HETEROSEXUAL MEN'S SELF-REPORTED EXPERIENCES OF

BEING TARGETS OF INTIMATE PARTNER VIOLENCE

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BEING TARGETS OF INTIMATE PARTNER VIOLENCE

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Dissertation

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ABSTRACT

        The purpose of this study was to explore the experiences of heterosexual men

who are targets of intimate partner violence. A multiple case study interview design was

utilized as a means to understand the lived experiences of the participants, including

perceived barriers and facilitators to help-seeking with regard to the experiences.

        In this study, the men who were targets of intimate partner violence ranged in age

from their late 20s to late 50s. The majority had children. They came from a range of

occupational backgrounds. In all but two of the cases, the men held occupational

positions equivalent to or with more responsibility and power than their partners. Also,

the men had either the same or more education than their partners in all but two of the

cases. Only one case consisted of an interracial marriage, and within that case the

husband was white and the wife was Asian Indian.   The majority of the men had

attended couples counseling as a way to deal with the abusive relationship. In each case,

the men were taller and weighed more than their partners, which is contrary to the

stereotype of a bigger, stronger woman physically assaulting a smaller, weaker man. In

four of the cases, the men were either accused or actually charged with domestic

violence, in contrast to only one case where the woman was charged with domestic

violence.

Overwhelmingly, verbal attacks and name calling were the most common forms of emotional and psychological abuse with men reporting 185 references to such acts of emotional and psychological abuse. Additionally, being scratched, slapped, and hit were the most commonly reported form of physical abuse with men making 85 references to such acts of physical abuse. Overall, men made more than twice as many references to emotional and psychological abuse than physical abuse, reporting 408 references versus 170 references respectively. Additionally, data from the men's narratives suggest two major themes: men's experiences that mirrored the experiences of women, as well as men's experiences of being a target of intimate partner violence which were related to gender role socialization. Under each of these themes were subthemes which were supported by the interview data. The subthemes for experiences that mirrored women's experiences included the simultaneity of love and violence, the interplay between blame and guilt, and the use of avoidant coping strategies. The subthemes for men's experiences related to gender role socialization included engaging in nontraditional male gender roles, being controlled based on traditional gender roles, and responding related to male gender roles.

In conclusion, this study found that men do experience intimate partner violence that is similar to women's experiences of being a target of intimate partner violence. But additionally, men have experiences that are qualitatively different then women's experiences. These differences need to be attended to in order to provide effective services for men who are targets of intimate partner violence.

DEDICATION

To my children, Sierra, Paul and Isaac. You are the loves of my life and I appreciate the sacrifices you made so I could become the best me that I could be. And to Tim, as well as all the other men who have been targets of intimate partner violence. May this work help shed light on an overlooked social concern.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The slice of bread we eat had to be baked by someone. The wheat had to be planted by someone else and, after irrigation and fertilization, had to be harvested and then milled into flour. This had to be kneaded into dough and then baked appropriately. It would be impossible to count all the people involved in providing us with a simple slice of bread…Through this train of thought we come to recognize how dependent we are on others for all we enjoy in life. We must work at developing this recognition as we go about our lives…There are so many examples of our dependence on others. As we recognize them, our sense of responsibility toward others develops, as does our desire to repay them for their kindness.

--from *An Open Heart: Practicing Compassion in Everyday Life* by the Dalai Lama, edited by Nicholas Vreeland, afterword by Khyongla Rato and Richard Gere

As the Dalai Lama captures in the above quote, I am greatly aware that "it would be impossible to count all the people involved" in assisting me on this project. First, I want to acknowledge my family for all their support, as well as their sacrifices during this process. In particular, I want to thank my mother, Paula Carpenter, for all the times she assisted me with my children, so I could write. Also, I want to thank Megan Mustafoff and Stephanie Koeser for the technical support that saved me countless hours in this process. Those who know me best realize that I am an external processor, and I need to verbalize my thoughts in order to clarify my ideas. So I want to thank Kevin McGinnis, Dr. Brian Ogawa, Jill Schreiber, Joe Minarik, and countless others for listening while I talked through my thoughts and ideas regarding the data. I want to thank Megan Mustafoff, Valerie Minchala, Joycelyn Landrum-Brown, and Jill Schreiber for assisting with the focus group that was utilized to check the trustworthiness of the coding structure

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this research project is to gain an understanding of the experiences

of heterosexual men who are battered by women partners. To this end, the research

explored one question: What are the lived experiences of heterosexual men who are

targets of intimate partner violence? A problem with the literature on intimate partner

violence is the lack of an agreed on and/or clear definition of intimate partner violence.

In one national study, the term intimate partner violence represented acts of physical

aggression "perpetrated against men and women by marital and opposite-sex cohabiting

partners" (Tjaden & Thoennes, 2000, p. 143). This definition of intimate partner

violence is narrow and lacks inclusiveness as it does not include sexual abuse, emotional

and psychological abuse, or same sex relationships. In a study on the prevalence of

female-to-male intimate partner violence in an urban emergency department, intimate

partner violence was defined as, "a pattern of coercive and assaultive behaviors,

including psychological, economic, sexual and physical abuse used by an individual to

hurt, dominate or control an intimate partner" (Mills, Mills, Taliaferro, Zimbler, & Smith,

2003, p215). In this definition, it is unclear what behaviors are considered coercive and

assaultive, and no examples were provided. Within the same-sex domestic violence

literature, an often cited definition is "a pattern of violent or coercive behaviors whereby

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a lesbian or gay man seeks to control the thoughts, beliefs, or conduct of an intimate partner or to punish the intimate for resisting the perpetrator's control" (Hart, 1986, p.178). But again it is unclear what behaviors are considered violent or coercive. Within the literature, coercion has been defined as "the communication of a credible (able, willing, ready) threat of a meaningful negative consequence for noncompliance" (Dutton & Goodman, 2005, p. 746).

For the purposes of this study, intimate partner violence is defined as a pattern of behaviors, including but not limited to psychological/emotional, sexual, and physical abuse, used by an individual to hurt, dominate, or control an intimate partner and where there is a threat of negative consequence for noncompliance. Psychological/emotional abuse includes but is not limited to verbal attacks; isolation; jealousy/possessiveness; verbal threats of harm, abuse, or torture; threats to divorce, abandon, or have an affair; and damage to or destruction of property (Follingstad, Rutledge, Berg, Hause, & Polek, 1990). Sexual abuse includes but is not limited to forced oral and anal penetration (Walker, 2000). Physical abuse includes but is not limited to being pushed, grabbed, or shoved; being slapped; being kicked, bit, or punched; being hit with an object; being choked or strangled; and/or being injured by a knife or gun (Straus & Gelles, 1990).

This chapter presents an introduction to the issues facing heterosexual men who have been targets of intimate partner violence, a brief introduction to theories regarding various types of intimate partner violence, support for conducting a qualitative study of the experiences of heterosexual men, and a rationale for how this study fits within the scope of counseling psychology. A statement of the research problem and the research question conclude this chapter.

The Problem

Based on the National Violence Against Women Survey, Tjaden and Thoennes

(2000) indicated that according to men's self-reports, 7.9% of men in the United States

will experience intimate partner violence sometime during their lifetime. Within the 12

months prior to the survey, over one million incidences of intimate partner violence were

committed against men in the United States (Tjaden & Thoennes, 2000). In addition,

48% of spousal homicides are committed by wives (Straus & Gelles, 1990). These

statistics emphasize the incidence of interpersonal violence as a social problem that

impacts men both as perpetrators and victims, at the same time most of the research

focuses on perpetration by men and the victimization of women and children. Indeed,

there is a dearth of research on the experiences of heterosexual men as targets of intimate

partner violence (Williams & Frieze, 2005).

As part of an introduction to a violence prevention curriculum, Creighton and

Kivel (1992) asserted that the cause of violence in the United States is the result of a

"systematic, institutionalized" (p.13) power differential. Thus, social groups without

equal power—women, children, and people of color to name a few—are more often

targets of physical violence. Within this social perspective, hegemonic masculinity,

which Connell (2005) defined as "the configuration of gender practice…which

guarantees (or is taken to guarantee) the dominant position of men and the subordination

of women," (p. 77) places white, heterosexual men with the most institutional power, and

thus those most likely to perpetrate intimate partner violence in order to maintain their

power. This particular theory of intimate partner violence makes the experience of

heterosexual men who are targets of intimate partner violence invisible when compared

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to women's experiences. From this perspective, researchers rarely acknowledge a need to study the experience of heterosexual men who are targets of intimate partner violence as it is not seen as a social problem on the same scale as intimate partner violence against women.

This view was challenged when Straus and Gelles (1990) published research suggesting that men and women are both as likely to be perpetrators and victims of intimate partner violence. Their findings led to the gender symmetry versus asymmetry debate in relationship to intimate partner violence research. The researchers, arguing for the evidence of gender symmetry as it relates to intimate partner violence, stated that gender symmetry exists within intimate partner violence; that is, men and women are equally as likely to use violence against their partners (Archer, 1999; Straus, Hamby, Boney-McCoy, & Sugarman, 1996; Straus, 2005). In addition, since men are as likely to experience being targets of intimate partner violence as women, they concluded that researchers needed to place more focus on the experiences of men as targets of intimate partner violence to address the dearth of research in that area.

In contrast, researchers (Kimmel, 2002; Saunders, 2002) who proposed the existence of gender asymmetry, where women are the primary targets of intimate partner violence, argued that measurement tools such as the Conflict Tactic Scale (Straus & Gelles, 1990) recorded the number of times a man or woman used a particular form of violence against a partner, but failed to capture the outcome of the intimate partner violence. For example, women are more likely than men to require medical attention after being a target of intimate partner violence (Kimmel, 2002). They asserted that although women may engage in intimate partner violence, often this violence is in

retaliation. Indeed, women experience mental, physical, and economic consequences from being a target that men do not face to an equal extent (Hensing & Alexanderson, 2000; Lloyd & Taluc, 1999; Swansberg & Logan, 2005).

In an attempt to make sense of these competing views, researchers have argued that major sources of intimate partner violence data, crime victimization studies and family conflict studies, are measuring different phenomenon, thus providing a plausible explanation for conflicting studies regarding gender symmetry in relationship to intimate partner violence (Hamby, 2005; Johnson, 2004; Kimmel, 2002). For example, in comparing studies that utilize data from the National Family Conflict Surveys (Straus & Gelles, 1990) with studies using data from crime victim studies, researchers have found that studies using data from the National Family Conflict Surveys reported higher rates of domestic violence, gender symmetry in resolving disputes, and that violence is unlikely to escalate over time (Hamby; Kimmel). On the other hand, data from crime victim studies have indicated lower rates of domestic violence, with women reporting six times more incidents of violence than men, and domestic violence increasing in severity over time (Hamby; Kimmel). Thus, researchers utilizing data from family conflict studies are able to make a case for gender symmetry; whereas researchers using data from the crime victimization studies are able to support the argument for gender asymmetry. Whether researchers argue for gender symmetry or asymmetry within the interpersonal violence research literature, both approaches recognize men as victims. However, there is little literature focused on understanding the experiences of heterosexual men who are targets of such violence (Williams & Frieze, 2005).

