men's narratives described cycles of abuse that followed the same course regardless of gender of the abuser or abused. According to the battered men, the first stage of abuse is the introduction of violence by the abuser. The introduction traditionally comes, Migliaccio finds, after some kind of major commitment such as marriage. After the violence is initially introduced, it usually escalates systematically. Strikingly similar to what we see in situations of female abuse, even this initial violence against men is usually "accompanied by extreme verbal abuse, which helps to both lower the self-esteem of the abused and convince the battered individuals that the blame for the beatings is at least partially theirs" (Migliaccio 2002: 47). Migliaccio's (2002) findings suggest that Intimate Terrorism *is* committed by females; however his small sample size makes it difficult to generalize these findings on a larger scale and so warrants further investigation.

Straus and Ramirez (2007) also find support for gender symmetry in prevalence of assaults among dating university students. These authors find that females were actually *more* likely to initiate violence against their significant others at younger ages, while as age increased percentages then approached symmetry (Straus & Ramirez 2007). In addition to gender

similarity in overall rates of assault, Straus and Ramirez (2007) also report little gender difference in either severity or frequency of intimate partner violence overall.

This idea of gender similarity in the perpetration, and in some cases *initiation*, of this type of violence has been supported by other authors as well (Capaldi et al. 2007; Marriott & Byrd 2003). What's more, Marriott & Byrd (2003) suggests that what little we do know about female abusers may even be an underrepresentation of the actual problem. As difficult as it may be for women to come forward and/or leave an abusive relationship, men are faced with the added stigma of having been abused by a female (Marriott & Byrd 2003). This threat to their pride and masculinity may make it even more difficult for them to admit they are in an abusive relationship.

The CDC (2009) estimates that over one third of all victims of intimate partner violence, 2.9 million out of 7.7 million total victims, are male. That this phenomenon is more widespread that previously believed may be further supported by the number of support groups and chat rooms that have emerged online which cater to battered men. With 2.9 million victims, whether or not the percentages of male victims will overtake women, and whether or not the situations predictive of this abuse are the same, these men, like any victims, deserve resources dedicated to their protection and a reasonable expectation of personal safety in an intimate partner relationship.

Research Propositions

This dissertation examines the terminology regarding intimate partner violence in an attempt to answer several important research questions: First, how has the use of the terms associated with intimate partner violence changed over time, and can these changes be attributed

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to wider societal changes regarding our treatment of this issue? We have seen above in the examination of the emergence of our awareness of battered women as a social issue that there have been several major social events that I believe to have influenced the appearance of intimate partner violence in the literature. I track these varied terms in an attempt to determine whether their rise and fall in use is connected to social developments such as the battered women's movement, the Violence Against Women Act, and other changing intimate partner violence legislation. It is important to establish a connection between the emergence of public awareness of social problems through their publication and appearance in literature, and resulting social change. This is not only important in terms of social change, but in the ability to predict the course of future social problems as result of similar exposure.

Although gender-neutral terms for this problem such as domestic violence and intimate partner violence are still common, some still argue that the issue itself is not gender-neutral as women are still disproportionately victims, and calling it so is a regression to the times when women's victimization was trivialized (Bograd 1988; Eigenberg 2001). Critics have even claimed that by granting attention to these male victims or to similar arguments that intimate partner violence can be mutual, we risk losing ground on the important headway we have made in the defense of battered women (Kurz 1993). But with more studies addressing this type of violence, it seems possible that men are moving toward the development of their own social problem, separate from their involvement as aggressors against women. This is especially true if number of shelters and helplines available is one indication of the amount of attention devoted to an issue, as it seemed to be in the growth of the battered women's movement.

My next research aim, then, is to determine the extent that our apparent increase in awareness of male victims of domestic violence is reflected in the broader literature. Male

victims seem to just be entering into the public consciousness, so when did this development begin to appear in published works, and have there also been notable changes in the number of resources available to these victims, as was the case for battered women when their case was brought out into the open? In other words, I believe we can use the previous development of the battered women's movement to predict a similar progression for battered men. Particularly, I predict that as we see increases in the frequency of battered men in the literature, we will see corresponding increases in the number of resources that have materialized to aid these victims. It may also be beneficial to compare where battered men are in the timeline of their development as a social issue as compared to women, as I believe that these new victims may have potentially benefitted from the earlier movement paving the way for the social acceptability of bringing these intimate issues out into the open.

Further, the details surrounding the incidence, motivations and characteristics of violence against males have yet to be articulated, particularly in the case of non-retaliatory violence. This is the section of the intimate partner violence literature that is most lacking, and upon which this dissertation is partially focused by asking the following research questions: What role do relational power, control, and dominance play, if any, in motivating intimate partner violence against men? Despite research suggesting that intimate partner violence against males is largely retaliatory, or the result of mutual displays of aggression (Flynn 1990; Johnson 2008), I propose that survey results will show cases in which abuse *is* prolonged and predominantly one-sided, even the result of a dominant female partner exerting her control much like a male abuser would. Relatedly, if such cases exist, then we should also see similar situations to female victims, in which the abuse escalates in severity and frequency over the course of the partnership. Although these cases may not be the majority, I seek to establish the presence of these cases which,

especially in a sample this small, would itself be an important contribution to our knowledge of this phenomenon.

Claire M. Renzetti (1997) addressed a similarly underrepresented domestic violence topic in the literature which is also relevant here; abuse within same-sex couples. Renzetti reports that, little do we know, rates of intimate partner violence in lesbian and gay couples may actually be comparable to those of heterosexual couples (Renzetti 1997). She suggests that the literature indicates some similarities between same-sex intimate partner violence and heterosexual domestic abuse, for example that same-sex abuse also tends to recur and intensify over time. However more importantly, Renzetti introduces some very unique differences such as the complications introduced by AIDS in terms of dependency on a partner, and dependency based on a fear of being 'outed' that clearly support the need for further investigation into this neglected area of family violence. Males can be victims of abuse both in traditional and same-sex relationships, so this paper does not limit the subject pool only to those men suffering abuse at the hands of a female partner. However, although same sex relationships are included, the focus of this study is oriented toward the victim and circumstances surrounding the abuse, so the gender of the abuser is addressed as a secondary issue.

Finally, this paper examines what form(s) episodes of abuse predominantly take (physical, psychological, emotional) in intimate partner violence against men. Because male abusers have been characterized mainly as not only physical aggressors, but also manipulative emotionally and sexually, it is also important to establish the extent to which abusers in the cases of male victims display the same properties. Based on the literature it would be logical to predict that female abusers in particular would predominantly resort to physical abuse in self-defense or retaliation. However, if the above research propositions are true regarding the presence of

dominant and manipulative female partners, it is also possible that the present survey also includes some instances in which verbal, emotional and sexual abuse are employed against male victims with the intention to demean and intimidate.

The intimate partner violence literature is understandably biased toward the male abuser/female victim cases, and the varying attentions paid to that issue over the years is a topic on which I focus. However, my study will also inform the battered women's movement, as the typologies I develop will have applications for understanding the extent to which male violence against women stems from (1) more broad-based patriarchal views of male dominance versus (2) more situational and relational factors straining modern intimate relationships.

My dissertation, addressing the questions above, is important for understanding the role that societal changes have in affecting our discourse about social problems and the potential to begin to address those problems through visibility of the issue. Information from the survey of battered men also aids in the development of elements of a typology of male victims, particularly highlighting those similarities and differences between male and female violence based on our already extensive knowledge of women victims. Through this typology my dissertation will not only contribute to the intimate partner violence literature that information which until now been minimal for male victims, but by bringing attention to the resources available to these men it will also help push forward an agenda for expanding this support system, which has until recently been limited by its central focus on battered women.

The ambiguity surrounding the true frequency of this issue alone warrants further investigation. It is also worthwhile to determine what distinctive features characterize these situations and their participants. The overall focus of this dissertation is to compare the situations of battered men to the main themes that have emerged from the development of the

battered women's movement and our shifting attention towards it, with an important component of the comparison of male and female victims being distinguishing between random acts of violence or situational outbursts and systematic abuse. Consistent with Migliaccio's (2002) study and Johnson's (2008) description of Intimate Terrorism, I am particularly interested in whether or not cases of abuse are consistent, long-term, and intended to demean or control the abused, in contrast to random violence used merely to express anger or frustration.

This type of violence is occurring and has been unaddressed for too long. Straus (2006) suggests that the issue has not been a lack of data on these victims in the past; only that the topic is specifically avoided. These victims deserve equal attention paid toward the building of theory in this area as has been enjoyed by female victims, and the development of as many services in their support as have been extended to battered women so that this abuse does not continue to go unreported (Straus and Ramirez 2007; Gelles 2007). This dissertation will contribute to the intimate partner violence literature by adding valuable information about male victims of this violence. In addition, however, what I discover here regarding the motivational and situational contexts of male victims of intimate partner violence may also expand our knowledge of these same processes at work in situations of battered women.

CHAPTER 3. METHODS

This chapter will discuss the methods used to answer the questions regarding our changing discourse about intimate partner violence, male victims' appearance in that discourse, and the online survey used to compare the experience of those victims to that of females. The Internet has put a seemingly endless wealth of information within our reach like never before, and is particularly suited to survey research seeking access to marginalized populations that have been previously inaccessible. Here I will discuss how this paper taps into that wealth of information using the combination of an online survey to explore the unique experiences faced by male victims, and Google's new NGram search tool to analyze the rise and fall of terms associates with intimate partner violence in published works. This chapter will also outline the survey design and data collection procedures involved in the online survey, and the role this survey has in contributing to a typology of male victimization that can be compared to the experiences of women.

Google's NGram Word Corpus

Using Google's NGram word corpus, we can now add a visual element to the highly debated and ever-fluctuating issue of intimate partner violence. This program allows us to quantitatively track changes not only in the varied terms of this issue, but in particular the emergence of battered men therein. This is the first step toward connecting those changes to the rise of feminism and the battered women's movement, the gradual increase in shelter and support systems for these victims (both male and female) following its status as a social problem, and as the result of major changes in legislation such as the status of marital rape, mandatory arrest

laws, and gender neutral definitions of rape by the major source of crime data in the United States.

To answer the question of how the terms associated with battered men and women have changed over time and if those changes occurred in conjunction with larger societal shifts, in addition to when battered men began appearing in the literature, the Google NGram corpus provides a unique way of monitoring these changes. By simply typing different search terms into the NGram viewer, I am able to view graphs of the longitudinal fluctuations in the number of times a certain set of terms or phrase has appeared in published works. This is especially useful for comparing the fluctuations of different terms to one another over time, as you can also compare multiple terms or phrases in one graph.

Since 2004, Google has digitized 11% of all books ever published, a total number over 15 million titles. Over two trillion words are included for analysis throughout the published works (Michel et al. 2010), enabling the tracking of frequency of word usage over time, the evolution of syntax, and analysis of parts of speech (Lin et al. 2012: 169). With digital access to this representative sample of published texts the content is now searchable, which is what allows for the creation of graphs of the frequency of appearance of certain terms and phrases particularly pertinent to this study.

This paper utilizes the Modern English corpus, comprised of books published between 1800 and 2000. It is according to the developers "the most carefully curated" of the corpora (Michel et al. 2010: 16). Based on a list of search terms compiled throughout the literature review process, several searches were conducted comparing the frequency of the key terms associated with intimate partner violence for the purpose of the current study. Terms included but were not limited to 'spousal abuse,' 'battered men' and 'battered women,' 'domestic

violence,' and 'intimate partner violence' and 'intimate partner abuse.' The resulting graphs and comparisons are presented in Chapter 4, and are illustrative of the proportion of words for which each search term accounts in published books for each year.

To increase the accuracy of the sample of texts in the Modern English corpus used for this study, Michel et al. (2010) performed several processes meant to clean the data. For example, first filtered out were recurring titles such as anthologies with multiple works and serial publications such as journals and government reports. They also filtered out titles with poor optical character recognition (OCR) quality; the method used to digitize texts for searchability. Lastly, filters were applied for language consistency, and publication years before 1550 were excluded to further reduce inconsistencies that were more prevalent in early years (Michel et al. 2010).

Multiple corpora, including the Modern English used here, were then created and sorted by language, subject, and the number of search terms in a string. A 1-gram corpus is one in which each search contains only one term. Two- and 3-grams enable search of sets of two and three word strings such as 'domestic abuse,' or 'intimate partner violence' respectively. Once a term or set of terms is searched, the resulting graph, like those reproduced in this paper, illustrates the frequency of the appearance of the word or phrase longitudinally (Michel et al. 2010).

The ability to essentially perform an instant content analysis of a representative sample of all books published and digitized since 1800 is an ideal use of technology for studies like this, and allows the current examination of the emergence and subsequent rise and fall of certain terms in social consciousness. How often these terms have appeared in publication, and when, provides the answer to the first two research questions regarding our changing terms for intimate

partner violence and whether these changes coincide with larger social changes. In addition, the Google NGram corpus is an ideal source of reference for when battered men began to appear in published works and their respective place in the literature.

Online Survey Construction and Data Collection

This study also seeks to establish characteristics toward a typology of intimate partner violence against male victims using an online victimization survey. This is important to address the questions of power, dominance and manipulation present in cases of male victims' intimate relationships, as well as the forms of abuse present in these situations and how the violence changes over the course of the relationship. The ability to efficiently access marginalized populations through internet research is particularly pertinent to this study, as battered men, possibly even more so than women, may be discouraged from coming forward with their victimization by embarrassment, fear, or risk of stigmatization.

A unique benefit of the Internet for survey data collection is the inherent anonymity that the Internet provides. Especially when dealing with marginalized populations and sensitive issues, the ability to guarantee anonymity is important to increase not only participation but trust on the part of the participant. Cantrell and Lupinacci (2007) addressed anonymity in their study on survivors of early childhood cancer, and they believe the anonymity of online surveys had a positive effect on data quality. Respondents were able to answer sensitive questions more freely and with confidence, and social response and researcher biases were therefore also reduced (Cantrell & Lupinacci 2007). Michael Birnbaum (2004) also reviews the pros and cons of Internet research, citing the ease and efficiency with which one can recruit either large heterogeneous, or rare and specialized samples as one of its pros. In addition, data collection

over the Internet is possible around the clock and without typical geographic constraints (Birnbaum 2004; Cantrell & Lupinacci 2007), and when properly programmed information can be automatically stored and immediately ready for analysis (Birnbaum 2004).

Data collection for this study takes advantage of these benefits through the use of an online survey that collected descriptive information about the individuals involved and the sample, as well as the incidence and extent of partner violence over the course of the abusive relationship. Because of the sensitive nature of the topic, however, this study required a full review by the Institutional Review Board (IRB) at Louisiana State University. In order to protect the anonymity of participants, several changes were made to the original survey proposal. Despite the anonymity the Internet naturally affords participants, participants might still be in danger from current abusers who have access to their computers' browsing history, potentially giving away their visit to my sites. I therefore included instructions for deleting Internet browser history on the main page of my site so respondents would be warned of this danger and given instructions on how to avoid it.

Another step was to build a chat room for study participants who wanted to contribute further to the study post-survey, instead of soliciting voluntary email correspondence. Because an email correspondence would also leave a tangible record of participants' involvement, I instead set up a private and anonymous chat room that participants could visit if they so chose. Finally, I took special measures to ensure that informed consent was obtained in the absence of the ability to acquire signatures online. These changes and other procedural challenges unique to online research are further discussed below.

A website devoted to this study was created to host the survey instrument at

www.BatteredMenSurvey.com. The website is hosted on iPage.com which is a leading server

based on user reviews and website hosting rankings.   It was ranked high on user friendliness,

particularly for first-time site builders, and offers high levels of security, attractive services such

as unlimited disk space, free site building tools, free registration of your chosen domain, and has

a relatively low monthly fee. It also offers 24-hour live support by customer service

representatives in the U.S., which was valuable for someone without previous website-creating

experience.

The home page introduces potential participants to the research topic and to me, and

immediately provides instructions on deleting browser history for various types of Internet users.

We provided these instructions in an effort to protect participants who may currently be victims

of abuse from suffering further abuse by partners who discover their interest in this research.

BatteredMenSurvey.com also includes pages for the Statement of Informed Consent, contact

information for both me and the IRB at Louisiana State University, proof of IRB approval for the

project, a link to the survey instrument, and links to the study chat room and other relevant

websites that provide support for battered men; particularly those that aided in the distribution of

information about my project.

Respondents visit the study website, and are directed to read the Statement of Informed

consent before completing the survey. In the absence of the ability to acquire signatures, the

informed consent statement explained to potential respondents their rights and warned them that

by submitting a completed survey they indicate that they have read the consent statement and

agree to participation in the survey. Further, in order to get to the survey instrument, participants

must click a link that says 'Yes, I have read the Statement of Informed Consent and I am ready to complete the survey!' The survey instrument is also password protected at the request of the license holders of the Revised Conflict Tactics Scale (CTS-2), which composes a section of the survey instrument, to prevent its unauthorized and unintended use. This password protection has benefits beyond the protection of licensed material in that it also discourages completion of the survey by Internet users not in the target population, and by embedding the password into the bottom paragraph of the Statement of Informed Consent, also ensures that participants have read it before completing the survey. One drawback of this required password protection is that the multiple steps required to access the survey may have been discouraged some participants, including those who did not read the Statement of Informed Consent carefully or were unaware of where to locate the password.

The Survey Instrument

Through the collection of survey data I contribute to our knowledge of the complex processes at work in situations of intimate partner violence against men. Specifically, I address issues of control and dominance, escalation of abuse over time and men's motivations for remaining in the relationship, and finally the presence of different mutually reinforcing forms of violence.

The instrument is an adaptation of the CTS-2, previously used in the study of intimate partner violence, and some questions of my own design. The benefit of adapting an instrument previously used is an increase in validity and the possibility of closer comparison of the resulting data, which may more effectively bring to light specific similarities and differences between male and female victims. However, the addition of questions of my own design also facilitates

the level of detailed information being sought, allowing for more open-ended questions that are oriented toward depth of response and development of a typological theory.

Section 1 of the survey deals with standard descriptive information such as age, race, sex, income, and relationship and employment status of both the victim and his abusive partner, which is an initial attempt to answer the first research question regarding educational attainment and workforce participation. The additional complexities of race and socioeconomic status (SES) patterns among abusive partners has also been examined in the intimate partner abuse literature (Black et al. 2011; Nowotny & Graves 2013) and Section 1 addresses those issues. This section also includes any history of abuse in the victim's family, whether between parents or directed toward the victim. As again the connection has been made between abuse suffered as a child creating a continuing pattern into adulthood (Lee at al. 2013) among male perpetrators, it is important to determine if male victims follow these same basic patterns.

Similarly, Section 1 asks about alcohol and drug consumption frequency and history of arrests and/or incarceration of both partners to determine whether such factors could also have contributed to an abuse situation. Alcohol and drug use in particular has been well documented as a catalyst for intimate partner violence (see, for example, Demetrios et al. 1999; Hart 2007). This section also establishes the living situation during the relationship, the sharing of household roles in the setting of cohabitation, and whether the relationship is ongoing. All of this builds a baseline level of information on the possible roles of current and past situational factors in contributing to a setting that fosters abuse, and also factors such as employment and domestic roles of both partners, which could contribute to an unequal balance of power and control in the relationship.

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Section 2 addresses the second and third research questions and more specifically examines the circumstances surrounding the violent relationship and his previous experience with violent relationships, containing questions regarding the status of the most recent abusive relationship and how long it lasted, and the incidence, frequency, and severity of violent episodes. Several questions dedicated to whether one or both partners were aggressors, how early in the relationship the abuse started, and its severity early in the relationship versus toward the end attempts to establish an overall type of intimate partner abuse present in the relationship. This is an attempt to distinguish between those respondents who most likely experienced situational violent outbursts, and those who were victims of prolonged abuse over the course of a long-term relationship. For example, situational couple violence, in which both partners are aggressors and severity of violence would likely be consistent throughout the relationship, versus intimate terrorism, which involves calculated dominance and manipulation on the part of only one partner, and escalates in severity throughout the course of the relationship (Johnson 2008).

This section also contains the Revised Conflict Resolution Scale (CTS-2), meant to indicate the respondent's conflict resolution tactics and role in the abuse. This instrument is copyrighted by Western Psychological Services (WPS) and special adapted licensing was obtained for its online use. This scale has been previously given to dating college couples in the International Dating Violence Study by Murray A. Straus (2004) and the International Dating Violence Consortium, and provides a more in-depth measure not only of the pattern and severity of the violence itself, but of both partners level of involvement in the relationship and subsequent abuse, their willingness to attempt to resolve conflicts *without* the use of violence, and to tease out submissive tendencies and level commitment, or investment, in the relationship. Responses to this scale can also be used to speak to the power distribution in the relationship, which is an

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important factor in determining whether or not male victims' situations mirror those of battered women.

Finally, Section 3 contains several open-ended questions in which the respondents can share experiences in their own words. This section provides an opportunity for respondents to elaborate on issues *they* feel were most important in their abusive experience. Particularly, respondents are asked to elaborate on circumstances that would typically have led to a fight in their relationship, and conversely in what ways they feel that they were fulfilled by the relationship or in which their needs were met. The question of positive aspects of the relationship is intended to give some insight into what may have supported respondents remaining in the relationship in spite of abuse. These responses, which support and build upon the closed-ended questions in Sections 1 and 2, are important for not only identifying issues that are most meaningful to the victims, but also issues which may not have been addressed adequately in the survey and are worth further investigation in future research.

The survey instrument is hosted on www.QuestionPro.com for several reasons. The most important factor was the password protection of the survey instrument. Because the CTS-2 is a copyrighted instrument and special licensing was obtained for its use, the WPS copyright holders required that the instrument be password protected to prevent unauthorized use. This was a special requirement adapted for online use of the survey and is not typically necessary, as previous survey users have employed paper surveys that limit the risk of the instrument becoming widely available for copyright infringement; a greater risk when it is published online. Provisions also had to be made to place copyright information on every page of the survey that contained parts of the CTS-2, which was included in the heading of the page.

QuestionPro allows for password protection of surveys, easily downloadable results and reports, and extra features within the survey instrument such as skip logic. Skip logic is important to reduce redundancy so that respondents are automatically redirected past questions that do not apply to them based on their answer to a previous question. Finally, again important for a first-time user, support is available by phone or live chat anytime.

The Project Chat Room

At the end of the survey participants are prompted to visit a private chat website hosted by the domain www.Chatzy.com. This is a private chat room intended only for survey respondents, and is also password protected. The password is made available only at the end of the survey, which helps maintain a safe environment in which victims can share their stories anonymously with other victims and not fear judgment from outside sources. The original study protocol proposed soliciting participants' email addresses following the survey only for those willing to be contacted further. The purpose of this was to follow up with participants who were willing to provide more in-depth information and potentially expand on survey questions in a semi-structured email interview format. However, because emails could potentially leave a more tangible record of this direct communication and the topic of my research, which in the case of ongoing abuse may put participants at increased risk, anonymous chat room was used as a safer more anonymous form of exchange. Benefits of a chat room over email are that with a paid membership you can ensure that a chat room is private, participants can choose their own screen/user names without having to disclose their real names, and unlike email it is easier to remove record of visiting the site by the deleting of browser history. Possibly due to the length of the survey and the intensive nature of the questions, none of the participants chose to solicit conversations with me or other participants in the chat room.

<u>Data Collection</u>

To encourage participation I solicited help from other websites that cater to my target population by asking them to post links to my research page on their sites (Cantrell & Lupinacci 2007). In return, I offered to reciprocally provide a link to their groups on my study website to increase awareness of their services among my participants. I contacted the administrators of 47 websites or Facebook groups that included, but were not limited to, those with open chat rooms for battered men, online support groups, and websites devoted to providing information as to where these victims can go to obtain services. Some sites catered specifically to battered men, while some were open to victims of all forms of family violence while specifically stating that victims of any gender or sexual orientation were welcome. Because of this targeted approach this is not a random sample. I only received responses from 7 website administrators, only 5 of which were positive and agreed to post my link. A few of the sites that agreed to provide my website information to their users are: Stop Abuse For Everyone (www.safe4all.org), The Laurel Men's Resource Centre (www.mens-resource-centre.ca/), and South Valley Sanctuary (http://southvalleysanctuary.com). The full list of those sites contacted and those that agreed to post my information is available upon request.

Anonymity, although unique to online interaction and for many reasons an asset to the current project, can also be detrimental to the validity of the information collected if it leads to misrepresentation. Fortunately the survey website tracks repeat participation so that risk is largely eliminated, but misrepresentation is still a factor. It is a known issue of self-report data in general, however, and certain steps can be taken to minimize this problem.   Hines, Brown and Dunning (2007) argue that men who are participants of domestic violence would be unlikely to use domestic violence helplines, and have no possibility of gain from being untruthful, which

should also be the case for similar abuse support websites. In addition, more than 75% of the callers in their study were calling on behalf of themselves (Hines, Brown & Dunning 2007). So, by advertising my study on websites specifically established to provide help and support for battered men, it is similarly likely that the majority of the visitors to those specific sites –and thus participants in the study- are members of the target population. Descriptive information contained in the survey will help to identify participants who are not members of the target population and those surveys will be removed from the analysis. Finally, Hines, Brown and Dunning (2007) argue that similar methodology has been commonly used to study battered women with no question as to the believability of their accounts largely because, as it is for battered men now, we make do with the best information available to us at the time.

I also attempted to increase awareness about my project using traditional methods of online advertising including Google search term advertising and Facebook advertisements. The Google search term advertising is two-fold. Paying for keywords to appear in search results allows some control over where advertisements appear. Additional payment can also ensure that a site appears highlighted in the special 'advertisements' section at the very top of the results page when those same keywords are searched. This is a targeted attempt at reaching the population of interest, as advertisements were limited to search results from keywords such as battered men, male victims, intimate partner violence, and similar. Again soliciting participants among a population already seeking out information on related topics.

Google advertising charges per click, so I was only charged each time someone clicked my targeted link. I was able to set a maximum amount that I was willing to pay per click and/or per day, and once that amount was reached my site was no longer be advertised that day. In addition, I was also competing with other sites for spots on the first page of results. Whichever

sites pay the most appear highest on the list. All of this can lead to this type of advertising being a relatively costly method in order to truly maximize your visibility. I advertised through Google for about a month, and in that time period according to the report, received over 1,200 clicks on my site but over that same amount of time only 2-3 completed surveys. Because the number of visits to my website were not necessarily translating into completed surveys, it did not appear an efficient method of advertising for my purposes considering my budget. Similarly, the advertisements put on Facebook resulted in even fewer visitors to my site.

Ultimately my study garnered 25 viewed surveys, 23 partially completed surveys, and 9 fully completed for a completion rate of 39%. Of those incomplete, most dropped out of the survey following the demographic and background questions, without completing the abuse or CTS-2 sections. Several factors may have influenced the low rate of participation, not the least of which is the difficulty reaching the target population. Also, the survey's length and time taken to complete, in addition to the multiple steps needed to access the survey and it's password may have also been a deterrent to some. These and other limitations are discussed further in Chapter 4.

Scoring the CTS-2

The CTS-2 is designed to measure conflict and conflict resolution tactics within an intimate relationship. Each item on the instrument asks how often a certain action, behavior, or event occurred in the last year, both on the part of the respondent and on the part of his intimate partner. For example, item 7 is "I threw something at my partner that could hurt" which is immediately followed by a corresponding item 8, "My partner threw something at me that could hurt." Respondents then choose from the following frequency categories: [How often did this happen in the past year?] Once, Twice, 3-5 times, 6-10 times, 11-20 times, More than 20 times,

Not in the past year but it happened before, Never (Straus et al. 2003). Events range from emotional and psychological abuse and coercion, to physical and sexual abuse and injuries suffered.

There 78 items that make up the instrument, each of which corresponds to one of five scales, or characteristics of conflict between intimate partners: Negotiation, Psychological Aggression, Physical Assault, Injury, and Sexual Coercion (Straus et al. 2003). The Negotiation scale is intended to measure attempts to solve arguments through discussion and communication. Talking through disagreements and compromise are key themes of these items. Items pertaining to the Psychological Aggression scale deal primarily with acts of verbal and non-verbal aggression as opposed to physical aggression. For example, "I called my partner fat or ugly," or "I stomped out of the room or house or yard during a disagreement" (Straus et al. 2003: 25). The Physical Assault items relate to acts of physical aggression ranging from twisting hair to more severe acts such as using a knife or gun against a partner, which leads into the Injury scale items which measure minor (bruise or small cut) to serious (broken bone or something that required medical attention) injuries sustained during a physical conflict (Straus et al. 2003). Lastly, the Sexual Coercion scale measures unwanted sexual activity into which a partner feels forced. Again the severity of these items range from insistence, to threats of force, to the use of physical force in order to compel a partner to engage in a sexual act (Straus et al. 2003).

Responses to each item are assigned a numerical value which corresponds to the frequency of the event. Odd numbered questions referring to the actions of the respondents, and those even numbered responses referring to their partners are scored separately, ultimately giving each partner an overall numerical score in each of the five scales (Straus et al. 2003). This numerical coding gives researchers the ability not only to directly compare results to previous

administrations of the survey, but also to paint an overall picture of the characteristics of the

relationship, the actions of each partner individually, and which tactics are employed most often

in response to situations. The results of the CTS-2 and a more detailed discussion of each of

these scales appear in Chapter 4.