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Theory: Two Types of Couple Violence

In an attempt to explain the contrasting findings from National Family Conflict Surveys and crime victim studies, Johnson (2004) developed a theory that identified two types of couple violence—common couple violence and patriarchal terrorism. Common couple violence was defined as "a product of the less-gendered causal processes…in which conflict occasionally gets "out of hand," leading usually to "minor" forms of violence, and more rarely escalating into serious, sometimes, even life-threatening, forms of violence" (Johnson, 2004, p. 473). In comparison, patriarchal terrorism was defined as "a product of patriarchal traditions of men's right to control their women, is a form of terroristic control of wives by their husbands that involves the systematic use of not only violence but economic subordination, threats, isolation, and other control tactics" (p. 472). In the case of the experiences of heterosexual men who are targets of intimate partner violence, it is possible that the violence these men experience is a form of common couple violence. Or perhaps men also experience patriarchal terrorism, where women have internalized a patriarchal approach to power and control which they impose upon their male partner. However, within this theory of couple violence there was no explanation for the experiences of heterosexual men who are targets of intimate partner violence.

Men's Self-Reported Experiences of Intimate Partner Violence

Within a crime victimization survey study, data indicated that the prevalence of violence against men by an intimate partner during a lifetime is 7.9% (Tjaden & Thoennes, 2000). According to these authors, both a man's race and history of childhood

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physical abuse are predictive factors of becoming targets of intimate partner violence. Specifically, African American men and Native American men report higher rates of intimate partner violence, while Asian American men report lower rates of intimate partner violence. However, we do not know if these data are accurate given the research indicating that men are less likely to engage in help-seeking behavior (Addis & Mahalik, 2003). More importantly, little information exists related to the experience of heterosexual men who are targets of intimate partner violence when they are identified.

In contrast, a review of family violence surveys indicated that just over 16% of couples in the United States experience incidents of physical assault (Straus & Gelles, 1990). Data from these surveys also suggested that men are as likely as women to be the target of intimate partner violence. In addition, a meta-analytic review revealed that heterosexual men are likely to experience being the target of such acts of physical aggression as having something thrown at them; being slapped; being kicked, bit, or punched; and/or being hit with an object (Archer, 2002). In a rare, narrative analysis of abused husbands, Migliaccio (2002) indicated that men reported abusive and controlling behaviors similar to behaviors reported by battered women. Further, abused husbands indicated that they engaged in avoidance, placation, disassociation, and physically striking back as strategies for coping with these behaviors.

Thus, overall, survey research has indicated that men are as likely to experience intimate partner violence as are women, but disagree on the reasons that men experience it. For example, feminist researchers have argued that the type of violence men experience is a result of abused women retaliating or defending themselves (Miller & Meloy, 2006; Saunders, 2002). Unfortunately, little research exists on the actual

experiences of heterosexual men as targets of intimate partner violence to determine

whether men are experiencing violence perpetrated by women with a motivation of

control or with motivations of retaliation and self-defense. Given this lack of focus in the

extant literature, a qualitative research study focused on understanding the lived

experiences of heterosexual men who have been targets of intimate partner violence was

conducted in order to develop a contextual understanding of the male experience. The

following section highlights the literature on female aggression which suggests that

women may perpetrate violence upon their male partners with motivations of control in

addition to the more widely expected motivations of retaliation and self-defense.

Female Aggression

Richardson (2005) wrote a summary article of her research studies on female

aggression conducted over the past two decades, which consisted of laboratory studies

employing variations of the Taylor (1967) competitive reaction-time task. This

procedure was designed to measure retaliatory aggression. Her research indicated that

women who conformed to traditional gender roles were more aggressive than their less

traditional peers, tended to retaliate more strongly against men than against women, and

reported more direct forms of aggression, such as yelling and hitting, in conflicts with

romantic partners. Her research provided the foundation for other researchers interested

in discovering what contributes to female aggression. Factors identified as related to

female aggression include younger aged women (Bookwala, Sobin & Zdaniuk, 2005), a

recent history of sexual and physical victimization (Graves, Sechrist, White, & Paradise,

2005), and a history of childhood victimization (Sullivan, Meese, Swan, Mazure, &

Snow, 2005). In addition, fear, reciprocity, and coercion may potentially serve as motivation for female aggression (Graham-Kevan & Archer, 2005). Indeed, Kernsmith (2005) found that 12% of the women she surveyed self-reported as the primary aggressor in intimate partner violence events.

In a study conducted by Graves, Sechrist, White, and Paradise (2005), neither childhood physical abuse nor childhood sexual abuse played a part in adult female perpetration. Rather, recent sexual victimization and physical victimization were predictors of female intimate partner violence perpetration with physical victimization serving as a stronger predictor. In contrast, Sullivan, Meese, Swan, Mazure, and Snow (2005) found that higher levels of child abuse traumatization predicted higher levels of women's use of violence. The samples used in these two studies may account for the differences in findings because one sample consisted of college students; whereas the other sample consisted of predominantly low-income, African-American women within the community.

Overall, these studies on female aggression indicate that adherence to traditional gender roles, younger age, and experiencing prior victimization are factors that may contribute to female perpetration of intimate partner violence. Additionally, some of the research suggests women may initiate coercive violence, while in other instances, they may engage in violence as a form of self-defense. These findings have led researchers to call for diverse methods for studying the complexities of intimate partner violence, to consider which groups are being left out of the research, and to conduct research that investigates male experiences of being a target of intimate partner violence (Frieze, 2005; McHugh, 2005).

Intimate Partner Violence within the Context of Counseling Psychology

The current research responds to two of the six significant areas of theoretical and empirical counseling research trends as identified in *The Handbook of Counseling Psychology* (Brown & Lent, 2000). Specifically, Enns (2000) stated, "the Division 17 Principles have provided a basis for considering gender-related counseling issues for over 20 years" (p. 601). Unfortunately, there is very little research on the experiences of heterosexual men who have been targets of intimate partner violence. Without an understanding of heterosexual men's experiences of intimate partner violence, it is difficult to consider the gender-related counseling issues of this phenomenon. The current study attempted to contribute to the literature on gender issues by collecting qualitative data reflecting the experiences of heterosexual men who have been targets of violence by female partners.

Further, counseling psychologists have supported the idea of method diversity with numerous calls for inclusion of qualitative methods (Gelso, 1984; Havercamp, Morrow, & Ponterotto, 2005; Howard, 1983; Polkinghorne, 1984). In addition, The *Journal of Counseling Psychology* published a special issue focused on qualitative methodology and qualitative research approaches as a call for utilizing qualitative methods in future counseling psychology research (2005). With this particular study, a multiple case study, one of several methodological approaches to qualitative research, was conducted. Thus, the approach for this research study is in keeping with the call for increased methodological diversity within the field of counseling psychology.

The Problem Statement

In a review of the literature on female aggression, McHugh, Livingston, and Ford (2005) asserted,

> We argue against the conceptualization of intimate violence as a single truth or as a debate between polarized positions, and we reject either/or dichotomies as simplistic and not helpful…Rather, we conceptualize interpersonal violence as a complex, multifaceted, and dynamic aspect of human interaction that occurs in multiple forms and patterns. The experiences and meaning of violence are viewed as being connected to both the relationship and the larger context in which the violence occurs (p. 323).

Unfortunately, the dearth of research documenting the experiences of heterosexual men as targets of intimate partner violence suggests that researchers have not studied intimate partner violence in all its multiple forms and patterns. Instead, research consistently focuses on women as victims and on how women are more likely than men to experience physical harm as a result of intimate partner violence (Goodman, Koss, & Russo, 1993; Kimmel, 2002). A review of the incidence and prevalence literature suggests that heterosexual men experience intimate partner violence (Archer, 2002; Migliaccio, 2002; Straus & Gelles, 1990), yet little is known about their experiences. If researchers of intimate partner violence contend that it is a complex, multifaceted phenomenon occurring within a context, additional research needs to focus on the lived experiences of heterosexual men who have been targets of intimate partner violence. The current research begins to address this gap in the literature.

Research Question

The purpose of this research was to conduct a multiple case study to begin to address the question, what are the lived experiences of heterosexual men who are targets of intimate partner violence? A multiple case study is particularly focused on studying a number of cases for an instrumental purpose, to study a phenomenon in order to "provide insight into an issue…the case is of secondary interest, it plays a supportive role, and it facilitates our understanding of something else" (Stake, 2005, p. 445). A multiple case study is conducted when there is less interest in one individual case, but a desire to look at a collection of cases for better understanding of a particular issue or phenomenon. There is an expectation that each case in the collection will provide similarity and variety, thus providing a better understanding of a phenomenon than can be gained from studying just one case. For the purposes of this proposed study, the multiple case study method was utilized to understand the phenomenon of heterosexual men who have been targets of intimate partner violence.

Summary

This chapter provided an introduction to the limited research on the experiences of heterosexual men who have been targets of intimate partner violence, offered a brief review of the literature related to female aggression, and provided a rationale for how conducting a qualitative study of the experiences of heterosexual men fits within the scope of counseling psychology. In addition, a statement of the research problem and the research question concluded this chapter. In order to truly understand intimate partner violence with its complex, multi-faceted nuances, additional research needs to focus on

the lived experiences of heterosexual men who have been targets of intimate partner violence. This study investigated the phenomenon of intimate partner violence toward heterosexual men through a multiple case study.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Introduction

In 1997, seventy-seven percent of all murder victims were male and eighty-eight percent of these men were killed by a male assailant (Good & Sherrod, 2001). Similarly, National Crime Victimization Surveys report that men are at greater risk for all violent crimes, except rape (Kruttschnitt, Gartner, & Ferraro, 2002). In addition, lifetime risk of homicide is three to four times greater for men than women. Although men are responsible for 90% of the homicides in the U.S., most of which are directed at acquaintances or strangers as opposed to family members and intimate partners, women are equally likely as men to direct lethal violence toward family members or intimate partners (Kruttschnitt et al., 2002). Indeed, women commit 48% of the murders of spouses as reported within the family violence literature (Straus & Gelles, 1990).

The majority of the crime victimization studies on intimate partner violence focus on women as the victims of domestic violence and men as perpetrators. Within that literature, researchers have noted that women comprise seventy percent of deaths related to partner homicide (Saunders, 2002). However, very little is known about the other thirty percent, the male victims of partner homicide. In a document reporting the findings from the National Violence Against Women Survey, Tjaden and Thoennes (2000)

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estimated that the lifetime prevalence of violence against men by an intimate partner is

7.9%. In other words, based on survey data, it is estimated that 7.9% of all men living in

the United States will experience some form of intimate partner violence within their

lifetime. Furthermore, within the previous 12 months prior to the survey, over one

million incidences of intimate partner violence were committed against men in the

general population (Tjaden & Thoennes, 2000). These statistics emphasize the incidence

of interpersonal violence as a social problem that impacts men both as perpetrators and

victims, yet much of the research focuses on perpetration by men and the victimization of

women and children. Indeed, there is a dearth of research on the experiences of

heterosexual men as targets of intimate partner violence (Williams & Frieze, 2005).

To provide a more holistic perspective of intimate partner violence and develop

the rationale for studying the experience of heterosexual men who are targets of intimate

partner violence, this chapter first begins with a review of the limited research on

heterosexual men as targets of intimate partner violence. Second, an overview of the

recent empirical research on women as aggressors in intimate partner relationships is

provided to highlight the complexity of female aggression against male intimate partners.

Based on the findings from female aggression studies, researchers have called for

multiple measures and methods, including qualitative research methods to understand

men's experiences of intimate partner violence to further our understanding of this

phenomenon (McHugh, 2005; Williams & Frieze, 2005). Third, a review of the literature

on women as targets of intimate partner violence is presented to serve as an exemplar of

what individuals have experienced as a result of being a target of intimate partner

violence and to inform the methods of this study. Fourth, a review of the literature on

same-sex intimate partner violence is presented to serve as an additional example of intimate partner violence. Fifth, a rationale is provided for conducting a qualitative study of the lived experiences of heterosexual men who are targets of intimate partner violence.

Men's Self-Reported Experiences of Intimate Partner Violence

How do men experience aggression from female intimate partners? To date, research on the experience of men who are targets of intimate partner violence consists mostly of survey data, which have provided both prevalence and incidence information related to violence against men. Tjaden and Thoennes (2000) defined prevalence and incidence as follows:

> …prevalence refers to the percentage of persons within a demographic group (e.g., female or male) who are victimized during a specific period, such as the person's lifetime or the previous 12 months…Incidence refers to the number of separate victimizations or incidents of violence committed against persons within a demographic group during a specific period (p.9).

Although this type of information is useful for understanding the scope of intimate partner violence, it fails to provide a context for intimate partner violence where one might obtain an understanding of the lived experience of someone who has been the target of intimate partner violence.

Two often cited surveys in the field of intimate partner violence include the National Violence Against Women Survey and the National Family Violence Survey. Data from the National Violence Against Women Survey, an example of a crime victim study, indicate that the lifetime prevalence of violence against men by an intimate partner is 7.9%. Thus, 7.9% of men in the U.S. population as part of this survey reported that they had experienced intimate partner violence at some time during their lifetime. In

addition, data suggest that both a man's race and history of childhood physical abuse are predictive factors of men becoming targets of intimate partner violence (Tjaden & Thoennes, 2000). Specifically, African American men and Native American men report higher rates of intimate partner violence, while Asian American men report lower rates of intimate partner violence. What is not known from survey data is the context of the violence experienced by men. Specific questions in relation to context include, what are the precipitating events that lead to men becoming targets of intimate partner violence? Are heterosexual men experiencing intimate partner violence because partners are striking back in self-defense? Or are heterosexual men experiencing intimate partner violence that is initiated by their female partner? In addition, it is not known if incidence and prevalence data are accurate given the research indicating that men are less likely to engage in help-seeking behavior (Addis & Mahalik, 2003).

In a review of the findings from the National Family Violence Survey (NFVS) (1976) and National Family Violence Resurvey (1985), Straus and Gelles (1990) suggested that men are as likely to be a target of intimate partner violence as women. The NFVS survey consisted of face-to-face interviews with 2,143 currently married or cohabitating persons between the ages of 18 to 70. The resurvey consisted of telephone interviews with a random sample of 6,002 U.S. households including presently married couples, cohabitating couples, individuals divorced or separated within the last two years, and single parents living with a child under the age of 18. The 1985 National Family Violence Resurvey reported incidence rates of violence between husbands and wives. When reviewing these two surveys, Straus and Gelles (1990) reported that the data indicated that just over 16%, or one out of six U.S. couples, experienced an incident of

physical assault during 1985. In addition, the rate of any violence (i.e. having something thrown at them; being pushed, grabbed, or shoved; being slapped; being kicked, bit, or punched; being hit with an object; being choked or strangled; threatened with knife or gun; and/or injury by knife or gun) perpetrated by the husband was 116 incidents per 1,000 couples with severe violence, such as being kicked, bit, or punched; being hit with an object; being choked or strangled; threatened with knife or gun; and/or injured by knife or gun, occurring at the rate of 34 incidents per 1,000 couples. These particular acts of violence were considered severe by the researchers because they believed that these acts of violence had the most potential for resulting in injury. In contrast, the rate of any violence perpetrated by the wife was 124 incidents per 1,000 couples with severe violence occurring at the rate of 48 incidents per 1,000 couples. Thus, based on these data, women appear to engage in equivalent acts of violence against their intimate partners. However, Straus and Gelles (1990) argued that the greater average size and strength of men compared to women would result in different amounts of injury. In other words, the outcome of violence may be more detrimental for women as targets than men. In addition, they explained that many assaults by women are acts of retaliation or self-defense. Yet recent research on female aggression has suggested that retaliation and self-defense may not be the only motivations for female violence against men (Graham-Kevan & Archer, 2005).

Field and Caetano (2005) provided a brief review of the survey research related to intimate partner violence. They summarized findings from the following surveys: The National Family Violence Survey and National Family Violence Resurvey conducted in 1976 and 1985 respectively (Straus & Gelles, 1990), the National Survey of Families and

Households (Sweet & Bumpass, 1996), the National Violence Against Women Survey (Tjaden and Thoennes, 2000), the National Longitudinal Couples Survey (Sorenson, Upchurch, & Shen, 1996), the National Crime Victimization Survey (Rennison & Welchans, 2000), the Study of Injured Victims of Violence (Rand, 1997), and the Federal Bureau of Investigation's Supplemental Homicide Reports (Paulozzi, Saltzman, Thompson, & Holmgreen, 2001). These authors concluded that approximately 20% of couples in the U.S. general population reported intimate partner violence. In addition, men and women were equally likely to commit less severe forms of intimate partner violence, but women were more likely the victim of severe forms of physical violence. Also, Hispanic Americans and African Americans had a higher rate of intimate partner violence than Whites. This suggests that heterosexual men have been targets of intimate partner violence, but little is known about their experiences.

In comparing studies that utilized data from the national family conflict surveys with studies using data from crime victim studies, researchers have found that studies using data from the national family conflict surveys indicated higher rates of domestic violence (Hamby, 2005; Kimmel, 2002). In addition, data from family conflict surveys suggest that men and women are as likely to engage in physical aggression. And although more couples reported incidents of domestic violence, this violence was unlikely to escalate from less severe (i.e. pushing and shoving) to more severe forms (i.e. punching and choking) over time (Hamby; Kimmel). In contrast, data from Crime Victim Studies have suggested lower rates of domestic violence with women reporting six times more incidents of violence than men, and domestic violence increasing in severity over time (Hamby; Kimmel). Therefore, the question as to the extent to which

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heterosexual men experience intimate partner violence and the pattern of violence over time depends on which survey data are analyzed.

In a meta-analytic review, Archer (2002) identified sex differences in physically aggressive acts between heterosexual partners. Archer analyzed a total of 58 studies on partner aggression that had been published between 1976 and 1998. Of nine acts of physical aggression measured using both self-report and partner report, he found that women were more likely to throw something (d=.14), slap (d=.18), kick, bite, punch (d=.14), and hit with an object (d=.13) than men. Whereas, men were more likely to push, grab, shove (d=.06), beat up (d=.07), and choke or strangle (d=.13). Effect sizes from comparisons between men and women for the acts of aggression involving weapons (threatening with knife or gun (d = .02) and using knife or gun (d = .002)), were not statistically significant.

When comparing self-reports with partner reports, data indicated that men tended to underreport their acts of aggression in self-report data as compared to their partners. In contrast, women's self-reports tended to match partner reports for five of the nine acts of aggression, including throwing something at; pushing, grabbing, shoving; slapping; kicking, biting, punching; and hitting with object. However, a pattern of women underreporting their acts of aggression as compared to their partners' on self-report occurred for the other four acts of aggression, including beating up; choking or strangling; threatening with knife or gun; and using a knife or gun. So overall, the data suggested that men tend to underreport their acts of aggression when their self-reports are compared to their partner's report; whereas, women tend to underreport more severe acts of aggression as compared to partner reports. Based on the information on

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underreporting, it appears that women are as likely as men to commit the first five acts of physical aggression. But current data on women's use of the other four acts of aggression might not provide an accurate picture of the lived experience of heterosexual men who have been targets of intimate partner violence. Thus, this meta-analysis identified sex differences in physical acts of aggression, but is silent in providing a context for understanding the experience of intimate partner violence. What is needed is a qualitative study where heterosexual men can share their experiences of being targets of intimate partner violence.

In a rare qualitative study focused on abused husbands, Migliaccio (2002) analyzed the stories of twelve men who reported having been abused by their wives and compared the results with the research regarding the experience of women survivors of intimate partner violence. Four of the narratives were obtained through face to face interviews, three by e-mail, and four by phone. One additional story was posted on the internet, detailing an experience of abuse prior to suicide. Migliaccio found that the introduction of abuse (how the abuse began), the normalizing of violence, and the use of isolation commonly cited in research on women experiencing intimate partner violence held true for the men he interviewed. Four of the men indicated that the abuse did not begin until after making a serious commitment to their partners. In addition, they reported an increase in the level of violence over a period of time. Six of the husbands stated that the verbal abuse they received from their wives caused them to accept partial blame for the abuse. As an example, one husband stated, "the anger [from his wife] was my fault because I was 'stupid' and 'childish' and 'irresponsible'"(p. 37). Two of the

men indicated that their wives controlled their contact with friends and family as well as their ability to participate in outside activities.

In addition to a description of the abusive relationship, Migliaccio (2002) discovered ways that husbands who were targets of violence from their wives explained the violence and dealt with the physical attacks. Nine of the men in this study rationalized the abuse from their wives by indicating that their wives had been verbally abused, physically abused, or both during their childhood. In addition, five of the interviewees clung to broken promises of the wives to attend counseling. In terms of dealing with the violent attacks, six participants used avoidance by occupying themselves with other activities. One participant attempted placation by engaging in activities to appease his abuser, such as correcting situations that most often lead to violent attacks. Two participants reported dissociating. Six participants indicated that they physically struck back to stop the abuse. Another reported his way of dealing with the abusive relationship was a consideration of suicide. Four of the participants reported suicidal thoughts with three of the four stating that suicidal thoughts were part of their motivation for leaving their abusive spouse. In addition, six of the participants remained in the abusive relationship because their spouse threatened to commit suicide if they left. As indicated previously, the participant posting his narrative on the internet died by suicide.

Finally, Migliaccio (2002) identified external factors and social factors that hindered the husbands from leaving. As evidence of one of the external factors, Migliaccio stated that three of the men provided accounts of the police refusing to believe that they had been abused by their wives, even when one wife admitted that she physically assaulted her husband. Additionally, he indicated how this lack of support

from the police was directly related to whether or not husbands chose to leave the abusive situations. Although five of the respondents indicated that their wives were the breadwinners, only three men acknowledged that limited economic resources prevented them from leaving. Of the six marriages where children were present, all six men reported staying in the relationship because of the children.