CHAPTER 4. FINDINGS PART 1: CHANGING TERMINOLOGY OF VIOLENCE BETWEEN INTIMATES

This chapter will present the resulting graphs of the broader literature analysis and the implications of those graphs based on their contribution to the intimate partner violence literature. I attempt to trace the development of the social problems of intimate partner violence against women and men by exploring the changing use of the terms associated with these issues in conjunction with major social changes. I also explore the entrance of battered men into the literature, and whether or not there has been a resulting increase in support services available to men as victims, as there was for battered women.

Societal Change and the Variable Terminology of Intimate Partner Violence

The results of the Google Ngram search term analysis are presented below. Terms were selected through the literature review process to illustrate the evolving way that our language has described this type of abuse. The graphs below visually outline these important changes.

The first term, 'battered women,' represents the origin of a wider consciousness surrounding this issue in our society. Consistent with the literature review, a case-insensitive search of this term doesn't begin to show an increase until post 1970. The Journal of Marriage and Family published the first article about battered women in 1971, after which we see in the graph a consistently sharp increase to 1975 when the women's movement began and continued through the early 80's to gain momentum (Gillespie et al. 2013; Tierney 1982). Despite a brief dip, the term's usage is renewed in the mid-80's, which is consistent with the early passage of mandatory arrest laws, and again around 1994, which can likely be attributed to the passage of the Violence Against Women Act (Eigenberg 2001; Meyer-Emerick 2001). As you see from

Figure 4.1 below, this increase again continues sharply until the late 1990's, possibly when gender-neutral terms to describe abuse become more fashionable.
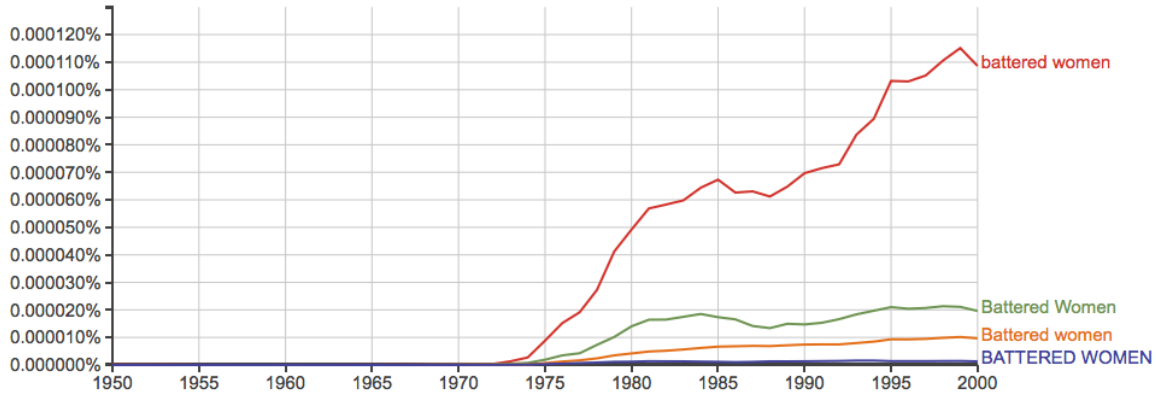

Figure 4.1: Battered Women, Case-Insensitive NGram. 1950-2000.

A cursory search of the texts included in these results between 1950 and 1981 produce a wealth of information as expected about female victims of domestic violence and women in abusive relationships. The search terms with capital letters are generally representing of texts with those terms in or as part of the title, of which there are far fewer than terms included in the body of the works. Some of the themes that are explored are women as victims of oppression or as lacking in access to mental health resources. Also included in these results are a very few publications examining women who kill their spouses after prolonged abuse, and many resources for women's self-defense classes or hotlines, particularly around the early 1980's, such as Community Shelters for Battered Women: Factors Relating to Use, Disposition, and Follow-up, by Nancy Scheer, and Fundamentals of Crisis Counseling by William Getz. This seems to indicate that the amount of resources available to women increased quickly from a time not long before that the issue wasn't even discussed.

In later years, between 1982 and 1996, the number of results increases noticeably examining women who kill their spouses or significant others, with prior battering named as a

catalyst. Examples include <u>When Battered Women Kill</u>, by Angela Browne, or <u>Battered Women</u> <u>Who Kill: Psychological Self-Defense as a Legal Justification</u>, by Charles Patrick Ewing. Also in this time period we begin to see a few results pointing to police or law enforcement responses to this issue, as well as public policies addressing the problem like in Elizabeth M. Schneider's <u>Legal Reform Efforts to Assist Battered Women: Past, Present and Future</u>. It would be expected that as laws are being passed addressing this issue such as the Violence Against Women Act, social and legal responses would be following.

I also graphed the two terms 'wife abuse' and 'husband abuse.' Predictably, both graphs seen below in Figures 4.2 and 4.3, respectively, demonstrate the dramatic increase in usage following the mid-1970's women's movement. The wife abuse graph is particularly illustrative of sharp increases at key points in the history of the development of this issue. Not only does the term begin its increase in the early to mid-1970's, but we also see a spike in the late 1980's right when we would begin to see the effects of changing arrest legislation, and again in the mid 1990's around the time of the Violence Against Women Act.
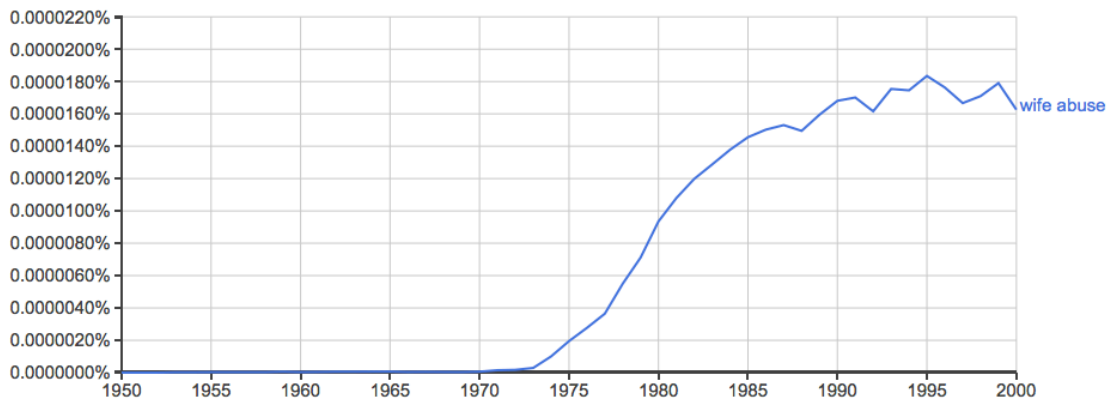

Figure 4.2: Wife Abuse NGram. 1950-2000

'Husband abuse' peaks slightly later than 'wife abuse' just after 1980. Notably, although the graphs appear to have similar trajectories, with the rapid inclines beginning at almost exactly

the same year, the proportions of 'wife abuse' compared to the use of 'battered women' (Figure 4.1) suggests that the latter was the term of choice. At it's highest, 'wife abuse' reaches only .000018% to 'battered women's .00012% high. In addition, husband abuse is the only graphed term that shows an overall decline. This could be due to the changes in the context in which the term is used.
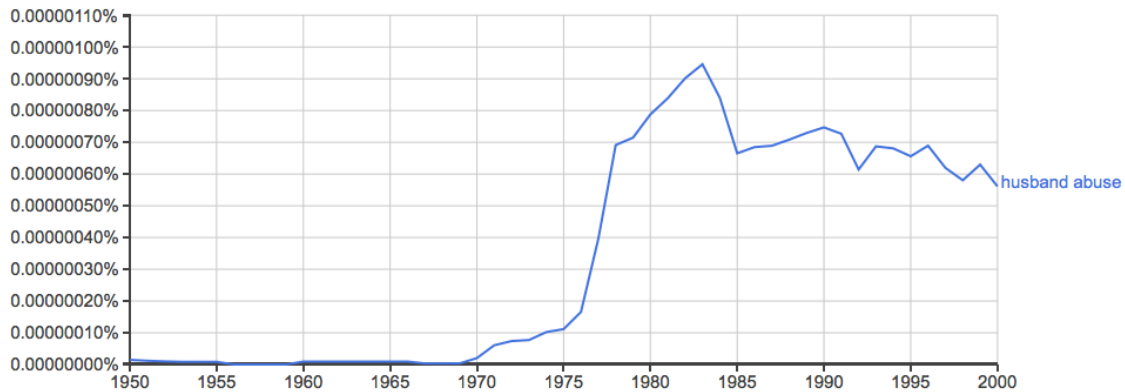

Figure 4.3: Husband Abuse NGram. 1950-2000.

A brief review of the publications in which wife abuse appears indicated that the majority of publications are, as expected, in the intended context. In some cases, the terms appear in the same publications as the earlier search of the battered women term. Husband abuse, however, in addition to appearing with much less frequency as compared to the corresponding female term (as shown in Figure 4.4 below) also appears very infrequently in the intended victimization context. Much more likely is the appearance of this term in the context of husband as batterer, as in a 'husband's abuse' of his wife, which is how it's used in Jennifer Baker Flemming's Stopping Wife Abuse: A Guide to the Emotional, Psychological, and Legal Implications ... For the Abused Woman and Those Helping Her. Despite a few publications that suggest husband abuse with the man as the victim is possible, the majority of these appearances still cast females as victims and males as abusers. Unlike the battered men term discussed below, this context is

true of the term husband abuse even well into the later years of the results. This could also explain the overall decline of the use of the term. It is possible that its decreased use corresponded with increased attention to male victims, which may have influenced those using the term in the context of male batterers to switch terms to avoid being misinterpreted.

Figure 4.4: Husband Abuse, Wife Abuse NGram. 1800-2000.

The graphs for 'domestic violence' (Figure 4.5) and 'domestic abuse' (Figure 4.6) are similar to one another, again increasing dramatically post 1975. It was suggested that prior to that time 'domestic violence' meant violence within the country as opposed to abroad (Tierney 1982), which is supported by an examination of the specific texts appearing early in the graph. Resulting titles are The U.S. Democratic Review discussing enforcing a national constitution, or, War Powers of the President: and the Legislative Powers of Congress in Relation to Rebellion, Treason and Slavery, by William Whiting, indicating that this type of violence appears in the literature in terms of widespread use of violence by governments, for example, rather than in an intimate partner setting. This explains it's small peaks earlier in the graph.

In later years, however, the context of the term shifts. Particularly in the years leading up to those of interest for this study, domestic violence is used in the context of abuse within the home. Again, this type of violence is not necessarily restricted to intimate partners, as it could

also extend to children within the home, as is the case for <u>Child Abuse, Domestic Violence, and</u> <u>Animal Abuse: Linking the Circles of Compassion for Prevention and Intervention</u> by edited by Frank R. Ascione and Phil Arkow. But the references in this time period are largely among couples.
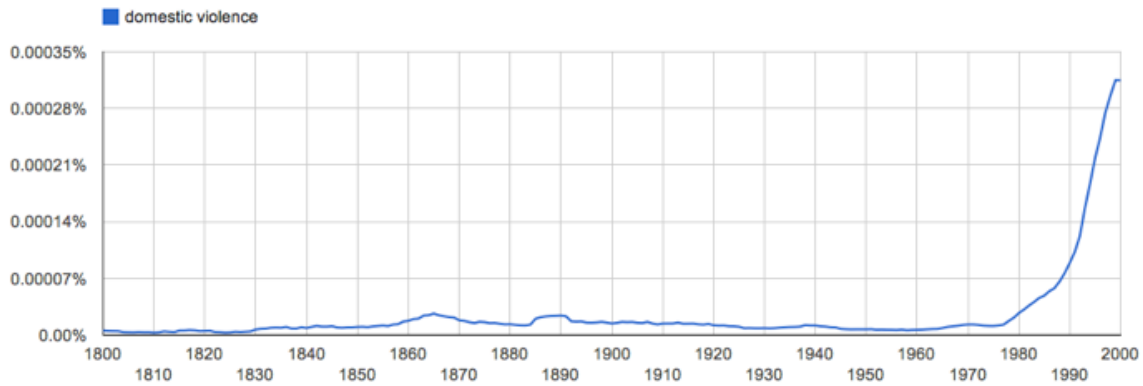

Figure 4.5: Domestic Violence NGram. 1800-2000.

Figure 4.6: Domestic Abuse NGram. 1950-2000.
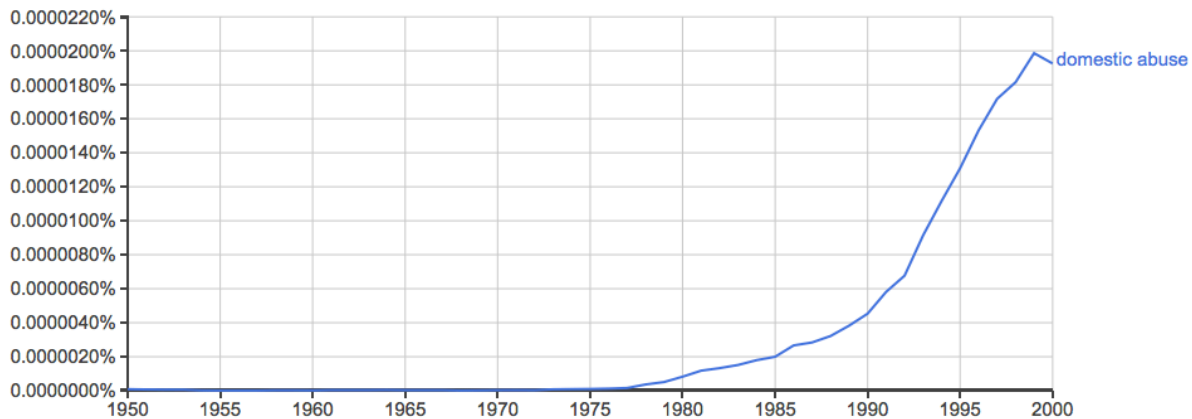
This graph is another that particularly importantly illustrates the potential influence of legal changes in society such as mandatory arrest, which is one of the main contexts in which the criminal justice system speaks of domestic violence. Although the gradual increase in this term's use begins in the mid 1970's, a steeper incline begins in the late 1980's. Like the term

domestic violence, we also see a similar pattern for domestic abuse. After its consistently sharp increase, however, the use of the term 'domestic abuse' (Figure 4.6) appears to begin a decline just before 2000.