From this narrative analysis, it seems that this sample of men experienced intimate partner violence initiated by their wives rather than from self-defense or retaliation. In addition, some of the experiences of these men who were targets of intimate partner violence mirror the experiences of women who are targets of intimate partner violence. However, because of the small sample and lack of information related to the methodology of this study, Migliaccio's (2002) conclusions need to be considered with caution. For example, although he concluded that men experience isolation and deal with the abuse through placation and dissociation, these experiences were reported by only one or two of the sample participants. Indeed, it appears that he compared narratives of the husbands who were targets of intimate partner violence against the existing data on women's experiences of intimate partner violence to generate relevant themes. Given the weak support for certain themes and a lack of information regarding data collection and analysis, it is unclear whether the narrative data fit the existing literature on women's experiences of intimate partner violence or the themes emerged from the narratives of the husbands.

Hines, Brown, and Dunning (2007) gathered descriptive data of men calling into a hotline, which offers assistance to men who are targets of intimate partner violence. The men ranged in age from 19 years old to 64 years old. Just over half of the men reported

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still being in the abusive relationship and having children in the home. Types of physical aggression that these men reported included: slapped/hit (43.7%), pushed (41.8%), kicked (39.2%), grabbed (31.0%), punched (24.7%), choked (22.2%), spit on (9.5%), stabbed (1.9%), and scratched (1.3%). For men who reported being controlled, forms of control consisted of the following: coercion and threats (77.6%); emotional abuse (74.1%); intimidation (63.3%); minimizing, denying, and blaming (59.9%); manipulating the system (50.3%); isolation (41.5%); economic abuse (38.1%); and using the children (64.5%). Additionally, men characterized their female abuser with the following characteristics: history of childhood trauma (91.7%); threatened suicide (61.9%); threatened homicide (59.0%); uses alcohol (52.1%); has a mental illness (46.0%); and uses drugs (34.8%). Further, several men indicated that they were "laughed at, turned away, or accused of being a male batterer" (p. 69) when they attempted to seek help.

From the survey data collected, it seems that men experience acts of violence similar to what women experience. Indeed, men reported experiencing a range of intimate partner violence, including severe forms of violence such as being choked and stabbed. Unfortunately, when they attempted to seek help, they were often not taken seriously. One limitation of this study was that the data were not collected in a systematic way because the primary goal of the persons answering the hotline was to advocate for the victim rather than collect data on them. Future research should ask all participants the same set of questions and use clear measures for physical and emotional abuse based on the literature. The current qualitative study on the experiences of heterosexual men who have been targets of intimate partner violence attempted to do that.

Overall, there is limited research on the experiences of heterosexual men as targets of intimate partner violence. To date, the bulk of research has consisted of the previously identified survey data with either a focus on family violence or crime victim studies. Of course, survey research is plagued by the limitations inherent in utilizing self-report data. These limitations include participant distortion either in presenting the self as socially desirable or as more impaired. Furthermore, Schwartz (1999) suggested that self-report data can be problematic because small changes in question wording, question format, and question context can result in significant changes in the results. In essence, the questions we ask influence the answers we receive. Although this current research project was plagued with these same issues, the iterative interview process included follow-up interviews where clarifying questions could be asked. This did not eliminate the problems with self-report, but it did provide more contextual information about the men's experiences.

These limitations in survey research related to intimate partner violence may explain the conflicting conclusions. That is, family violence surveys find that men are as likely to be targets of intimate partner violence as women; whereas crime victim studies indicate that women are more likely to be targets of intimate partner violence than men. Additionally, non-survey empirical data are practically non-existent. As such, little is known about the experiences of heterosexual men as targets of intimate partner violence. In the following section, a review of the literature on female aggression is provided in an attempt to offer support for the gender symmetry perspective that women may perpetrate violence upon their male partners with motivations beyond retaliation or self-defense.

Women as Aggressors

In order to establish that heterosexual men can potentially become targets of intimate partner violence where the woman is the aggressor, this section reviews the literature on female aggression. In a summary article, Richardson (2005) wrote about her research studies on female aggression conducted over the past two decades which have indicated that women who conformed to traditional gender roles are more aggressive than their less traditional peers. In addition, women tended to retaliate more strongly against men than against women, inhibited retaliation when in a public situation, engaged in retaliation in private or supportive situations, and reported more direct forms of aggression, such as yelling and hitting, in conflicts with romantic partners. A number of researchers have identified factors contributing to female aggression including younger age (Bookwala et al., 2005), recent sexual and physical victimization (Graves et al., 2005), and childhood victimization (Sullivan et al., 2005). In addition, fear, reciprocity, and coercion may potentially serve as motivation for female aggression (Graham-Kevan & Archer, 2005). Indeed, Kernsmith (2005) found that 12% of the women she surveyed in her study reported as the primary aggressor.

Bookwala et al. (2005) utilized data from the National Survey of Families and Households (NSFH) (Sweet & Bumpass, 1996) to examine the relationship between age, gender, and marital aggression by comparing conflict resolution strategies, physical aggression, and injury across married young, middle, and older aged couples. From the NSFH sample of 13,017 individuals, Bookwala et al. retained only married respondents who answered items related to conflict resolution strategies, providing a final sample of 6,185 adults, 54% female and 46% male. Respondents reported using four conflict

resolution strategies including 1) keeping opinions to yourself, 2) discussing disagreements calmly, 3) arguing heatedly or shouting at each other, and 4) hitting or throwing things at each other.

According to Bookwala et al. (2005), the use of calm discussion in marital disagreements was the most widely reported conflict resolution strategy in all three age groups and for both men and women; whereas hitting or throwing things at one's spouse was the least common conflict resolution strategy across age and gender. Young women were least likely to keep their opinions to themselves during disagreements whereas older women were most likely to do so. Women scored lower on the use of calm discussion compared to their male counterparts and higher on arguing/shouting heatedly at each other. A linear effect appeared for arguing heatedly or shouting at each other and hitting or throwing things at each other where younger adults scored higher than middle aged adults who scored higher than older adults. In addition, more young men and women reported that they had sustained injury from their spouses compared to their middle-aged and older counterparts. More young men reported that they inflicted injury on their wives than middle-aged men and no older men reported inflicting injury on their spouse. Thus, this research suggested that young adults were more likely to engage in acts of violence, or perhaps were more likely to self-report that they have engaged in acts of violence as compared to older adults.

Graves et al. (2005) conducted a longitudinal investigation to explore intimate partner violence perpetration among 1300 college women within the context of a history of physical and sexual victimization. Of the total sample, 99.3% answered questions related to a history of childhood abuse. Of those, 44.2% experienced no childhood abuse

of any kind, 13.6% experienced childhood physical abuse only, 25.8% experienced childhood sexual abuse only, and 15.6% experienced both childhood physical abuse and childhood sexual abuse. Neither childhood physical abuse nor childhood sexual abuse was linked with increased women's intimate partner violence perpetration during adolescence. Rather, women's past perpetration of intimate partner violence predicted future perpetration of women's intimate partner violence. Results indicated a positive relationship between sexual victimization in each of the first three years of college and women's intimate partner violence perpetration in each subsequent year. However, physical victimization was a stronger predictor of women's concurrent intimate partner violence perpetration than sexual victimization. Furthermore, physical victimization was more strongly related to women's subsequent intimate partner violence perpetration than sexual victimization. Thus, overall, they found that neither childhood physical abuse nor childhood sexual abuse played a part in adult female perpetration. Rather, recent sexual victimization and physical victimization were predictors of female intimate partner violence perpetration with physical victimization serving as a stronger predictor (Graves et al.).

In contrast, Sullivan et al. (2005) conducted a study drawing a sample of 108 women from the waiting rooms of an inner-city health clinic for low-income residents, a division of family court that provides services for people with domestic violence, divorce, and child custody, a local domestic violence shelter, and an agency where people were court-mandated to attend a family violence education program. They found that higher levels of child abuse traumatization predicted higher levels of women's use of violence. The researchers used path modeling to assess if child abuse traumatization would predict

a women's use of violence and being victimized in interpersonal relationships; whether child abuse traumatization, women's violence, and being victimized would be related to greater levels of depressive and posttraumatic stress symptoms; and whether being victimized had a positive and indirect relationship to symptoms through avoidance coping. They found that higher levels of child abuse traumatization predicted higher levels of women's use of violence, but was not related to women's experience of being victimized as adults. In addition, higher levels of child abuse traumatization predicted greater levels of both depressive symptoms and posttraumatic stress. Thus the impact of childhood abuse was related to psychological functioning as an adult. However, women's use of violence was not directly related to depressive or posttraumatic stress symptoms. They found an indirect effect between being victimized and experiencing depressive symptoms via avoidance coping, where being victimized significantly predicted the use of avoidance coping and avoidance coping was significantly related to depressive symptoms. Overall, this study provided evidence that women who may use violence in relationships may have also been victimized. However, there are limitations to the generalizability of these findings since the majority of the sample was low-income African American women. Despite the limits of generalizability, the current study of heterosexual men took into account history of victimization by asking follow up questions when it was mentioned by participants during the interview process.

Although the findings in regards to whether victimization serves as a factor in female aggression in the study by Sullivan et al. (2005) contrasts with the findings from Graves et al. (2005), differences in samples may account for the differences in findings. Indeed, one sample consisted of college students; whereas the other sample consisted of

predominantly low-income, African-American women. Therefore, the results suggest that when considering the contextual factors that impact intimate partner violence, it may be important to consider issues of diversity such as race/ethnicity and socioeconomic status.

Although some researchers have argued that the majority of women engage in aggression as a form of self-defense (Hamberger, 1997; Saunders, 2002), a study conducted by Graham-Kevan and Archer (2005) suggested otherwise. In their study utilizing data from 358 female students and staff at a university, they looked at the use of violence out of fear, reciprocity, and/or coercion as possible explanations for female aggression. Violence out of fear was operationalized as "fear for their physical safety" (p.270). Reciprocal violence was operationalized as women using specific acts of aggression in response to their partner using the same act. Coercive violence was operationalized as the use of controlling behaviors in conjunction with physical aggression. They found that violence out of fear (which could be considered a form of self-defense), reciprocity, and/or coercion all provided plausible explanations for female aggression; although the use of violence out of fear was not as common a reason for women to use violence as was reciprocal violence and coercive violence. In other words, women reported that they were more likely to engage in reciprocal violence and coercive violence, than violence in self-defense or out of fear.

In fact, thirty-five percent of the participants had used one or more acts of physical aggression in the past year. Of those women who used one or more acts of physical aggression, 43% had thrown something at their partners, 71% had pushed, 50% had slapped, 40% had kicked, 41% had hit or tried to hit with something, 6% had beaten

up their partner, 5% had threatened them with a weapon, and 2% had used a weapon. Fear and physical aggression were weakly but significantly associated with women's use of minor physical aggression (r=.13) but not with severe physical aggression. Moderate to strong significant correlations between women and men's use of minor aggression (r=.45) and severe physical aggression (r=.60) were found, thus supporting the reciprocity prediction. There were also strong correlations between control and both minor (r=.50) and severe (r=.52) physical aggression. Thus all three explanations for female aggression may operate.