This late decline is also apparent in the term 'spousal abuse,' graphed below in Figure 4.7. This term shows a significantly later spike than the previous terms, and may be a visual representation of our movement toward gender-neutral terms. Indeed, the specific texts referenced in this graph illustrate that early on it its appearance and use – particularly in mid to late 80's- it referred primarily to female victims, although often the gender is not stated but simply assumed. Later on its appearance, however, like other terms associated with male victims, the references are split between those of female victims and those of male. Some references speak to each sex as victims within the same publication.

Figure 4.7: Spousal Abuse NGram. 1950-2000.

Small declines can be seen in many of the previous terms toward the end of the plots, as even seen above with spousal abuse although itself a gender neutral term, coinciding with the idea that these terms were about to fall out of usage in favor of more gender and relationship neutral terms such as 'intimate partner violence' (Figure 4.8) and 'intimate partner abuse' (Figure 4.9). On cue, as we witness this decline in gendered terms, 'intimate partner violence'

and 'intimate partner abuse' spring sharply into usage according to the graphs below and give no indication of decline.
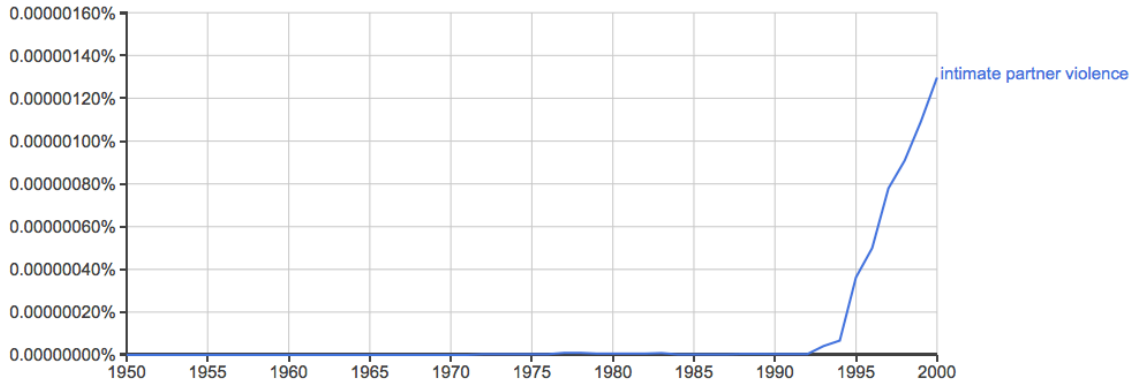
Figure 4.8: Intimate Partner Violence NGram. 1950-2000.
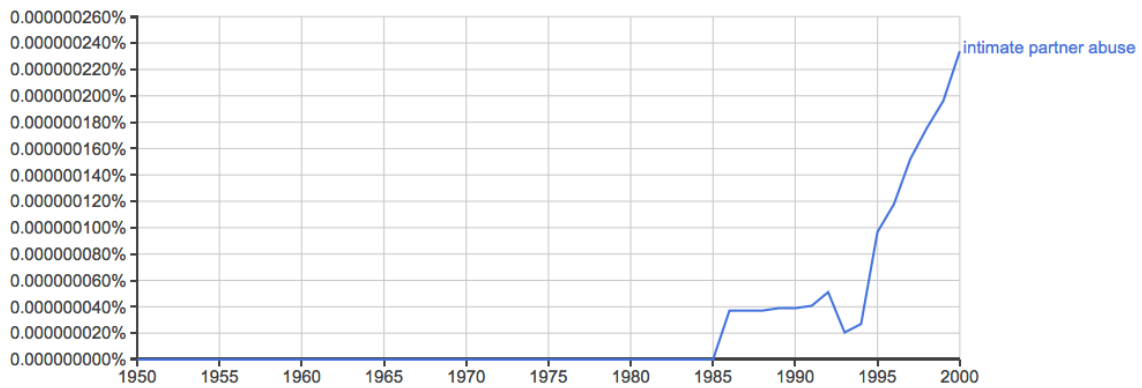
Figure 4.9: Intimate Partner Abuse NGram. 1950-2000.

This dramatic increase in both terms also coincides precisely with the 1994 passage of the Violence Against Women Act (Figure 4.10) (Eigenberg 2001; Meyer-Emerick 2001), which may suggest that although focused on female victims, it was still important to switch to terms that were also not specifically limited to married couples.

Figure 4.11 below combines some of the major terms examined here for the years in question. Overall these graphs illustrate our changing preferences toward methods of describing

this type of abuse as it pertains to women and men, with domestic violence a clear leader, and battered women second most prolific.

Figure 4.10: Intimate Partner Abuse, Intimate Partner Violence NGram. 1970-2000.

Importantly, although domestic violence was an early term used and likely originally applied largely to female victims, it is still a gender-neutral term which could explain its maintaining wide usage. Likewise, domestic abuse can also carry the connotation of mutual couple violence, which is often the context in which male victims are viewed.
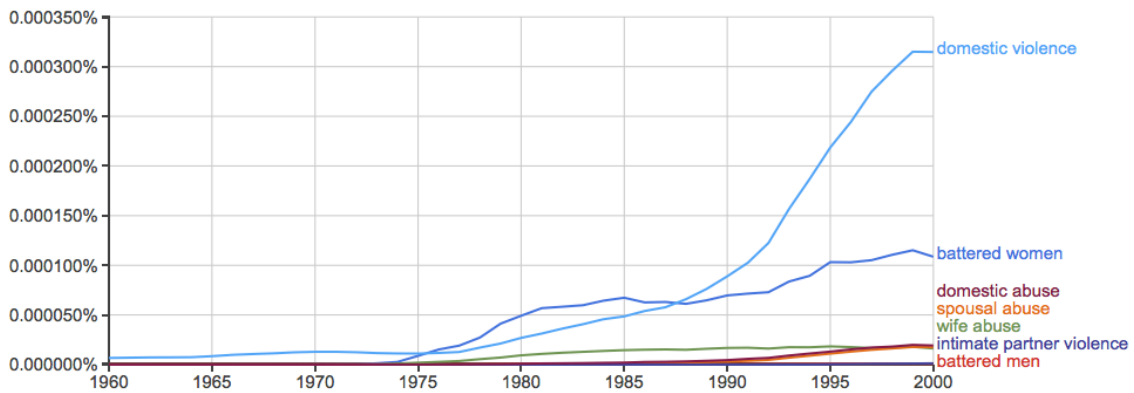

Figure 4.11: Combined Terms NGram. 1960-2000.

It does appear that major increases in our published discussion of this issue corresponded with major social changes such as the battered women's movement, the passage of major laws such as mandatory arrest, and the Violence Against Women Act in 1994. Also importantly, as

some terms began to show slight signs of decline, as predicted gender- and relationship-neutral terms began their increased and, according to the graphs above, show signs of continuing that rise.

The Emergence of Battered Men

Finally, I examine the term 'battered men' and its appearance in published works. Figures 4.12a and 4.12b represent two date ranges for the 'battered men' term. The NGram in Figure 4.12a for the term 'battered men' at first glance this looks to have spiked earlier, however the scale of this graph indicates that percentages of the appearance of this term are significantly lower than the previous 'battered women,' even at the highest point in the range.

Figure 4.12a: Battered Men NGram. 1800-2000.

When you graph the two together in Figure 4.13 this difference becomes apparent. The term battered men does appear much earlier on than battered women, however in the context of the publications in which it appears, its use is not within the intimate partner literature. Earlier publications that speak of battered men center around men battered by sea and war, in a state ranging from injury to at least untidiness, such as in the examples of Men From the Sea by Kurt Martti Wallenius and Sam Moskowitz's Great Railroad Stories of the World.

Figure 4.12b: Battered Men, Case-Insensitive NGram. 1860-2000.
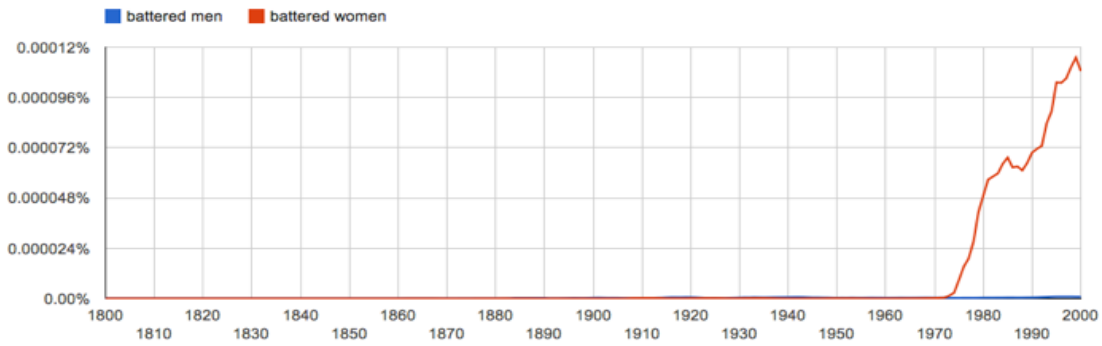
Figure 4.13: Battered Men, Battered Women NGram. 1800-2000.

It isn't until the period between years 1947 and 1994 that the majority of publications in which this term appears represent the context of intimate partner abuse. Even then, in many of the appearances men are still discussed in terms of the 'claim' that there are such things as battered men and the presence of gender symmetry in battering, or in contrast to the worse situation facing battered women, rather than battered men deserving support in their own right. Finally, despite there still appearing some dissenting opinions, between the years 1995 and 2000 is when the tide of publications referring to battered men seems to turn toward the idea that battered men do exist, that there should be services to address this violence, and the value in examining these victims in their own context. Figure 4.12b also shows the very small proportion

of publications in which the term battered men appears as a title; much fewer than in the text bodies and even fewer than the battered women titles.

And again the difference between the frequency of the appearance of the terms battered women and battered men can be seen even more clearly when the graph is restricted to the years between 1970 and 2000, in Figure 4.14 below.
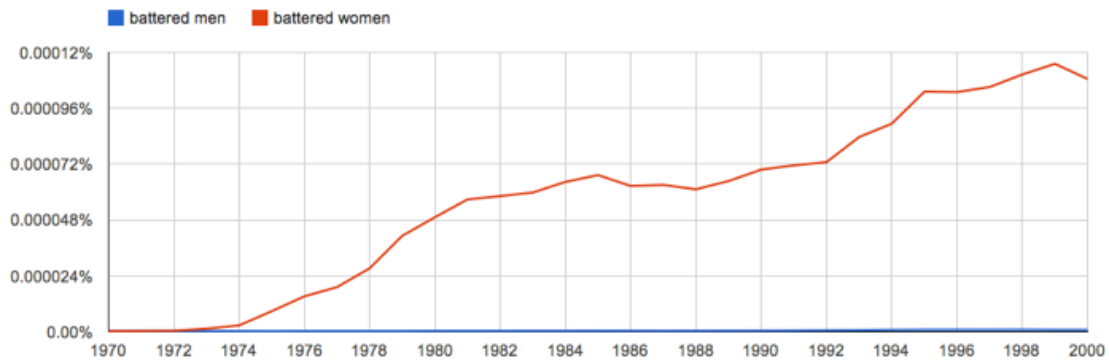
Figure 4.14: Battered Women, Battered Men Ngram. 1970-2000.

The proportions of printed words made up by 'battered women' for those years are higher such that, graphed together, 'battered men' doesn't even appear. Of particular interest to this paper is when this term began to enter into use as a contribution to our social knowledge of men as victims of this violence. Below in Figure 4.15 is the term battered men, graphed between the years 1970 and 2000 in order to focus on the publications most likely to use the term in its intended context for the purposes of this analysis.

Most noteworthy, although still considering the low proportions of the appearance of this term compared to those more common terms above, is the very gradual rise over a similar time period that battered women were gaining attention, followed by a sharper increase beginning in the late 1980's and early '90's.
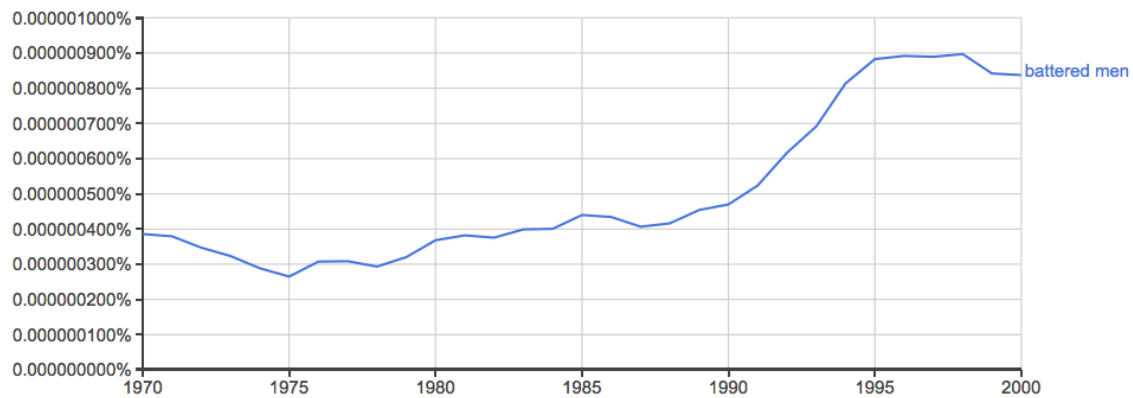
Figure 4.15: Battered Men NGram. 1970-2000.

Again until this time period, many references to battered men were presented with skepticism; it was called a 'red herring' (Dobash & Dobash 1992: 195), and accused of taking focus away from the more serious problem of battered women just as they were finally getting the support they had so desperately needed. One publication, Management of the Physically and Emotionally Abused: Emergency Assessment, Intervention and Counseling by G. Richard Braen, states that battered women simply pose a more pressing concern than battered men. Between 1996 and 1997, close to the peak of the graph in Figure 4.15, there seems a notable change in the number of references to battered men as legitimate victims, and even references to shelters and support networks dedicated to them. This late date appears to be the slow and short beginning of battered men as a social problem, and may already by 2000 have been in decline with the general movement away from gendered terms.

Although battered men have not nearly reached the proportions of attention in publication as have battered women, there is every indication that the emergence of this issue in the broader literature, emerging recognizably around the mid-1990's, seems to be gaining steam. We also witness a very recent rise in gender-neutral terms such as intimate partner violence that do not restrict the pool of victims to females, and wives in particular, as have the terms battered women

and wife abuse historically. Most importantly for this study, it does appear that these evolutions

do follow the predictive pattern of wider social changes, which for battered men is a good sign.

Based on the trajectory of the battered women's movement and its resulting support for victims,

perhaps wider social support is on the horizon for their male counterparts.