To test the strength of the three explanations, two stepwise regressions were conducted. In the first regression, women's use of minor physical aggression was the criterion variable, while men's use of minor physical aggression, women's controlling behavior, and women's fear were predictors of reciprocal aggression from women. They found that men's use of minor physical aggression was the most important predictor of women's use of minor physical aggression, explaining 23% of the variance. Women's controlling behavior was the second most important predictor, explaining 11% of the variance. Women's fear explained a small portion of the variance (2%). The second regression looked at men's use of severe physical aggression as a predictor of reciprocal severe physical aggression from women. They found that men's use of severe physical aggression was the most important predictor, explaining 39% of the variance in women's use of severe aggression. Women's use of controlling behaviors explained a further 12% of the variance. Again, fear explained a small but significant amount of the variance (3%).

In another study confirming that women are capable of acting as primary aggressors, Kernsmith (2005) conducted a survey of 114 individuals participating in batterer intervention programs to determine whether the Theory of Planned Behavior (Ajzen & Fishbein, 1977) that has been used in the treatment of male perpetrators would apply to female perpetrators. Approximately half of the sample were men and half were women. The three components of the planned behavior model developed by Ajzen and Fishbein (1977) include attitudes toward violence, normative beliefs about the acceptability of violence, and perceived behavioral control. "Attitudes toward behaviors" was operationalized as the individual's beliefs about the rewards and negative consequences of performing the action. "Subjective norms" was defined as the perceived social acceptability of behavior. "Perceived behavioral control" referred to how an individual's belief, that he or she had the resources and opportunities to perform the behavior, would impact the likelihood of the behavior occurring.

Data indicated that 80% percent of women reported using violence in response to ongoing abuse by a partner, including revenge, retaliation, and self-defense. Among men, 15% reported ever using violence in self-defense or a history of abuse by their partner. Interestingly, 12% of the women surveyed reported attitudes and behaviors that identified them as potential primary aggressors. Thus, these data supported the contention that women can be the primary aggressors. Also, the data supported the idea that men can be the targets of intimate partner violence as evidenced by 15% of the men indicating that they had used violence in self-defense or reporting that they had been abused by their partner. What is not known is the sexual orientation of the men in the study reporting an abuse history by their partner. This is important because research

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exists on the experiences of gay men who have been targets of intimate partner violence (Cruz & Firestone, 1998; Island & Letellier, 1991; Landolt & Dutton, 1997; Regan, Bartholomew, Oram, & Landolt, 2002), but very little is known about the experiences of heterosexual men.

Additionally, components of the theory of planned behavior model were significantly related to male but not female violence. Men who perceived their behavior to be socially acceptable, saw few meaningful consequences, and did not perceive themselves as able to avoid using violence reported higher levels of violence perpetration in the previous six months as compared to women. There was no relationship between the beliefs of women and violent behavior suggesting that motivations for using violence are different in men versus women, attitudes about the acceptability of the use of female violence may be different for women using violence in self-defense, and female violence may not be taken as seriously as male violence. If female violence is not taken as seriously as male violence, then the experiences of heterosexual men who are targets of intimate partner violence may not be taken seriously either. But there is a lack of research to indicate whether this assertion is accurate. This current study asked questions about men's help-seeking experiences in an attempt to discover whether they were taken seriously.

Overall, the studies on female aggression indicate that traditional gender roles, age, and female victimization are factors that may contribute to female perpetration. Additionally, the data support the claim that women engage in coercive violence as well as in violence out of self-defense. These findings have led researchers to call for diverse methods for studying the complexities of intimate partner violence, to consider which

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groups are being left out of the research, and to conduct research that investigates male

experiences of being a target of intimate partner violence (Frieze, 2005; McHugh, 2005).

Women's Experiences of Intimate Partner Violence

Due to the dearth of research on the experiences of heterosexual men who have

been targets of intimate partner violence, a review of the literature regarding women's

experiences of intimate partner violence is provided in order to provide a context for

considering what a man might experience as a target of intimate partner violence. This

review serves two purposes: first it provides information about women's experiences of

intimate partner violence which will inform the types of questions to ask battered men

about their experiences, and second it will serve as a guide to developing methods for this

study. Both men and women experience interpersonal violence, but women are two to

three times more likely than men to report that their partner pushed, grabbed, or shoved

them, and seven to 14 times more likely than men to report that their partner beat them,

choked them, or tied them down (Tjaden & Thoennes, 2000). According to Tjaden and

Thoennes, 1.5 million women experience physical violence at the hand of an intimate

partner each year. These statistics illustrate a perspective of intimate partner violence

where men are the perpetrators and women are the victims.

As part of an introduction to a violence prevention curriculum, Creighton and

Kivel (1992) disclosed,

> …the social perspective from which Battered Women's Alternatives and the
> Oakland Men's Project operate is that the primary root of violence in the United
> States is the systematic, institutionalized, and day-to-day imbalance of power.
> What this means to those social groups that do not have equal power—women,
> children, people of color, workers, and the rest—is that they have less control

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over their lives and are targets of physical and sexual violence, discrimination, harassment, and poverty at home, in the workplace, and in the wider community (p.13).

Although this is the social perspective of just two community agencies in the United States, it is derived from feminist theory. Indeed, feminist researchers tend to operate from this perspective when conducting research on domestic violence (Brush, 2005). Researchers operating from this social perspective when studying intimate partner violence may explain why there is a dearth of research on the experiences of heterosexual men who are targets of intimate partner violence since men are perceived to be in a position of power. However, the extant data suggest the possibility of alternative perspectives.

Nonetheless, within this social perspective, hegemonic masculinity, which Connell (2005) defined as "the configuration of gender practice…which guarantees (or is taken to guarantee) the dominant position of men and the subordination of women," (p. 77) places white, heterosexual men with the most institutional power, and thus are those most likely to engage in intimate partner violence in order to maintain their power. This particular social perspective of intimate partner violence makes the experience of heterosexual men who are targets of intimate partner violence invisible when compared to women's experiences. Grounded in this perspective, it is understandable that researchers have not studied the experience of heterosexual men as targets of intimate partner violence because it is not seen as a social problem like intimate partner violence against women.

Taken from the hegemonic masculinity viewpoint, a woman's experiences of physical violence at the hand of her male intimate partner is a result of a power

differential. The power and control wheel, developed from group interviews of over 200

battered women in Duluth who participated in educational classes provided by the Duluth

battered women's shelter, provides a breakdown of the types of abusive behaviors

utilized by men to create a power differential and maintain power and control over their

female partners (Pence & Paymar, 1993). These abusive behaviors include using

coercion and threats; using intimidation; using emotional abuse such as put-downs and

name-calling; using isolation; minimizing, denying, and blaming; using children; using

male privilege by making all the decisions and defining roles; and using economic abuse

such as preventing her from working and/or not letting her know about the family

finances (Pence & Paymar). As a result of these abusive behaviors utilized to maintain

power and control, women who have been targets of intimate partner violence suffer

more physical and mental health problems, higher unemployment and underemployment,

and increases in work absences, than women who have not been targets (Coker et al.,

2002; Hensing & Alexanderson, 2000; Lloyd & Taluc, 1999).

Walker (1979) pioneered research in the area of battered women, which led to the

development of the battered women syndrome. She defined a battered woman as "a

woman who is repeatedly subjected to any forceful physical or psychological behavior by

a man in order to coerce her to do something he wants her to do without any concern for

her rights…Furthermore, in order to be classified as a battered woman, the couple must

go through the battering cycle at least twice" (p. xv). The battering cycle consists of

three phases—tension-building phase, the explosion or acute battering incident phase,

and the calm, loving respite phase. During the tension-building phase, minor incidents

occur, but the woman handles these incidents in various ways to try to prevent the

incidents from escalating. Over time, the coping techniques become less effective until it leads to an "uncontrollable discharge of tensions that have built up during phase one" (p. 59). This phase is shorter than the other two phases, lasting from two to twenty-four hours. The third phase consists of loving behavior on the part of the batterer in order to make up to the battered woman for going too far. Typically, the batterer is apologetic and promises to never do it again. In addition, the batterer will shower her with gifts in order to make amends.

In a study of over 400 battered women in a six-state region, Walker (1984) investigated domestic violence from the battered woman's perspective. A woman was eligible for the study if she reported that she was battered at least two times by a male intimate partner. She defined a battered woman as "a woman, 18 years of age or over, who is or has been in an intimate relationship with a man who repeatedly subjects or subjected her to forceful physical and/or psychological abuse" (p.203). Abuse consisted of any of the following behaviors: excessive possessiveness and/or jealousy; extreme verbal harassment and expressing comments of a derogatory nature with negative value judgments; restriction of her activity through physical or psychological means; nonverbal and verbal threats of future punishment and/or deprivation; sexual assault whether or not married; and actual physical attack with or without injury (Walker, 1984). Results indicated that there was not a link between unemployment and intimate partner violence, as less than 15% of the batterers and 25% of the battered women were unemployed during the battering relationship. However, battering seemed to occur when there was a disparity between partners in terms of social, educational, or economic status. Battered women in the study reported more liberal attitudes toward women's roles; whereas male

batterers held traditional attitudes toward women. Also, battering was present in two-thirds of the battered women's childhood homes and four-fifths of batterer's childhood homes, suggesting that violence in childhood leads to more violence in adulthood.

Sex was used as way to dominate women in the same way that physical violence was utilized. Battered women reported unreasonable jealousy on the part of the batterer, who would accuse the woman of having sexual relations with other men and women. The battered women were more socially and financially isolated when living with a batterer. The violence escalated over time, as did the use of weapons. In addition, the probability that a woman would seek help increased over time, as did the risk for lethality for either partner (Walker, 1984, 2000).

In one qualitative study, women (N=10) reported that intimate partner violence resulted in low self-concept, difficulty concentrating at work, increased absenteeism, and economic control and restriction (Wettersten et al., 2005). Economic control and restriction included such tactics as the male partner taking possession of both his and his female partner's income with the female partner having to ask for an allowance.

Results from another qualitative study, women (N=32) experiencing intimate partner violence indicated that less than half of the women experiencing intimate partner violence ever informed supervisors, managers, or coworkers about the intimate partner violence (Swanberg & Logan, 2005). Swanberg and Logan found that when women did disclose, it was because they feared for their safety, the abuser came to the woman's place of employment, or the woman suspected that supervisors/managers/coworkers already knew. On the other hand, women reported a sense of shame, fear of job loss, and their ability to handle the violence independently as reasons for not disclosing.

Another qualitative study (Cavanagh, 2003) based on a larger study investigating men's violent behavior towards their partners, focused on understanding women's responses to domestic violence. The qualitative data were derived from the interviews of 136 women, ages 18 to 57, of whom 74% were either married or cohabitating, 24% were either divorced or separated, and 2% were involved in dating relationships with men. No other demographic information was provided.

Some ways that women responded to the violence included defining and redefining the violence. This would consist of the women attempting to make meaning from the violence and trying to identify if it was a result of something they did. Another way included protecting the integrity of the relationship by not talking to each other about the violence and not telling others about the violence. Not telling was related to a sense of shame and the woman's hope that she could change her partner. In addition, women worked to stop or prevent the violence by doing things that would not threaten the man's authority and power. This meant that women would do what the men wanted them to do. As an example, "the interviews revealed that many women made it their business to be 'tuned' into their partner's moods as signaled by their use of alcohol, tone of voice, repertoire of gestures and mannerisms, in order to work out what the optimum response might be…women tried to stop the violence calculating how best to, for example, cajole their partner, and/or diffuse his potentially violent mood by acceding to his wishes" (p. 238). When women found that "doing it his way" (p. 239) was not working, they used responses that challenged men's use of violence. These included verbal confrontation, physical retaliation, telling others about the violence, and leaving the relationship.