CHAPTER 5. FINDINGS PART 2: RESOURCES FOR MALE VICTIMS

This chapter is an examination of the increasing number of online resources available to battered men since the early emergence of our awareness of the issue, as we witnessed for female victims following the battered women's movement. At two points in time during this study I examined the available resources for victims of intimate partner violence, comparing the number and characteristics from one time to the next. I also explore the nature of these resources and the intended audiences whether exclusively for males, directed at families but inclusive of males, and the recent emergence of resources directed at the LGBTQ community, which can also include males in nontraditional intimate partner relationships who experience abuse. I discuss those resources in more detail below, and the potential implications of this increase in services for what has been a previously overlooked set of victims.

A Survey of the Landscape of Resources Available to Male Victims of Intimate Partner Violence

To answer the question of how the increased dialogue devoted to battered men in the broader documented literature has impacted the number of resources available to these victims, I conducted an initial web-based survey of what's available in the way of support and information. My original search was aimed at discovering online resources for battered men on which I could advertise or solicit participants for this survey. I also took note of the target population of the site at the time, and whether or not the resource was online only or had an associated shelter contact or physical site. I was later able to use that original list of resources as a baseline for comparison when I re-examined what resources were available just two years later.

During my initial investigation into the online resources available for battered men in September of 2012, only 10 out of 47 support websites catered specifically to male victims of intimate partner violence, usually indicated by use of the term 'battered men.' Family of Men Support Society, founded in 2003, runs a site at www.familyofmen.com and is based in Alberta, Canada. The motto of this site is that 'It is more manly to ask for help than it is to hurt or be hurt,' a specifically targeted attempt to minimize the stigma so often faced by male victims against admitting their abuse.

Twelve sites were open to families and/or all victims of intimate partner violence, sometimes including children of the abused. Additionally, 5 sites that were open to all victims of abuse also extended their support services to victims of elder abuse in addition to abuse by intimate partners. One of the most widely circulated sites like this is run by the human rights agency appropriately named Stop Abuse for Everyone™ or SAFE, at www.StopAbuseForEveryone.org, also reachable by its original url www.Safe4All.org. Links to this better-known site also appear on other sites offering information and resources for victims, and they view domestic abuse as a human issue that transcends gender, age and sexual orientation. Their target group is any victim of domestic violence, but particularly those that fall between the cracks of the typical support networks.

One site operated by the University of Minnesota's Institute on Domestic Violence in the African American Community (IDVAAC), found at www.dvinstitute.org, focuses exclusively on African American victims of domestic violence and family violence. They do include victims of child abuse, elder abuse and even community violence as well as abuse by intimate partners, but focus on the unique experience of African Americans who, they believe, may not benefit from

the current "one-size-fits-all" approach to domestic violence support (www.dvinstitute.org: Home). This is precisely the type of argument that the current paper is advocating; that there are marginalized groups of victims whose needs must be addressed. Fortunately, for battered men, there appears to be momentum building.

Interestingly, the largest group of websites that included male victims of intimate partner violence in their focus were 15 sites that were targeted toward the LGBTQ community. The recent movement toward increased rights for the LGBTQ community is another possible source of support for battered men, as some male victims are involved in same-sex relationships. One such site, originally founded in 1994 by a group called the Gay Men's Domestic Violence Project and located at www.gmdvp.org, had by the time I searched again in 2014 expanded its focus and changed it's name to the GLBTQ Domestic Violence Project with a new url of www.glbtqdvp.org. They recently celebrated 20 years of helping victims of domestic violence and survivors with a gala on April 11th, 2014 that raised over $52,000. They also offered the first 24-hour GLBTQ-specific hotline, and boast sponsors such as Stoli® vodka and Blue Cross Blue Shield® of Massachusetts.

This possible association between advances in the rights and attentions toward issues that affect LGBTQ individuals in our society, and the related issue of male victims of abuse in intimate relationships, is an important one as these individuals may be even more visible in the public eye as it becomes more socially acceptable to be a member of this previously marginalized group. The LGBTQ advocates have been instrumental in affecting their own success. Jenness (1995) examined the actions of gay and lesbian communities to raise awareness of anti-gay and lesbian violence. By taking matters into their own hands and working, through their community organizations and social movements, to make violence against their group more

visible, it became a recognizable social problem. Civil rights and community centers mobilized in response to incidents of hate-motivated violence to create widespread response programs in support the cause of these victims, from support groups and services to community outreach and education (Jenness 1995). Many of these initial projects are still visibly at work in the groups and websites discussed below, such as the Anti-Violence Project of New York City, and in the National Gay and Lesbian Task Force.

As we saw above, once the problem is recognizable to the public, pressure on lawmakers to take actions results in legal action. In this case, President Bush passed the Hate Crimes Statistics Act in 1990 and opened a 24-hour hotline for victims of hate crimes (Jenness 1995). Although this movement is outside the scope of the current project, its development does have potential implications for predicting a similar pattern for battered men as a social problem. It is also an important focus of many of these support sites, and so it's potential as a direction for future research is discussed further in Chapter 7.

Elements of Online Resources Available to Battered Men

There are several common elements characteristic of these sites such as Mission Statements outlining the goals and objectives as well as values of the site or foundational group. Likewise, most offer opportunities to join or support the group or site through membership or donation. One very common element present on many websites are support groups or places for men to share experiences, and important emergency contact information and hotlines. Likewise, many sites offer areas for others to report abuse or to recommend the site to friends and family who may be in need.

Many, but not all, sites offer some form of conspicuous quick exit button, often visible from all pages of the site. These links, when clicked, immediately take visitors to an innocuous

site like Google.com to disguise their actions. This can be extremely important for current

victims who may fear retaliation from their abusive partners after discovering them reaching out

for support. Similarly, many sites also provide instructions on deleting surf or browser history,

as was incorporated into the site for the current project, to further protect individuals from

partners who have access to their computers.

But although some features of these support sites are universal, each site is unique and

offers varying resources and advice, particularly based on its target population discussed above.

Founded in 2009 by a Doctor of Psychology with degrees in Clinical and Counseling

Psychology, Shrink4Men.com specifically targets male victims of abuse by *female* partners, and

notes that males abused by females are not granted the same support services as their female

counterparts (www.shrink4men.com; About). Further, founder Dr. Tara Palmatier also makes

certain to note her unwillingness to minimize the very real abuse suffered by women at the hands

of intimate partners, only her aim to increase attention to the very real needs of men who suffer

from abuse equally painful and potentially exacerbated by the lack of support.

The variation in resources available on each site differs significantly from simple sites

with links to information such as publications, articles or press releases, to forums and groups in

which victims can participate and contribute, to area-specific resources and events. The capacity

of a site to offer outside help to victims, for example, is dependent upon the nature of the group

or individuals running the site, the qualifications of the members and administrators, and whether

or not the group has a physical location from which it operates or is strictly web-based.

One of the best-known web-restricted sites is BatteredMen.com, operated by MenWeb.

This strictly informational resource aims to increase attention to the issue of battered men by

educating the public and supporting victims with resources and information. Their site contains

links to books, research and statistics, surveys, news articles that estimate the frequency of this overlooked problem, and links to other helpful sites such as SAFE's site www.stopabuseforeveryone.org, mentioned above. Since monitoring its traffic in 2001, this site boasts 1,289,806 visitors as of this writing and averages 113 visits per day according to its site meter; traffic largely the result of searches through Google or other web browsers.

The BatteredMen.com founder(s) also advocate for victims to email the site for support or to share their stories of abuse, unlike another highly visible site heart-to-heart.ca, which regrets to inform visitors that they are no longer able to respond to requests for help finding local resources or one-on-one support. They do however, like BatteredMen.com offer online resources, sources of encouragement and hope. As I browsed their pages, I was informed that currently 7 other people were 'there with me,' making positive life changes.

In contrast to sites like BatteredMen.com and heart-2-heart.ca that simply offer information and peer-related support, some sites are operated by individuals educated in the fields of psychology, counseling or the law such as Shrink4Men.com, whose founder offers fee-for-service individual counseling via phone or skype, and runs a moderated online forum for victims. Another resource for counseling is DoveChristianCounseling.com managed by Patricia Jones who has a Master of Arts in Pastoral Counseling, Theology and Psychology and offers counseling sessions for purchase via email or phone. These and similar sites ensure that calls and emails are confidential, and sessions can cover a range of different topics from advice about coming to terms with your situation, learning to navigate an ongoing relationship, to leaving an abusive relationship, divorce, and legal options.

Lastly, some information available online to battered men is on sites not specifically tailored to domestic violence such as legal or medical professionals. The site of the American

Bar Association, americanbar.org, provides important legal information on domestic violence among many other issues. This information is intended not only for victims, but for members of the legal community helping to fight this battle. Likewise, the websites of medical clinics like the Mayo Clinic, or local hospitals, physicians and mental health professionals often contain information for those facing abuse by partners in addition to their regular services. This can be extremely important not only to provide victims with support and validation, but crucial information about their legal rights and obtaining medical attention.

Community Locations and Shelters Available to Battered Men

There are sites that are simply the online counterpart of a small regional church or shelter like thecentersd.com, operated by the San Diego LGBT Community Center, and offer mostly offline community services, but many exist on a larger scale as registered charities, with some offering both online and community services. From the original search, only 15 sites were exclusively web-based while 10 were affiliated with shelters and another 19 had some type of physical location or office. The advantage of these groups besides being able to provide in-person service to victims is their ability to solicit support through public events and raise awareness among their own communities like the GLBTQ Domestic Violence Project gala that raised $52,000. Other major events include conferences, rallies, and community outreach at various levels. One of the most prolific organizations is The Anti-Violence Project (www.avp.org) operated out of New York, NY. Their events calendar consists of an average of 8-9 events a month ranging from support group meetings to community outreach, rallies, art shows, karaoke nights, and other fundraisers.

One obvious benefit to online resources is their accessibility. They are not constrained by geographical location, and so are available to anyone with access to the internet.

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BatteredMen.com, although accessed largely from IP addresses within the United States, also had visitors from Belgium, Canada, the UK, Australia, Germany, Sweden, Turkey, The Philippines, and New Zealand to name a few. Similarly, websites for groups that did have physical locations were largely based in the US. However, their sites can still serve populations both here and abroad. It is worth noting that the next most represented country was Canada with 6 sites, followed by the UK with 5. Several of the Canadian sites were part of the original search, while all but one of the UK sites only surfaced in the second round of investigation. The only other countries with sites on the list were Ireland, Scotland, Australia (2), and the Caribbean. At best, this indicates the gradual emergence of this as an issue whose victims transcend any one culture or population, and are deserving of worldwide attention and support.

The Increasing Support Network for Male Victims of Intimate Partner Violence

In addition to examining the landscape of these online resources and the varying avenues of support available to male victims of intimate partner violence, my fourth research question sought to determine whether the number of resources had increased following early indications of a surge in the attention to battered men in the wider literature. By April of 2014, there were 94 websites that offered support services to victims of intimate partner violence, including male victims. Thirty-five of these specifically targeted male victims, up from only 10 in 2012. The total number of sites that were either open to both male and female victims, or families affected by intimate partner and domestic abuse, was up to 44. Only 3 new sites catered to LGBTQ victims in addition to the original 15.

All of the original sites were still functioning except for 7, which means 40 of the original sites plus 54 new sites were available on the web for support to battered men, indicating a

substantial increase over the past several years with more than double the resources found. The

graph below in Figure 5.1 is a visual representation of the number of sites founded each year

between the first in 1966 and the most recent in 2012. Note that it is not always clear whether

these foundation years represent the foundation of the group or the initial publishing of the

online site. Still, we have much to learn about the trajectory of these developments in resource

availability.
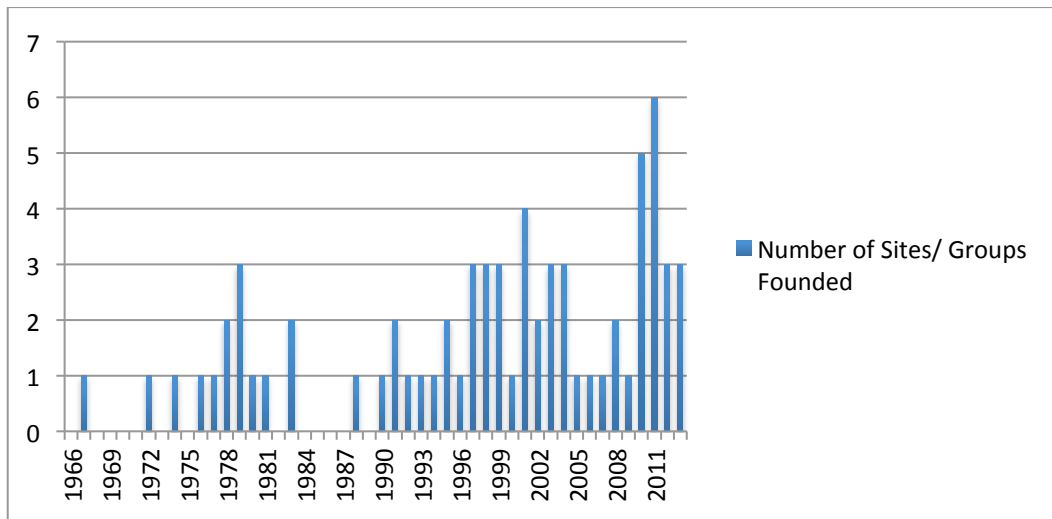
Figure 5.1: Number of Sites by Foundation Year. 1966-2012.

There is a clear increasing trend over time in the foundations years of groups that include

male victims of intimate partner violence in their target groups, with peaks in the late 1970's, late

1990's and early 2000's, and a sharp increase recently between 2010 and 2011. Viewed by

decade, Figure 5.2 shows these changes even more pronounced.

Consistent with the emergence of battered men in published work, and presumably in our

public consciousness, I expect to see precisely this type of increase over time. It is particularly

noteworthy when compared to Figure 4.15 above showing a corresponding increase of the term

battered men in the wider literature in the early to mid-90's, and peaking in the late 1990's with

the latest available data. It is possible that the public's increased awareness following battered

men appearing more often in the literature acted as a precursor to the increase of available resources available to these victims that subsequently appears over the last two decades.
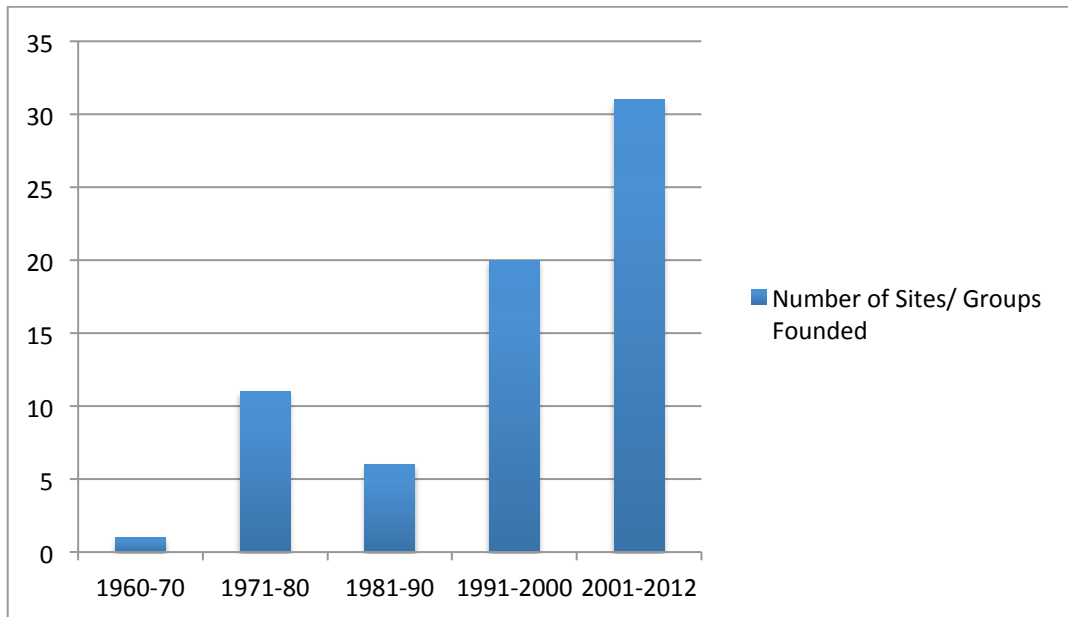
Figure 5.2: Number of Sites Founded by Decade. 1966-2012.

Originally I believed that the early peak in the mid 1970's was likely the result of the battered women's movement and the increase in attention to the general issue, especially as many of these resources are not exclusive to male victims. It is possible, after all, that sites not exclusive to males could have developed in response to the battered women's movement and only subsequently widened their scope to include men. However, Figure 5.3 illustrating the number of groups founded each decade, categorized by target group, indicates that the large number of sites founded in the mid-70's were not those that are open to men and women, but those targeting the LGBTQ community. Here we see several interesting trends; the first being the early spike in the 1970's of the number of sites founded to address the issues of violence among LGBTQ groups. Many organizations in this category support LGBTQ victims of any type of violence, with intimate partner or family violence included.
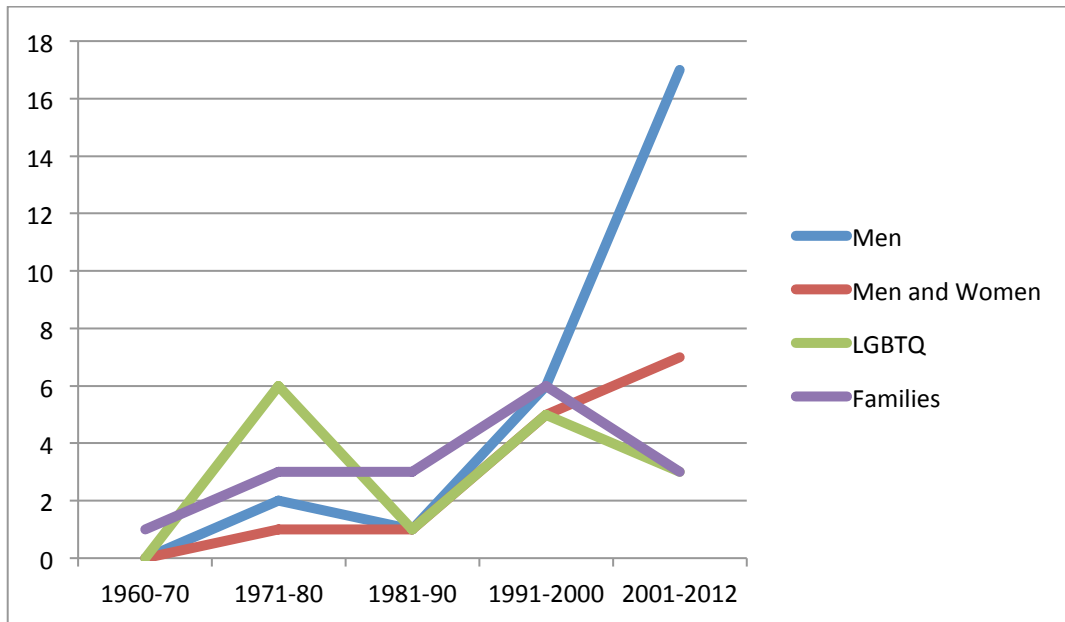
Figure 5.3: Number of Sites Founded Yearly by Target Group. 1966-2012.

At least one group, New York City's Anti-Violence Project founded in 1980, cites the turbulence of society's treatment of members of the LGBTQ community and several violent acts committed against gay men as precipitating factors in their early establishment. The visibility of this time period's violent intolerance against LGBTQ victims was personified by the assassination of Harvey Milk, the first openly gay man to be elected to public office, in 1978. Based in Toronto, Canada, www.the519.org, run by the Church Street Community Center and founded in 1975 likewise began in a neighborhood that was a meeting place for gay men as early as the 1700's, where gay men were still living in secret, for fear of being arrested (www.the519.org: History). This association, illustrated by the graph above, is another possible indication that the emergence of this rights movement may have had as much or more to do with furthering the cause of male victims of intimate partner violence as the battered women's movement, and is certainly an avenue for further research.

Sites devoted to men and women or families followed similar trajectories with gradual increases, but the most important element of the graph in Figure 5.3, and particularly relevant to

this study, is the sharp increase in sites devoted specifically to battered men over the last two decades. This trend shows little sign of abating, as sites devoted to battered men increased from one site developed between 1981 and 1990, to an increase of 6 and 17 in the 90's and 2000-present, respectively.

Overall, the number of resources available to battered men online doubled following my first investigation in 2012. Not only did a search reveal 94 web sites offering round-the-clock advice, information, support, and even shelter to male victims of intimate partner violence, but 17 of those groups were created within the past 10-12 years. It seems reasonable to conclude that following their emergence into published works and a subsequent increase in awareness of this social problem, battered men may, like their female counterparts, be experiencing a surge of support not only from the anonymous online community but from the creation of shelters, non-profit groups, and community advocates committed to bringing society-wide attention to this previously marginalized population.

CHAPTER 6. FINDINGS PART 3: MALE VICTIMIZATION

In this Chapter I will discuss the results of the survey instrument on male victims'

experiences with intimate partner violence. I address the role, if any, of power and control in

relationships in which men are victimized by intimate partners, as well as the characteristics of

this abuse, especially compared to what we know about female victims. Following those results,

the implications for this research in the wider literature will be examined, in addition to some

limitations of these data and subsequently the possibilities of correcting those limitations in

future research.

Cases and Initial Typologies

The survey yielded an N of 9 completed surveys, with another 15 incomplete.

Additionally there were two viewings of the survey that did not result in any responses. Most of

the incomplete surveys contain responses to the Section 1 demographic and descriptive

questions, but no responses to any of the CTS-2 or open-ended questions in Sections 2 and 3.

This results in a completion rate of about 34%. This is possibly due to the length of the survey,

as the average time taken to complete the survey was 40 minutes. Despite the difficulty in

generalizing the findings of this study with such a small sample, and the impossibility of

statistical analysis, the depth of response still allows us to gain many valuable insights into these

abusive relationships and the many ways in which these seemingly role-reversed couples mirror

female victims.

<u>Descriptive Statistics</u>

Table 6.1 displays descriptive statistics for the 9 completed surveys. A majority of

participants self- identified as Caucasian (6), as were their abusive partners (5).

Table 6.1: Descriptive Statistics. N=9

Case	Respondent	Abusive Partner
Age:		
1	36-40*	18-25
2	45-50*	18-25
3	26-30	26-30
4	36-40	36-40
5	46-50*	26-30
6	41-45	41-45
7	46-50*	31-35
8	26-30*	18-25
9	26-30*	18-25
Education Level		
1	College Graduate*	Some High School
2	High School/ GED	Some College
3	Post Graduate Degree*	Some College
4	Post Graduate Degree*	College Graduate
5	Post Graduate Degree*	College Graduate
6	Post Graduate Degree*	College Graduate
7	Post Graduate Degree*	Some College
8	College Graduate	College Graduate
9	Some College*	Less than 9th Grade
Employment Status		
1	Employed Full Time*	Unemployed
2	Unemployed	Going to School*
3	Going to School	Employed Full Time*
4	Employed Full Time	Employed Full Time
5	Employed Full Time	Employed Full Time
6	Employed Full Time	Employed Full Time
7	Disabled	Employed Full Time*
8	Going to School	Going to School
9	Early Retirement	Unemployed
Alcohol Consumption 1 (Days Per Week)		
1	0	0
2	4*	3-4
3	1	2*
4	0	0
5	0	0
6	1*	0
7	2*	1
8	0	0
9	0	0

(Table 6.1 continued)

Case	Respondent	Abusive Partner
Alcohol Consumption 2 (Beverages Per Sitting)		
1	5*	1-2
2	3-4	3-4
3	1-2	5 or more*
4	1-2	1-2
5	1-2	1-2
6	1-2*	0
7	3-4	5 or more*
8	5 or more	5 or more
9	0	1-2*

* Indicates the higher value when the two values are unequal

Only one participant identified as African American or Asian American, and two partners were represented as African American, with only one Asian American partner. Seven out of the 9 respondents were engaged in relationships with female abusers.

The two largest age ranges of participants were three participants at 26-30, and another three in the 46-50 range. Several age groups were not represented, with a majority of respondents falling between 36 and 50 (6 out of 9 participants). The ages of abusive partners were notably concentrated at the lower range with the largest group being 4 in the 18-25 range. Combined with the 26-30 group, 6 out of 9 abusive partners were 30 or under. It would appear by the distribution that most relationships consistent of an older victim abused by a younger partner (6). Because some (6 out of 9 respondents to that question) were no longer currently in the abusive situation in question, it is difficult to determine conclusively for every respondent if the age of the abusive partner is current, or the age at which they were in the relationship. However, 7 respondents reported their relationship as either ongoing or ending within the past year, indicating that at least in these cases the age differences were current.

There were only slight differences between victims and abusers in terms of levels of education. Seven of the 9 respondents reported higher levels of education than their partners,

and one reported the matching levels, leaving only one relationship educationally imbalanced in favor of the abusive partner.   Two respondents possessed a college degree and another 5 a post-graduate degree. Only one reported a high school or GED-level education. In terms of their abusers, none reported that his abuser held a post-graduate degree, but responses were still clustered in the upper levels of educational attainment with 7 out of the 9 having some college (3) or a college degree (4).

Due to the generally high levels of education, it is not surprising that only one respondent reported being unemployed. Another reported a disability status, and one was on early retirement, which left 4 employed and 2 going to school. Of the four employed respondents, three held prestigious positions (therapist/psychologist (2), attorney (1)). Likewise, 5 out of the 9 partners were employed full time with another 2 going to school. Jobs represented in this group included administrators (2), corporate insurance (1), customer service (1), and a police officer.

Despite previous research indicating the role of alcohol in abusive situations, it appeared that alcohol was largely not an influence in these relationships with 7 respondents saying that they and their partners consume alcohol on average 0 (5 respondents and 6 partners) or 1 day a week (2 respondents and 1 partner), with the mean being less than 2 days per week. It is worth noting that only one participant said that he or his abusive partner consumed alcohol on average 4 days a week, and none reported an average over 4 for either himself or his partner. Potentially contradicting this generally low relationship between alcohol consumption and abuse are the 3 respondents who report that the average number of alcoholic beverages consumed by their partners in one sitting was more than 5. However, modal responses hovered at 1-2 beverages a

sitting for both partners and respondents, and with such a low N it is difficult to determine with confidence whether alcohol may have been a factor in a few cases.

Only one participant had ever been incarcerated, having been arrested (3-4 times) and found guilty of partner rape and domestic violence. He spent 26 hours in jail for partner rape, and one month for keeping his children away from their parent. This indicates a history of violence on the part of this respondent, and at least one case in which violence in the relationship may have been mutual. Importantly, no other respondents reported arrest or incarceration.

Likewise no respondents reported knowing that an abusive partner had ever been arrested (7 answered 'no' to whether or not a partner had ever been arrested, 2 answered 'I don't know'). It doesn't appear, then, that any instances of abuse pertaining to this relationship resulted in legal action, nor were abusers criminally active outside of the abusive situation.

When asked about violence in their family growing up, a slight majority (5) reported witnessing violence between their parents. Typically the father or step-father was the aggressor in these situations (4 out of the 5 who witnessed abuse), and the abuse took various forms ranging from yelling and screaming to more serious types such as punching, kicking or throwing objects. In 4 of these cases, respondents reported that the abuse was also directed toward them.

Interestingly, in the cases in which abuse was directed at the respondent by his parents, the primary aggressor was split between mother (2), father (1), and both parents (1). Although research has established a connection between abusers and prior family experience with abuse, it is interesting to note that in these circumstances, 3/4 victims of intimate partner abuse who had been abused by a parent had previously experienced abuse by their mother. One case was so severe that as a result of the abuse and neglect suffered from his mother, he has been diagnosed with severe PTSD and struggled with mental illness and social phobia which forced him into

early retirement. Similarly to the abuse that occurred between parents, various types ranging from yelling to slapping and hitting/ punching also characterized episodes of violence against the respondent.

The Role of Power and Control

In order to answer to the role of power and control in relationships involving intimate partner abuse against men, in addition to contributing to the determination of whether or not these relationships most closely resemble situations of Intimate Terrorism, Violent Resistance, Situational Couple Violence, or Mutual Violent Resistance, I determine which partner or partners most often acted as aggressors during violent episodes, I assess methods of conflict resolution by each partner, and I examine uses of dominance and manipulation by both partners. Importantly, in cases in which arguments led to violence, 8 out of 9 respondents named their partner as the one who initiated the violence. It is worth noting, then, that despite what Johnson (2008) predicts of these situations as mostly characterized by situational couple or mutual violence, only one victim here reported being the one to initiate conflict, and none responded that both partners initiated violence equally.

To further assess the balance of power, I examine each partner's level of responsibility for conflict resolution, and their ability to negotiate arguments and resolve conflict positively. When asked about their ability to resolve conflicts in a positive way, the average score for men in the sample of dating couples for whom this survey was *originally* designed was 61.60 out of a possible 150 points, and average female score in that sample was 69.70, indicating that women scored themselves slightly higher in traits like frequency of compromise, complimenting their partner, and other positive attempts at conflict resolution. Table 6.2 below presents the results of the various measures of conflict resolution and physical aggression discussed here.

Respondents in this study scored an average of 96 points for their attempts to resolve conflicts when they arose, which is 34 points above the previous average for other males, and still 26 points higher than females who have taken the survey in the past. Two respondents here gave themselves the highest possible score of 150, and another 4 scored over 90. In contrast, respondents rated their partners much lower, an average of only 46.75 points, with two respondents giving their partners 0.