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The second dominant theme consisted of women reacting to and reflecting on men's responses to their use of violence. Men would use minimizing, denying, and blame to convince women that what they experienced was not violence, or that something or someone else was to blame. Some women accepted this response from men by minimizing the abuse, denying the abuse, or blaming themselves in order to make sense of men's violence. Additionally, men would apologize for the abuse, and women would respond by accepting the apology and soothing the 'distressed man' rather than confronting him regarding the abuse. As women reflected on men's responses to their use of violence, they began to realize that they were limited in their ability to influence the violence. These reflections could result in a change in strategy, such as adopting more confrontational approaches.

One qualitative study examined the experiences of nine African American women, who had been targets of physical, emotional, and sexual abuse at the hands of their African American intimate partners (Nash, 2005). These women were recruited from public and private agencies that professionally interacted with abused women, through flyers, by referral from former interviewees or other women familiar with the study, or by directly approaching them after hearing of their eligibility through friends, family, colleagues, or their own admission. Nash discovered three patterns of response to intimate partner violence from these African American women. One pattern consisted of women acting as the men's caretakers. Many of the women expressed concern over contributing to the placement of African American men into the criminal justice system, so the women would not report abuse to the police. In addition, many of the women felt an obligation to protect the African American men's masculinity by relinquishing their

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(the women's) power at home. A second pattern consisted of women aligning the abuse experience with external factors, such as Black men's experiences of workplace discrimination, as well as educational and employment disparities between partners. For example, women associated the abuse from their partner with their partner's displaced anger from discrimination. A third pattern consisted of women being resistant to institutional intervention. In one case, the participant did not wish to take medication that could negatively impact her work productivity or ability to care for her children. In another case, the woman was resistant to participate in a group counseling format where she was the only woman of color.

In terms of barriers to help-seeking for women experiencing intimate partner violence, Fugate, Landis, Riordan, Naureckas, and Engel (2005) investigated the help-seeking choices of abused women. The sample consisted of 491 women who were identified as abused and 208 women who were not abused in the past year. Face-to-face interviews were conducted to cover four types of help-seeking choices or strategies: talking to someone, using an agency or counselor, seeking medical care, and calling the police. Talking to someone was the most commonly used help-seeking strategy, followed by calling the police, and seeking medical care. Contacting an agency or counselor was the least often used help-seeking strategy. Common themes in reasons for not using a particular help-seeking strategy included: not needed or useful, barriers (which included no money, no insurance, lack of knowledge regarding available resources, or no time), wanting to protect the partner and preserve the relationship, privacy and confidentiality, potential negative consequences, and fear.

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Although equal numbers of women reported their most severe incident in the previous year as slapping or pushing (23%), punching or kicking (23%), or being beaten up or choked (23%), most women did not seek help because they did not believe that the incident was serious enough to warrant help-seeking. Thus, if we look at the barriers to help-seeking for women experiencing intimate partner violence as providing a backdrop for discovering potential barriers to help-seeking for men experiencing intimate partner violence, potential barriers for men may consist of the perception that intervention is not needed or useful, lack of money, lack of time, lack of insurance, lack of knowledge regarding available resources, protection of the partner to preserve the relationship, privacy/confidentiality, consequences, and fear. However, this is based on the assumption that men would identify the same barriers to help-seeking as women. Given the literature on male help-seeking behavior, which suggests as a group, men of different ages, nationalities, and ethnic and racial backgrounds seek professional help less frequently than do women (Addis & Mahalik, 2003), it seems reasonable to assume that heterosexual men who have been targets of intimate partner violence may report different barriers to help-seeking. But there are no empirical data to support this generalization. Therefore, the current research identified barriers to help-seeking that were reported by men of this study.

In summary, existing theory and research portrays intimate partner violence as an act committed by men against women arising from hegemonic masculinity. But researchers need to consider whether the strong emphasis on violence against women has overshadowed the fact that men also experience intimate partner violence. Based on this consideration, research is necessary to develop a contextual understanding of how

heterosexual men experience being a target of intimate partner violence. In the next section, a review of the same-sex intimate partner violence literature is provided to consider how research in this area may inform heterosexual men's experience as a target of intimate partner violence.

Same-Sex Intimate Partner Violence

Due to the dearth of research on the experiences of heterosexual men who have been targets of intimate partner violence, a review of the literature regarding same-sex intimate partner violence is provided in order to better understand what a man might experience as a target of intimate partner violence. This review serves two purposes: first it provides information about lesbian and gay men's experiences of intimate partner violence which informs the types of questions to ask battered men about their experiences, and second it serves as a guide to developing methods for this study.

Burke and Follingstad (1999) provided a review and critique of the existing empirical literature on intimate partner violence in lesbian and gay relationships. They indicated that same-sex intimate partner violence is an understudied phenomenon. In reviewing the existing literature, they highlighted three major methodological problems—defining abuse, obtaining accurate estimates, and sampling lesbian and gay populations. In their review, the prevalence of lesbian and gay male partner abuse varied from 7% of lesbian couples and 11% of gay couples reporting physical abuse to 48% of lesbian couples and 38% of gay couples. The higher prevalence rates seemed to be related to smaller sample sizes gathered from networks, with lower prevalence rates resulting from studies using national samples. Also, some studies suggested that alcohol

consumption was related to lesbian partner abuse. In some cases the batterer consumed alcohol before perpetrating physical violence, and in some cases the victim had consumed alcohol. In contrast, another study found no relationship between alcohol consumption and how often abuse occurred. Factors associated with relationship abuse included imbalances of power, low satisfaction, high dependency on the part of the batterer, and greater discrepancies between social, educational, and economic status variables.

On average, a review of the same sex intimate partner violence literature by Burke and Follingstad indicated that sixty percent of battered lesbians seek help. Types of sources of help included private therapy and counseling; support groups for battered lesbians; self-help relationship groups, and battered women's shelters. Clergy, women's organizations, and police were considered less helpful.

In a study by Turell (2000), a sample of ethnically diverse gay men, lesbians, bisexual, and transgendered people (N=499) were surveyed in the Houston, Texas area to determine the estimated prevalence rates of same-sex domestic violence. Lesbians reported significantly higher frequencies than gay men of physical abuse (55% vs. 44%), coercion (59% v. 42%), threats (57% vs. 45%), shaming (77% vs. 62%), and children used as tools of control (12% vs. 5%). Transgendered people were more likely than gay or lesbians to experience their children used for control, equally likely as lesbians to be threatened, and less likely than both lesbians and gay men to experience coercion and shame. Also, higher income was significantly associated with increased frequency of sexual abuse (r=.14), physical abuse (.08), threats (.08), stalking (.08), and financial abuse (.10). But these effect sizes were small, and there was no indication whether the

higher income was reported household income or if the batterer or the battered partner earned higher income.

In a qualitative study, gay and bisexual men (N=25) were interviewed to explore the reasons gay men remained in abusive relationships (Cruz, 2003). The sample was obtained through contact with an area social service agency and snowball sampling. All but two of the participants were no longer in abusive relationships. The length of time that participants remained in the abusive relationship ranged from 10 months to 10 years. Cruz found the following reasons for staying in the relationship: financial dependence, naïveté about violence and/or inexperience with gay relationships, love, hope for change, fear of being alone, commitment to the relationship, emotional dependence due to isolation from friends and family because of one's homosexuality, and the cycle of violence and fear.

In another study consisting of gay male couples (N=52), Landolt and Dutton (1997) explored whether psychological abuse was present in gay male relationships characterized by inequality in decision making. In addition, they examined whether factors related to Abusive Personality, such as borderline personality organization, fearful attachment, preoccupied attachment, and poor child/parent relationships, were related to intimate partner abuse. Forty percent of the sample reported that at least one member of the couple perpetrated one or more violent acts in the last year. Eight percent of the sample reported an imbalance of power. Instead, the majority of couples in the study engaged in an egalitarian relationship. Psychological abuse seemed highest in couples where there was an imbalance of power rather than an egalitarian relationship. When looking at the relationship between abusive personality and intimate abuse, partner

reports of experiencing psychological abuse were significantly correlated with borderline personality organization (r=.48), anger (r=.40), fearful attachment (r=.40), preoccupied attachment (r=.26), recollections of paternal rejection (r=.34), and recollections of maternal rejection (r=.24). Also, partner reports of experiencing psychological abuse were negatively correlated with secure attachment (r=-.37). In addition, partner reports of experiencing physical abuse were significantly correlated with borderline personality organization (r=.39), fearful attachment (r=.34), preoccupied attachment (r=.25), and recollections of maternal rejection (r=.27).

Another study explored the general nature of male same-sex intimate violence (Stanley, Bartholomew, Taylor, Oram, & Landolt, 2006). Of the gay and bisexual men (N=69) who reported at least one violent episode, seventy-five percent of the participants reported four or less violent incidents in the relationship. In 44% of the violent incidents, participants indicated that both partners were physically violent. In the case of nonreciprocal violence, twenty participants were sole recipients and eighteen participants were sole perpetrators. Emotional abuse consisted of yelling, using harsh language, or engaging in passive-aggressive behaviors. As an example of severe emotional abuse, one participant described yelling, insulting, destroying furniture, and threatening bodily harm with an axe. Thirty-three percent of participants reported that they did not experience physical injuries as a result of the violence, 45% reported minor physical injuries, and 22% reported more serious injuries. Twelve percent of participants reported receiving medical attention for their injuries.

Common themes that emerged from the interviews related to the type of violence that occurred. Most reported common couple violence. Only six of the relationships

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identified control and domination as the motives behind the abuse. Thirty-six percent of participants described a demand/withdraw reaction, where one partner withdraws and the other partner makes demands in order to engage in communication. "Typically, the men in the demanding role felt their attempts to communicate…were thwarted…and when their emotional needs were not met, they reacted violently" (p. 38). Nineteen participants described relationships where one person was more invested than the other. The more invested partner tended to initiate violence. With fourteen of the participants, infidelity was a major theme. Either catching a partner in the act or arguing about infidelity led to violent incidents. Sixteen men indicated that violence occurred for the first time as the relationship was ending. Within this study, the researchers found diverse experiences of intimate partner violence that did not fit neatly into categories. In addition, they found it difficult to differentiate between a clear victim and clear perpetrator in most of the abusive relationships. Since few relationships ended as a result of the violence and the impact was often moderate, the researchers cautioned that it cannot be assumed that gay men perceive intimate violence as a problem.