Table 6.2: Comparing Conflict Tactics Resolution of Male Victims to Dating Couples

Scale	Dating Couples Survey*		Male Victims Survey	
	Avg Male *Partner*	Avg Female *Partner*	Respondent *Partner*	Difference from Mean+
Negotiation (out of 150)	61.60 *57.40*	69.70 *67.10*	96.13 *46.75*	34.53 *-10.65*
Psychological Aggression (out of 200)	15.10 *17.20*	16.00 *15.10*	22.00 *63.75*	6.90 *46.55*
Physical Assault (out of 300)	12.90 *15.90*	9.40 *9.30*	5.13 *31.38*	-7.78 *15.48*
Injury (out of 150)	25.10 *24.70*	3.60 *6.20*	11.00 *0.63*	-14.10 *-24.08*
Sexual Coercion (out of 175)	19.90 *18.50*	12.60 *11.80*	7.00 *19.13*	-12.90 *0.63*

*Straus et al. 2003
+This column represents the difference in means between respondents and their partners, and previous male respondents their ratings of their partners from the first column of scores.

This is not only significantly lower than their self-reported negotiation efforts, but also lower than the averages of previous males' and females' partners at 57.40 and 67.10, respectively. This, in addition to partners almost always being the initial aggressor, paints a

picture of a relationship extremely unbalanced, with one partner bearing the brunt of the responsibility for positive conflict resolution.

As another indicator of unbalanced power structures in these abusive relationships, I also measure the presence of psychological aggression in the form of verbal abuse, insults, or non-verbal actions intended to inflict pain or instill fear in a partner. This behavior is probably most closely associated with the typology of Intimate Terrorism. In contrast to Situational Couple Violence, Intimate Terrorists use manipulation and verbal abuse to demean their victims and display their dominance or superiority. Although possibly less apparent to outsiders, these behaviors can have lasting effects on the victims (Straus et al. 2003).

Not surprisingly, respondents rated their partners much higher in use of psychological aggression than themselves. The mean for partners in this study was 63.75 out of a possible 200 points, compared to a mean of only 17.20 (males' partners) and 15.10 (females' partners) in previous respondents; and almost three times higher than previous male respondents' partners. The self-reported psychological aggression score for respondents was only 22. Four respondents reported partner levels of psychological aggression of 75 points or more, with two over 100, but only one respondent's own level reached above 75 with the next closest score at 55. Five respondents scored themselves below 10, indicating extremely low levels of the use of psychological aggression, and well below the mean of their partners.

Lastly, I attempt to address the delicate power balance by determining whether or not abusers employ the same tactics of isolation and intimidation as are so often present in the cases of female victims, including discouraging relationships with friends and family, involvement in work and school thus increasing dependence on the abuser. Responses to these questions were

largely split but we do see several reports of abusers who used classic techniques of manipulation and intimidation.

For instance, six out of the nine respondents indicate that their abusers discouraged their relationships with family or friends, humiliated or insulted them in public. Four respondents out of the 9 admitted to being constantly accused of being unfaithful, criticized over even little things, and that their partners angered easily, especially under the influence of alcohol or drugs. This indicates that, as I discussed above, there is a possibility that alcohol or drugs may play a part if just to exacerbate an already precarious situation, despite mixed results in response to the alcohol consumption questions. Unfortunately the sample makes it difficult to get a reliable estimate on the strength of this association, if any.

Another 5 respondents reported being threatened with injury, three with a weapon, in addition to other manipulative behavior in a few relationships. Examples include partners destroying personal or sentimental things belonging to the victim (3), and controlling the finances, forcing the respondent to account for any money spent thereby significantly limiting his independence. Two respondents report sexual coercion, which is also discussed below as a form of abuse, and two respondents were in relationships in which his partner wanted him to stop working or attending school.

These efforts to isolate victims socially and economically ensures their dependency on abusive partners, and limits their resources for aid should the need arise. This can only be effective when there is a differential power dynamic in the relationship, evidence of which we also saw above, where one partner exerts his or her power and control over another. The resulting isolation may go toward explaining why abused males remain in relationships, which is in effect that they do so for many of the same reasons that female victims do.

These results, paired with the information from the negotiation tactics, indicates further the potential for a relationship with vastly different power/control mechanisms, with one partner using verbal insults and non-verbal manipulation to gain an upper hand, despite a partner's attempts to solve conflicts amicably. Without balanced efforts toward positive resolution of conflict from both partners, and particularly without access to support in the form of friends or family, a stage is set for inequality in the power dynamics that can determine the health of a relationship. In addition, for the purposes of this study, an unbalanced power structure can be predictive of later abuse, which perhaps most importantly indicates that power dynamics and dominance do play a role in relationships in which men are victims, as they very often do in cases of battered women.

Changing Characteristics of Intimate Relationship Abuse Over Time

In order to address the sixth research question of how violence against men, once introduced, changes over the span of the relationship, respondents are asked to compare frequency of abuse early in the relationship versus toward the end. Toward the beginning of the relationship, several respondents report that arguments were relatively seldom (5 a couple of times a month or less, although 2 report violence of once a day or more even at this early stage) and rarely or never led to violence (6).

This is as opposed to the end of the relationship, when arguments happened more often (8 couples argued once a week or more, with 3 now reporting once a day or more) and increasingly led to violence. Eight respondents said disagreements sometimes or often led to violence toward the end of the relationship, and not one respondent said that disagreements toward the end of the relationship never led to violence. In this way we do see a very similar pattern of escalation to the abuse female victims face, which often begins sporadically and initially is more often

followed by a show of remorse on the part of the aggressor, and gradually increases in intensity and frequency over the course of the relationship.

Forms of Abuse Against Male Intimate Partners

Finally, in order to address what form abuse takes between intimate partners when men are victims, I examine the extent of physical conflict in relationships. In addition to the tactics of dominance and manipulation discussed above, my last research question addresses the forms of violence present including physical assault, injury, and sexual coercion, ranging from minor to severe. It is important to differentiate between minor and severe assaults, initially to characterize the types of violence in these relationships for comparison to situations of female victims, which often escalate to extreme violence. More minor physical displays may not necessarily indicate the need for intervention or legal action, and severe assaults certainly pose a more immediate and serious physical danger to the victim. However, it is important to measure minor forms of aggression which can still be destructive to a relationship (Straus et al. 2003) and can undermine the positive elements of conflict resolution that keep future acts of aggression from escalating to more serious violence.

To determine the presence of physical assault in these relationships, I measure both minor and severe forms of physical confrontation, with minor incidents being pushing, shoving, grabbing, etc, and severe physical assaults being punching, kicking, choking, and use of weapons for example. The respondents in this study scored themselves close to the mean of previously tested females (9.40), with an overall mean of 5.13, but lower than previous males whose scores averaged 12.90. Six out of the eight respondents scored a 4 or below, with only one of the remaining respondents scoring higher than the previous mean with 21. Their partners, on the other hand, exhibited in some cases much higher rates of physical assault, with a mean score of

31.38 compared to previous partner means of 15.90 (males' partners) and 9.30 (females' partners). Although there were 4 respondents' partners who scored 4 or below in this category, there were two partners that exhibited rates of physically assaultive behavior at scores of 80 and 113; drastically higher than the mean for any group. The other two partners scored similarly at 25 and 27.

While the two high scores in the range may not indicate a norm, it does indicate that physical violence is possible and can be frequent and severe. The differences in the means for the respondents and their partners, although not drastically in every case, does show that partners were consistently more physically assaultive than the male respondents. This again reinforces an apparent uneven dynamic contrary to that which would be present as the result of simple argumentativeness, in cases of Situational Couple Violence.

Relatedly, I also measure levels of personal injury as a result of acts of physical violence. Respondents' own scores indicating personal injury resulting from an altercation or conflict with their partners averaged 11 points out of a possible 150. This is less than half of the mean for men in dating couples (25.10), but still more than three times higher than the average for previous female respondents at only 3.60. Conversely, respondents reported causing injury to their partners even less frequently, with the average for injuries sustained by their partners at their hand an average of 0.63. The average in the prior application of this survey for partners of male participants was 24.70, and for females' partners 6.20. In fact, only two respondents reported that their partner had ever sustained an injury as a result of a fight with them, at scores of only 2 and 3. Not surprisingly, as their partners are consistently not only the perpetrators but the initiators of physical altercations, respondents are more likely to experience resulting injury while their partners experience little to none.

Finally, I measure the frequency of coercion toward unwanted sexual behavior by a partner as another characteristics of abuse. This includes insistence, threats of force, and actual use of force to compel sexual conduct, conduct which can range from simply having nonconsensual sexual intercourse or unprotected intercourse, to forcing oral or anal sex. Participant scores for forcing sexual behavior on a partner were almost 13 points lower than previous male participants with a score of 7 compared to the prior male mean of 19.90. They even scored lower than previous female participants who exhibited a mean of 12.60; in fact only two participants reported a score more than 1. Interestingly, in the two cases in which respondents did score above one, both represented the opposite extreme with scores *above* the previous mean(s) at 25 and 29 points.

Conversely, participants score their partners much closer to the mean for previous participants. Partners in this study scored and average of 19.13 compared to previous means of 18.50 (males' partners) and 11.80 (females' partners). Although three respondents partners scored 0 in this category, and another two partners scored 4 or below, the three that scored higher were all above the mean at 25, 40 and a max of 82 points. Similar to the above physical assault category, although 3 cases above the mean may not indicate a norm, it does indicate that forced or at least unwanted sexual conduct can be present in these relationships, and based on respondents' lower scores can be yet another one-sided conflict.

When asked to openly expand on particular abusive episodes, respondents again report verbal and emotional battering. This occurred even when –or especially when- it would attract the attention of others, and could also take the form of physical abuse including punching and hitting, and even stabbing with scissors or hitting with a car. One respondent admits waking up

multiple times to find himself tied to the bed, unable to get free, where he would remain until his partner returned, at which time he would have to apologize to her for some perceived slight.

"I will surely die prematurely if I am unable to deal with this." (Respondent #9)

In addition to the picture formed above of several relationships in which abusive partners were the main aggressors, using tactics such as psychological manipulation and insults, and verbal abuse, physical abuse and even sexual coercion, respondents also answered open-ended questions describing common circumstances that would lead up to major and minor fights, and how they felt they were and were not fulfilled by the relationship. It was important to allow respondents to not only answer questions in their own words, even if the answers were similar to issues that had been addressed in above questions, but also to bring up any issues important to them that they felt had gone unaddressed. For instance, 6 respondents reported that the type of abuse employed by partners *most* often was verbal, with only 2 saying that physical abuse was the most common.

Additionally, respondents were able to describe the circumstances that would typically lead up to a fight between him and his partner, several of which were again reminiscent of the type of situation with which we are all too familiar in the discourse surrounding battered women. For instance, minor fights were precipitated by anything from failing to do household chores, cancelling or changing plans at the last minute, or minor disagreements about the television or the temperature in the house. That alone may not sound too dissimilar to a typical couple adjusting to one another's habits, experiencing growing pains, or simply unintentionally taking out small daily stresses on the person closest to them. However, in some cases major fights were also precipitated by these small disagreements such as getting home late, spending money on himself, or having a conflicting opinion, with one respondent reporting that a *major* fight could

result from anything from his failure to take care of laundry or not cook food to her liking, to not following her rules. This same respondent further elaborated on what I interpret as attempts at control and manipulation by his partner by indicating that he could also get in trouble for breaking one specific rule which was for him to remain undressed while at home, even if there was a possibility that others would be there. This situation again reinforces controlling behaviors that we often see with patriarchal males who manipulate and humiliate their subordinate partners, define and enforce the rules of the household, and even maintain control of finances, all at the expense of their partners' individuality, independence and privacy.

Overall, several of the responses outlined above illustrate situations much as we would expect to see from a battered women's perspective; escalating abuse largely initiated by one aggressor, resulting from seemingly minor catalysts, and resulting in psychological, emotional and physical damage on the part of the victim who, over time, may simply become resigned to his situation. Victims may experience prolonged psychological manipulation consistent with Intimate Terrorism, and severe injury-causing physical abuse and sexual coercion. All of these characteristics are precisely those we would expect from a female in the same position, indicating that although there are some unique aspects of these situations, abuse is abuse and male victims share many of the same experiences as females.

CHAPTER 7: SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

In this final chapter I discuss the development of the dialogue on intimate partner violence and it's possible future implications for our social treatment of this and similar issues such as battered men. Results of the broader literature analysis suggest that our attentions, and subsequent dialogue, regarding social problems varies widely in response to societal changes. Further, the increased appearance of social issues in published works is also important, as increased public attention toward an issue is instrumental in the establishment of support services available to address these issues. I will discuss the benefits and contributions of the online research for future social research.

I also discuss the implications for survey results for the intimate partner violence and battered men literatures, and how these results contribute to a typology of male victims. Specifically, survey results indicate that many of the same tactics of isolation, manipulation, control, and psychological and physical abuse are present in the cases of male victims as are present in the cases of battered women with which we are so familiar. Further, despite some relationships demonstrating characteristics of Situational Couple Violence, as was predicted in cases where males are victims, there are also relationships that seem to indicate the presence of Intimate Terrorism, a tactic previously assumed to be employed largely by male aggressors against their female partners.

This chapter will also explore the limitations of this study and its generalizability, particularly due to low participation potentially as the result of the intricacy of security features, the length of the survey, and difficulty reaching target population. These limitations, however, are not necessarily factors of the online method or a comment on its usefulness, and Chapter 7

will also address the potential of future online research, including but not limited to research that deals with less marginalized populations.

Changing Terminology in the Development of a Social Problem

Terms associated with social problems, and the social awareness that accompanies their appearance in social science and published works may be the determining factor in the success of a movement. This success is defined as the ability to mobilize a collective response, whether it comes in the form of support groups for victims, legal support to criminalize their victimization, or community and educational programming to teach communities how to prevent their victimization. In the above analysis of changing terminology surrounding the issue of intimate partner violence, we are able to track changes longitudinally in response to and predictive of major social changes.

Consistent with the historical development of intimate partner violence as a social problem, as the social visibility and acceptability of the problem increased, so did its appearance in the wider collection of published works. It was determined from the resulting graphs that overall domestic violence has been consistently been the most frequently used term to describe violence between intimate partners. This is not surprising as it is not only gender-neutral, but is widely recognized and can also be used to apply to violence against any family member of families within the home. Other terms such as battered women and wife abuse, although less preferred than the former, also emerged in conjunction with the beginning of the battered women's movement, and correspondingly increased in usage with other similar societal changes such as the passage of mandatory arrest laws and the Violence Against Women Act.