Island and Letellier (1991) provided a case study on battered gay men based on the intimate partner violence experiences of Letellier. This case detailed a range of intimate partner abuse including physical abuse, sexual abuse, and psychological abuse. The battered male reported a fear that his partner would kill him. His experiences match the cycle of abuse that was initially identified in Walker's (1979) research on battered women. During one violent episode, as tension was escalating and the perpetrator was yelling at the victim to hit him, the victim hit the perpetrator. The victim indicated that he felt guilty and ashamed because this time he struck first. One point made from this

incident is that sometimes "the roles of victim and batterer may appear blurry to an outsider" (p. 87). Island and Letellier asserted that the role of victim and batterer is not determined by who does the hitting but by who holds the power in the relationship. In terms of reasons that gay men stay in an abusive relationship, they proposed that factors include the cycle of violence, fear, learned helplessness, nowhere to go, lack of financial resources, the belief that men cannot be victims, and a belief that male violence is innate. In addition, they indicated that homophobia creates a situation where gay men are cut off from usual support systems, such as family and friends because these support systems are unaccepting of homosexuality. Because of homophobia, they maintained that gay males may not wish to reveal domestic violence within the homosexual community for fear that their lifestyle would be targeted as the problem rather than the abuse.

Renzetti (1992) conducted feminist participatory research of 100 women, who had been targets of partner abuse within lesbian relationships. The study consisted of correlational analysis of a questionnaire completed by the participants, as well as analysis of interviews conducted with 77 of the participants. Renzetti used advertising as the primary recruitment method. The most common forms of physical abuse included being pushed and shoved; being hit with fists or open hand; being scratched or hit in the face, breasts, or genitals; and having objects thrown at them. Severe forms of violence included being stabbed, shot, or having weapons inserted into one's vagina. In addition, 71% of the participants indicated that the severity and frequency increased over time.

The data revealed that dependency on one another was the most strongly associated factor with the abuse, and that the dependency of the batterer typically manifested as jealousy. Jealousy was strongly associated with batterers throwing things

at their partners (r=.48), demeaning their partners in front of strangers (r=.67), destroying

or damaging their partners' property (r=.44), and abusing their partners' pets (.47).

Another factor in lesbian partner abuse was a history of family violence for the batterer,

and this factor often became a way to legitimize the battering. In other words, the

batterer could use her history of childhood abuse as an excuse for her own battering

behavior.

Reasons that women stayed in the abusive relationship included love for one's

partner (67%), thinking the partner would change (64%), thinking one could change

one's partner (55%), feeling isolated from friends, family, or others who might help

(53%), and fear of reprisals (43%). In addition, battered lesbians experienced difficulty

obtaining help from sources such as the police, the legal system, shelters, and relatives as

a result of the perceived or real homophobia of the providers of services.

In another qualitative study conducted across six Canadian cities, Ristock (2002)

interviewed 102 women, who had been in abusive lesbian relationships, as well as service

providers offering assistance to women who have been battered. She conducted both

individual interviews and focus groups. All but one woman reported experiencing

emotional abuse. Emotional abuse consisted of manipulation, lies, jealousy, isolation

from friends and family, homophobic threats, and not being allowed to sleep. In addition,

ninety-four women reported experiencing verbal abuse which included yelling rages,

name calling, and insults. Eighty-five women reported physical abuse directed at objects

which consisted of hitting/punching walls, throwing things, destroying property, ripping

up clothes, and kicking pets. Eighty-eight women described physical abuse which

included restraining, grabbing, shoving, pushing, punching, kicking, slapping, and

hitting. Nineteen women reported severe violence in which they received broken bones, head injuries, knife wounds, or bruises. Twenty women stated that they had been raped or sexually assaulted, three women reported sexual assaults that they were able to stop, and nineteen women mentioned sexual coercion.

In summary, the literature on same sex intimate partner violence is limited as this is an under studied issue. Evidence within the literature indicates that same-sex partners report forms of intimate partner violence similar to Johnson's (2004) two theories of couple's violence: common couple violence and patriarchal terrorism. In addition, the research suggests that lesbians reported a significantly higher frequency of intimate partner violence than gay men, but there is no indication as to the reasons for the differences in reporting. For example, is the difference a result of lesbians experiencing more intimate partner violence than gay men, or the result of gay men being less likely to report intimate partner violence? Also, the literature on same-sex intimate partner violence highlights how both men and women are capable of perpetrating violence and being targets of violence. Indeed, if intimate partner violence was an act solely perpetrated by men, one would expect to see little to no evidence of women perpetrating violence against their same sex partners. Yet, this is not the case. The perpetration of intimate partner violence is more complex than merely a consideration of gender.

A Call for Qualitative Research

Based on the review of the literature, it appears that heterosexual male victimization is a concern that is going unaddressed. And although this victimization may look different and be less prevalent for men than women, the problem exists and

requires a response. This response needs to begin with grounding in a contextual

understanding of the experience of heterosexual male victims of intimate partner

violence. In this vein, researchers have called for qualitative research that focuses on

identifying the contextual experiences of heterosexual men who are targets of intimate

partner violence in order to better understand gender differences in response to

victimization and to develop more effective intervention programs for heterosexual men

experiencing intimate partner violence (McHugh, 2005; Williams & Frieze, 2005).

Therefore, the purpose of this research is to address the following question using a

multiple case study design: What is the experience of heterosexual men who are targets

of intimate partner violence?

   According to Yin (1994), case study is one appropriate method for questions that

are either exploratory or explanatory in nature. Because the existing literature on

intimate partner violence is based primarily on survey data, a multiple case study design

is appropriate to advance the contextual understanding of intimate partner violence where

heterosexual men are the target. Thus, the purpose of this multiple case study is to

understand the experience of heterosexual men who are targets of intimate partner

violence by female partners. Although the findings cannot be generalized to all

heterosexual men, they may provide a better understanding of the phenomenon that can

guide future research in this area. Additionally, this study attempted to identify the

barriers and facilitators to help-seeking for heterosexual men who are battered by female

partners in order to develop an initial understanding of why heterosexual men typically

do not seek help when they are targets of intimate partner violence.

The data from this multiple case study were cross-case analyzed in an attempt to identify themes about the experience of heterosexual men who are targets of intimate partner violence. Because I expected to encounter difficulty recruiting heterosexual men for this particular study, convenience sampling was used. Semi-structured interviews of heterosexual men who have been targets of intimate partner violence served as the primary source of data. In the following chapter, the methods utilized for this multiple case study are detailed.

CHAPTER III

METHOD

Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to introduce the research and data collection

methods that were utilized in this research study. Also included in this chapter is an

explanation of how these methods were applied to this study, and the specific procedures

that were implemented in order to gather the desired information.

> Yin (1994) asserted,
>
> The distinctive need for case studies arises out of the desire to understand
> complex social phenomena. In brief, the case study allows an investigation to
> retain the holistic and meaningful characteristics of real-life events—such as
> individual life cycles, organizational and managerial processes, neighborhood
> change, international relations, and the maturation of industries (p. 3).

I decided upon a multiple case study design because of the need to better understand the

complex social phenomenon of intimate partner violence in a holistic, meaningful way.

Case study, as a qualitative method, enables the examination of this issue through the

narrative description provided by the participants within the context of their daily lives.

In the following sections, the rationale for conducting a qualitative case study in order to

understand the experience of heterosexual men who are targets of intimate partner

violence and to identify the barriers and facilitators to help-seeking is provided.

Furthermore, I describe my research design by providing details about sampling, data

collection, data analysis, and data management. Lastly, an explanation is offered

regarding the establishment of quality assurance through trustworthiness, reflexivity, and

representativeness.

Rationale for the Use of Case Study

According to Polkinghorne (2005), "the experiential life of people is the area

qualitative methods are designed to study" (p.138). Since the purpose of this study is to

understand the experiences of heterosexual men who are targets of intimate partner

violence by female partners, qualitative methods were well suited for this purpose. Also,

since there is a dearth of research exploring the experiences of men who are targets of

intimate partner violence, the application of a qualitative design was appropriate.

Moreover, current reviews of research on female aggression have repeatedly called for

the use of qualitative methods in order to help understand the complex social

phenomenon of intimate partner violence within the context in which it occurs (Frieze,

2005; McHugh, 2005).

A definition of case study may prove useful in developing a rationale for its use as

a qualitative research method for the purposes of this proposed research.

> A case study is an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary
> phenomenon within its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between
> phenomenon and context are not clearly evident…in other words, you would use
> the case study method because you deliberately wanted to cover contextual
> conditions—believing that they might be highly pertinent to your phenomenon of
> study (Yin, 1994, p.13).

In further defining case study, Stake (2005) indicated that case study is a useful method

when attempting to understand the particular and uncommon. Indeed, the experience of

heterosexual men who have been battered by female partners has been considered atypical, particular, and uncommon.

Stake (2005) continued by defining case study according to three types: intrinsic case study, instrumental case study, and multiple case study. An intrinsic case study is conducted when the researcher wants greater understanding of a particular case. An instrumental case study is undertaken when a researcher studies a particular case in order to gain understanding about an issue or phenomenon. The case itself plays a secondary role, and is utilized to understand the broader issue under investigation. A multiple case study is particularly focused on studying a number of cases for an instrumental purpose, to study a phenomenon in order to "provide insight into an issue…the case is of secondary interest, it plays a supportive role, and it facilitates our understanding of something else." (p. 445). A multiple case study is conducted when there is less interest in one individual case, but a desire to look at a collection of cases for better understanding of a particular issue or phenomenon. There is an expectation that each case in the collection will provide similarity and variety, thus providing a better understanding of a phenomenon than can be gained from studying just one case. For the purposes of this proposed study, the multiple case study method was utilized. Indeed, research for this study focused on particular cases of heterosexual men who had experienced intimate partner violence to gain an understanding of the overall phenomenon of heterosexual battered men and the barriers and facilitators to help-seeking.

This case study consisted of multiple cases (i.e., eight cases with an individual heterosexual man representing a single case) which were cross-case analyzed in an

attempt to gain an understanding of the experience of heterosexual men who are targets

of intimate partner violence. A review of the literature on intimate partner violence

revealed a range of sample sizes from as few as one person (Island & Letellier, 1991) to

over 100 people interviewed in qualitative studies (Renzetti, 1992; Migliaccio, 2002;

Ristock, 2002; Cavanagh, 2003; Cruz, 2003; Nash, 2005; Swanberg & Logan, 2005;

Wettersten et al., 2005). The studies with a sample size of 30 or more utilized grounded

theory (Cruz; Swanberg & Logan). Three of the studies engaged in narrative analysis

with two using sample sizes of nine, and one using a sample size of twelve (Migliaccio;

Nash; Wettersten, et al.). The decision to focus on a minimum of eight cases is based on

the sample sizes from the intimate partner violence qualitative studies that used narrative

analysis, as well as a suggestion by Morse (1995) within the qualitative research

literature. Morse suggested a minimum of six cases when attempting to understand an

experience. Based on a review of the literature, eight men were interviewed for this

study.

Research Design

The following section provides information related to the research design. The

first part of this section discusses the sample along with information related to gaining

access to the sample, as well as developing trust and rapport. The final parts of this

section details the process of data collection, data analysis, data management, and

establishing an audit trail.

Sample

The sample consisted of eight heterosexual men, who self-reported a heterosexual orientation and having been targets of intimate partner violence. Participants were between the ages of 29 to 58 years of age, self-identified as heterosexual, and reported experiencing a pattern of two or more physical acts of violence from the same intimate partner within a one year time period. Two or more physical acts of violence were chosen as a criterion based on criterion used in studies of women as targets of intimate partner violence (Stanley, Bartholomew, Taylor, Orem, & Landolt, 2006; Walker, 1984). Detailed demographic information for the sample is provided in Table 3.1.