Spousal abuse, although not as prolific as the terms above, did see a rise later in the movement as we slowly began to seek gender neutral terms, but seemed to decline as the terms intimate partner violence and intimate partner abuse were coming into favor so as not to exclude unmarried and non-traditional intimate relationships. Finally, one of the least used terms, specifically in the context of intimate relationships, battered men doesn't appear in the literature until the late 1980's and even then largely appears among suspicion and skepticism. It doesn't show significant growth until the late 1990's when there is finally discussion of men as legitimate victims in need of support, before again declining presumably in favor of gender-neutral terms.

The ability not only to track longitudinal changes, but to examine the specific terms in their original context lends insight into social changes with unprecedented ease, as published works compose one of the most important cultural records of our society. This analysis, then, is an important first step in the ability to perform detailed content analyses of the vast amount of publications that have been and will be digitized for online consumption.

The Availability of Resources for Battered Men

Despite some early publications painting inaccurate or incomplete pictures of this phenomenon, as the movement gained momentum the picture became clear and resources were mobilized. After my initial investigation of the online resources available, I was able to locate 47 websites with varying levels of support for male victims. By 2014, the number of online resources I was able to locate had doubled to 94, with 17 resources specifically for battered men having been established over the last 10 years. Many of these groups had likely existed before my initial search in 2012, but had become more visible and more versatile with access to the web

by 2014. This also makes them more accessible to victims reaching out for help, as resources are now unlimited by geographical location, regular business hours, or personnel availability. Despite most sites being associated with groups or shelters in the U.S., there were still several sites, and visitors, based abroad.

Sites, in addition to targeting several different populations such as men, families, and victims of elder abuse, are also representative of various levels of support. Some sites are strictly web-based, some have physical locations where they are able to offer counseling or in-person support to victims. Others are widespread community groups or non-profits that hold major fundraising and other events.

The largest initial support network came from the LGBTQ community with 15 sites devoted to victims as of 2012, and another 3 sites by 2014. The success of the LGBTQ movement has potentially predictive powers, as another previously marginalized group that also faced violent victimization, over the emergence and possible future of the battered men's movement. If attention continues to mount toward this issue of battered men, the trend of the increase in resources available to these victims will likely also continue. Among other things discussed below, one avenue for future research would be to examine the possible unique influence the LGBTQ movement had on furthering the cause of battered men. It could be the case that we are just now beginning to witness the start of a self-propelled social movement of male victims of domestic violence that will shift community attention to the problem, as we have seen in the amazing success of the LGBTQ community (Jenness 1995).

The number of resources devoted to the support of battered men is increasing, sharply within the last decade, and based on previous research on the development of social movements (Benford & Snow 2000; Bullock & Cubert 2002; Gillespie et al. 2013) it is reasonable to believe

that this new availability is tied to its visibility. The most important conclusion is that there is

hope that these victims are getting the attention and support they deserve. In the midst of that

hope, however, there have also been some backward steps.

In the process of investigating the available resources, I discovered that the founder of the

site Family of Men (familyofmen.com), Earl Silverman, committed suicide in April of 2013 in a

final attempt to bring attention to his cause. He was himself a victim of female-perpetrated

intimate partner violence, and he lost faith in his ability to expand the number of services

available to battered men in his home province of Alberta, Canada.   From his last letter: "I failed

in both goals: nothing for me and nothing for men. Alberta failed to take my submissions serious

for 20+ years" (www.familyofmen.com: A final letter from Earl Silverman). He also outlined

his struggles with PTSD following his abuse, and his desire that his death should spark a

realization of the overdue need for support for victims like him.

Despite the positive progress, particularly over the last few years, resources are still few.

There may still be constraints on some that keep them from accessing services, access to the

internet or lack of privacy, or simply a lack of knowledge of what is available. The only solution

is to continue to champion for victims and follow the lead of successful social movements in

bringing the issue to the forefront of public consciousness. Define and create a social problem

that requires a solution. Motivate people to act.

The Unique Contribution of Online Research

This dissertation aimed to explore the use of various terms associated with intimate

partner violence over the course of its development, and Google's NGram analysis tool was

instrumental to that task. Online data collection and analysis tools are the newest wave of

research. We are able to reach marginalized populations like never before, and with the NGram tool, search and analyze millions of works published over hundreds of years in a matter of seconds. Likewise, as discussed above, online survey data collection is uniquely unsusceptible to geographical constraints, time and financial constraints, and perhaps most importantly, anonymity. Despite the low rate of participation, I was still able to gather extremely valuable and detailed information from victims, and they faced less risk being part of an online survey. If I had it to do over, I would likely focus only on the most important survey information, thereby decreasing the length of the time commitment, and like the investigation of available resources, conduct the data collection in several waves in order to attempt to increase participation.

Future research should continue to explore Google's vast analytic tool and its unique contributions to social science research. For instance, future projects could apply this analysis of the social development of intimate partner violence to other countries using the many foreign language corpora. The unique affect of social change on public discourse is of particular interest to sociology, and the ability to longitudinally track and graph social changes among various countries is an area of social science research that would benefit from contributions of this tool.

Future research could additionally explore the development of other social problems in the literature, such as the evolution of our changing attitudes toward issues like homosexuality and same-sex marriage. The ability to analyze specific works and examine words in their context is important for incorporating framing theory into social change, and to track these changes even as they are happening is a unique contribution of this technology that should not be overlooked.

Survey Conclusions and Future Research into Battered Men

This dissertation first and foremost set out to fill a void in the literature with the development of a typology of male victims of domestic violence, and to compare characteristics of these little known relationships to the vast literature about battered women. Despite a low rate of survey participation, discussed below, and the subsequent challenge of basing a typology on data collected from 9 respondents, I was able to obtain valuable information regarding the nature of these relationships. In particular, their similarities and differences to relationships in which women are victims, which was an important research question.

Previous literature on intimate partner violence deals largely with heterosexual relationships in which the male is the aggressor and the female is the victim, and typologies of domestic violence have been established on this premise. Specifically, Michael Johnson (2008) established four distinct ways to categorize intimate partner violence based on characteristics of the situation, types of abuse, and which partner(s) acted as aggressor. This dissertation sought, among other things, to establish how intimate partner abuse manifests itself in situations in which the male is a victim, and into what category most of these situations could fit.

Johnson (2008), in what he terms Intimate Terrorism, describes a situation in which the abusive partner is controlling, demeaning, and violent, and almost always male (Johnson 2008). However, in possibly one of the most important findings of this survey, it was established that there were multiple situations in which males were victims of manipulative, controlling female partners who exerted their power over respondents in various ways from systematic intimidation and isolation to physical and sexual abuse. Although there were situations which fit the description of Situational Couple Violence, a pattern of mutual violence resulting from regular disagreements and perpetrated by both partners, as Johnson (2008) assumed would be the case

for the majority of male victims, these cases did not represent the majority of respondents' experiences. Nor did it seem to be the case for any respondents that they were victims of retaliatory violence following their own controlling behavior, as in Violent Resistance, nor was it the case that both partners exhibited mutual patterns of control and dominance, as would describe Mutual Violent Resistance.

Although some relationships described above seem to indicate the presence of an Intimate Terrorist, another research question addressed how male victims' reasons for remaining in the relationship compared to that of women. Naturally the more dependent a partner is on an abuser, whether emotionally, financially, or even based on the presence of children for example, the more difficult it will be for that partner to leave the relationship. And we saw some of that dependence here. Some men, despite being employed and well educated, were made to account for their activities financially, essentially restricting their freedom.

Relatedly, one interesting finding that could be expanded upon in future projects is the imbalance in the power structure of the relationship as a factor of differing levels of education between partners. In all but two cases, victims had higher levels of educational attainment than their abusive partners with 5 reporting post-graduate degrees. Victims were well educated, employed, and ideally more capable of independent action than many female victims of male perpetrated violence. However, several were still dominated and manipulated by partners, perhaps in an attempt to compensate for the opposite imbalance in school or work life. This dynamic certainly warrants increased investigation; particularly as rates of educational attainment and multiple-partner working families are on the rise for some groups.

There were some universal factors that cause someone to remain in an abusive relationship, such as the need to be wanted or needed, the need for sexual intimacy, the self

esteem associated with being in a relationship, and having children with a partner and wanting to keep the relationship intact for their benefit, all of which were reported as ways that respondents were compelled to continue the relationship. Men also reported being slowly cut off from friends and family as avenues of support, which is yet another reason that anonymous online support systems, hotlines, and non-government organizations can be so crucial in motivating victims to make changes. Additionally, however, males may also face added barriers unique to their victimization such as the stigma attached to intimate partner victimization for males, the relative lack of formal resources available to them as compared to other groups such as battered women, and the lingering biased favoring women in domestic violence cases which can manifest itself in issue of arrest, prosecution, and in courts deciding child custody.

One important issue that future research could address in more depth is the emotional toll that abusive relationships take on male victims. At the end of the survey, respondents were asked to elaborate on the most challenging thing about being in an abusive relationship, and the responses in some cases may be characteristic of feelings of hopelessness, self-blame, and even learned helplessness which we know can be characteristic of battered women. One respondent stated that for the sake of the children, he was prepared to accept being miserable for the rest of his life to spare them the experience of a broken family. This resignation was also apparent in reports of resulting shame after experiencing abuse, and for one respondent the difficulty convincing himself that it wasn't his fault. Finally, two respondents reported that this was not their first abusive relationship, indicating a possible pattern of learned helplessness that persists from one relationship to another. This is particularly characteristic of the *affective deficit* form of learned helplessness in women, which results in a cycle of depression and complacence (Walker 1978). This lack of self-efficacy, combined with the lack of an alternative or support system that

may be even less available to men, can make it impossible or *undesirable* for a woman to leave her abusive relationship (Choice & Lamke 1997), or in the case here may even manifest in the formation of subsequent abusive relationships. "This one is not as bad as all the others" (Respondent #9), and "I guess this is the kind of relationship I'm supposed to be in" (Respondent #2) are both sentiments that we might expect to hear from any number of female victims of prolonged control and isolation, and have resigned to accept and maybe even internalize their perceived inferiority.

The low participation rate is the most significant limitation of this study, and subsequent results may not be generalizable to the entire population of male victims of intimate partner violence. Limited participation could have been the result of several factors including difficulty reaching a marginalized target population, the length of the survey, and more practically the multiple steps required to access the password-protected instrument. It is possible that extra steps in place to ensure participants were qualified for the study and had given consent, deterred some from completing the survey. This may also have been supported by the high traffic to my site following Google advertising, but low rates of survey completion. Importantly, difficulty reaching the target population should not be viewed as a limitation of online research, as the ease of access, lack of geographical limitations typical of a survey, and inherent anonymity of the internet are all benefits of the method that make it particularly suited to accessing difficult to reach populations.

Future research could also benefit from a similar study that specifically focuses on differences between victims of intimate partner violence in heterosexual and same-sex relationships, whether male or female. Although the current study did collect information on the gender of respondents and their partners, too few cases were collected to make a meaningful

comparison between victims of abuse by female partners and those in same sex couples. Also beneficial would be subsequent research that expanded the current focus to include variables such as region, and rural versus urban and their unique effects on this important social issue based on what we know of the possible culture of violence in the South, and the high rates of domestic violence specifically in rural areas. Finally, research should explore in more depth the possible influence of race on this issue, for which again although included in this survey there was not enough data to make meaningful conclusions about racial differences.

This paper contributes to the literature on intimate partner violence through the initial developmental stages of a typology that characterizes the experiences of the overlooked population of males who are victims of intimate partner violence. In addition to adding to an area of the literature that has previously been lacking, this information provides an interesting and necessary supplement to the wealth of information we have about female victims. Further, by tracing the history of the development of this social issue, we gain important insight into how our views and attention to this problem has changed over time as a result of our changing social discourse about issues of violence between intimates. This is important because expanding attentions toward a social problem also affects the number of resources allocated to helping victims, which is one very positive result of the women's and LGBTQ movements. It already appears that even early in the emergence of battered men as a social problem within the public consciousness, these resources already seem to be materializing. Ultimately, what is most important is that this problem no longer be ignored. With all of the avenues of support available to women who reach out as victims of domestic abuse, it is past due for men who are suffering at the hands of the same violence to be given equal attention.

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APPENDIX: IRB APPROVAL

ACTION ON PROTOCOL APPROVAL REQUEST

Institutional Review Board
Dr. Robert Mathews, Chair
203 B-1 David Boyd Hall
Baton Rouge, LA 70803
P: 225.578.8692
F: 225.578.6792
irb@lsu.edu | lsu.edu/irb

TO: Mark Schafer
Sociology

FROM: Robert C. Mathews
Chair, Institutional Review Board

DATE: July 20, 2010
RE: IRB# 3047

TITLE: "Battered Men: Toward a Typology of Male Victims of Intimate Partner Violence"

New Protocol/Modification/Continuation: New Protocol

Review type: Full __X__ Expedited ___   **Review date:** 5/14/2010

Risk Factor: Minimal __X___ Uncertain _____ Greater Than Minimal_____

Approved*_____X_____ Disapproved _____

Approval Date: 7/21/2010   **Approval Expiration Date:** 7/20/2011

Re-review frequency: (annual unless otherwise stated)

Number of subjects approved: 100

Protocol Matches Scope of Work in Grant proposal : (if applicable)__N.A.

By: Robert C. Mathews, Chairman _____

PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR: PLEASE READ THE FOLLOWING –
Continuing approval is CONDITIONAL on:

1. Adherence to the approved protocol, familiarity with, and adherence to the ethical standards of the Belmont Report, and LSU's Assurance of Compliance with DHHS regulations for the protection of human subjects*
2. Prior approval of a change in protocol, including revision of the consent documents or an increase in the number of subjects over that approved.
3. Obtaining renewed approval (or submittal of a termination report), prior to the approval expiration date, upon request by the IRB office (irrespective of when the project actually begins); notification of project termination.
4. Retention of documentation of informed consent and study records for at least 3 years after the study ends.
5. Continuing attention to the physical and psychological well-being and informed consent of the individual participants including notification of new information that might affect consent.
6. A prompt report to the IRB of any adverse event affecting a participant potentially arising from the study.
7. Notification of the IRB of a serious compliance failure.
8. SPECIAL NOTE:
*All investigators and support staff have access to copies of the Belmont Report, LSU's Assurance with DHHS, DHHS (45 CFR 46) and FDA regulations governing use of human subjects, and other relevant documents in print in this office or on our World Wide Web site at http://www.fas.lsu.edu/osp/irb

THE VITA

Ashley Marie Perry is a Ph.D. candidate in the Department of Sociology at Louisiana State University and expects to graduate August of 2014. Her primary research and teaching interests include criminology, interpersonal violence, and social problems and inequality. She now acts as undergraduate Criminology Advisor, and teaches in the Sociology Department at Mississippi State University.