Participants came from a range of educational and occupational backgrounds, but overall consist of a well-educated sample when compared with the general population. Data related to weight and height were captured in order to compare the size of these men with their partners as it has been suggested that physical size may play a factor (Hamby, 2005). The sample of eight heterosexual men contributed to the study through interviews, and they received no compensation for their participation. The male help-seeking literature suggested that finding eight to ten heterosexual men willing to disclose that they have been targets of intimate partner violence may be challenging (Addis & Mahalik, 2003; Cusack, Deane, Wilson, & Ciarrochi, 2004; Robertson & Fitzgerald, 1992), and this proved to be the case with the current research. Given the challenges of finding eight to ten heterosexual men willing to participate, several sampling strategies were utilized to reach potential participants.

Table 3.1

Participant Demographics

		Demographics				
Participant	Age	Race/Ethnicity	Education	Occupation	Height	Weight
1	40	African American	bachelor's	Office support	6'	200 lbs
2	30	White	master's	graduate student	5'8"	150 lbs.
3	29	White	master's	graduate student	5'11"	175 lbs.
4	47	White	doctorate	therapist	6'	174 lbs.
5	49	White	bachelor's	self-employed	6'	250 lbs.
6	34	White	GED	unemployed	5'5"	183 lbs.
7	45	African American	master's	managing consultant	5'6"	178 lbs.
8	58	White	master's	social worker	6'	198 lbs.

Access

The sample was recruited through a variety of methods, which included referrals

from service providers, advertisements in local newspapers, and snowball sampling

through networking. I used my contacts within the field of victim assistance and

counseling to gain access to a potential interview pool. Initially, a list of service

providers within the field of domestic violence offering services within the Great Lakes

region was identified. From that list, mailings were sent using the letter in Appendix A, which provided an introduction to my research in order to generate a list of heterosexual men who have been targets of intimate partner violence. In addition, advertisements were placed in local newspapers as well as flyers in the local community that described the nature of the study and the selection criteria. Because I struggled to find men within the Great Lakes region, recruiting efforts were extended nationally by advertising on listservs that reach a national audience. Additionally, an advertisement was placed on a website that offers services to men who are targets of intimate partner violence.

My first participant was a stranger who I spoke to at a bus stop. When I told him about my research, he indicated that he fit the criteria and that he would like to participate. Three participants heard about the study from a flyer. One participant heard about the study because he was a practitioner whom I contacted in search of participants. One participant heard about the study from the domestic violence shelter where he had received assistance. One participant was the brother of a co-worker, and one participant, who was from Europe, heard about the study from a friend.

Access consisted of a three-pronged process. The first prong was the letter to service providers, which introduced them to the research in order to generate a list of heterosexual men (See Appendix A). The second prong consisted of a letter to heterosexual men who had been targets of intimate partner violence, which introduced them to the research, the interview protocol, and a detailed consent form (See Appendices B, C, and D). The third prong consisted of the actual scheduling of the interview. The interviews were scheduled through e-mail or telephone contact. After the interview was scheduled, an e-mail confirming the date and time of the interview as well as requesting

that the participant complete the enclosed informed consent and demographics worksheet

and bring those completed forms to the interview was sent (See Appendices D and E).

Trust and Rapport

I thought that I would begin to develop trust and rapport as well as gain a certain

level of legitimacy with potential male interviewees through my contact with service

providers. If potential male interviewees had positive help-seeking experiences with the

service providers and the service providers endorsed the study, I thought this would be

the first step in developing trust and rapport. However, only two of the participants heard

about the study through service providers. And these two participants may have felt

comfortable because they had been referred to the study by someone they knew. To

foster additional trust and rapport, participants were empowered to determine a location

and time for the interviews that was most comfortable and convenient to them.

Because I am a woman interviewing men who have been battered by a woman, I

provided an opportunity to discuss any discomfort or distrust that the interviewees might

have with me. The interview process began with more general questions related to how

they heard about the study and what led them to participate, then progressed to more

open-ended questions that required the interviewee to tell more about his experience.

Throughout the interview I inquired about the participant's level of comfort with the

interview process. If participants were uncomfortable, they were reminded of their right

to discontinue the interview and no longer participate in the study.

Within the counseling psychology literature, Hill (2004) maintained that

individuals "…need to feel safe, supported, respected, cared for, valued, prized, and

accepted as individuals, listened to, and heard" (p. 91). When individuals experience

these conditions, they are able to develop trust. In agreement with Rogers (as cited in

Hill, 2004), she further indicated that helpers can accomplish this through empathy,

unconditional positive regard, and genuineness. These are defined as follows:

> …empathy refers to understanding another person and feeling "as if" you are the
> other person…unconditional positive regard refers to accepting and appreciating
> another person without judgment. Genuineness…refers to helpers' being open to
> their own experiences, and genuinely available to clients, rather than being phony
> or inauthentic. (p.92)

I borrowed from this literature and adapted it to developing trust and rapport with the

male interviewees during the qualitative interviews. This was accomplished by

acknowledging and reflecting feelings, restating interviewees' statements for clarity, and

asking more open-ended questions. These types of interviewing techniques were used to

demonstrate empathy and unconditional positive regard. Also, genuineness was

demonstrated by disclosing my personal reasons for conducting the research. I believe

that this approach assisted in establishing trust and rapport with the male interviewees.

Data Collection

The primary source of data consisted of audio-taped narrative interviews with

heterosexual men who have been targets of intimate partner violence. Initial interviews

were approximately two hours in length and attempts were made to transcribe within one

week of the actual interview. On a few occasions, this took longer. However, even in

these cases, the transcription was started within one week of the actual interview, but

completion could take up to a month. After transcribing and reviewing the primary

interviews, I conducted follow-up interviews in order to ask for clarification or expansion

of ideas from the initial interview. This follow-up interview included member checking, which will be discussed in more detail in the section on trustworthiness. The follow-up interviews were approximately one hour in length, and again, were generally transcribed within one week of the actual interview.   Although due to the demands of work and family, sometimes the transcription was begun within a week of the actual interview and took as long as a month to complete. After transcribing and reviewing the follow-up interviews, I determined if there was a need to conduct a third interview for further clarification and expansion. One participant fit this scenario but did not respond to a request for a third interview. Data collection was ended once a point of saturation was reached, where the interviewees were providing no new information regarding their experiences (Morse, 1995).

Table 3.2 provides the dates of interviews that occurred during the process of data collection. As evident from Table 3.2, data collection occurred over the course of sixteen months. Once the initial interviews for the first five participants were conducted, initial interviews for the last three participants as well as follow-up interviews were interspersed rather than occurring in a linear fashion.

Table 3.2

Data Collection Timeline

Date	Activity
May 17, 2008	Interviewed participant #1.
May 20, 2008	Interviewed participant #2.
July 30, 2008	Interviewed participant #3.
August 19, 2008	Interviewed participant #4.
August 21, 2008	Interviewed participant #5
December 8, 2008	Conducted follow-up interview with participant #4.
December 17, 2008	Conducted follow-up interview with participant #5.
December 20, 2008	Conducted follow-up interview with participant #3.
February 10, 2009	Interviewed participant #6.
June 10, 2009	Conducted follow-up interview with participant #2.
July 8, 2009	Conducted follow-up interview with participant #6
July 9, 2009	Interviewed participant #7
July 14, 2009	Conducted follow-up interview with participant #1
August 5, 2009	Conducted follow-up interview with participant #7
August 13, 2009	Interviewed participant #8
August 25, 2009	Conducted follow-up interview with participant #8

The interview protocol consisted of a semi-structured interview (See Appendix

C), which provided questions to begin the interview process. Because the interest was in

discovering men's experiences of being a target of intimate partner violence independent

of what heterosexual women or members of the LGBT community reported as their

experiences of being a target, broad, open-ended questions (i.e. Tell me about your

experience) were asked that would enable participants to share their experiences, describe

their responses, share the impact, and discuss the barriers and facilitators to help-seeking.

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In addition, this structure provided flexibility to explore unexpected topics that arose as the interviewees answered questions from the interview protocol (Glesne, 2006). I was aware of the literature on the experiences of heterosexual women and members of the LGBT community who are targets of intimate partner violence, but did not wish that information to influence the types of questions asked in the initial interview. The goal was to allow heterosexual men to have the freedom to share their experiences independent of others' experiences.

In the second interview, questions were crafted that allowed for clarification of parts of the first interview that seemed unclear. Also, if participants mentioned aspects of their experiences that mirrored experiences reported within the literature on intimate partner violence, follow-up questions were asked based on what was known about intimate partner violence in the literature. For example, participant five stated that he had never experienced physical violence. So I asked him if his wife had ever experienced physical violence as the literature indicates that women who engage in aggression have been targets of violence in the past (Graves et al., 2005; Sullivan et al., 2005). Additionally, clarifying questions were asked if a participant shared aspects of his story that seemed similar to another participant's story. As an example, participant six stated that when he would try to leave the situation, the violence would escalate. Other men mentioned this same experience, so I asked participant six to talk about how he responded when the violence escalated after he attempted to leave.

Once interviewees were identified, an e-mail confirming the date of the interview along with an informed consent and demographics worksheet was sent (See Appendices D and E). Interviews began with a review of consent, confidentiality, and agreement to

be audiotaped. In order to build rapport, I started with a review of demographic material and background information as these may seem less threatening. Interviews then progressed into more sensitive material (e.g. Tell me about your experience of intimate partner violence.). In the follow-up interviews, data collected from the initial interview were fed back to the participants in order to gain clarification and expand upon various topics. This process assisted in establishing trustworthiness in the data, which will be discussed in more detail under the section on trustworthiness. Data were also shared from the initial interviews with the participants to check for accuracy. In order to maintain confidentiality, each interviewee was assigned a number. All data were identified with each interviewee according to his assigned number. Names were deleted from fieldnotes and a number was written on the fieldnotes as an identifier. Within all written and typed fieldnotes, interviewees were referenced by their assigned numbers along with created pseudonyms. In the research, these assigned pseudonyms were used to identify participants. All documents and interview recordings were locked in a secure location.

Descriptive notes, personal notes, and analytic notes were created from each interview. I expanded fieldnotes within twenty-four hours from the time of contact in the field, and attempts were made to transcribe interviews within one week of the interview. During this process, I began developing categories for organizing the data. The development of coding categories and changes to coding categories, which is an element of data collection and data analysis, was documented in a codebook organized for the purposes of tracking ideas and thinking about the ongoing analysis. A priori codes were generated prior to starting the formal coding process. Creating a priori codes consisted of

generating a variety of coding possibilities based on the literature review (See Appendix

F). Once an initial code list was generated, operational definitions were developed for

each code along with an example of the code from the existing data.

Data Analysis

Recognizing that data analysis begins in the field, initial data analysis started with

the creation of descriptive fieldnotes from the interviews. As detailed in the data

collection section, descriptive notes, personal notes, and analytic notes for each interview

were created. During this process, categories for organizing the data collected from the

fieldnotes were developed. The development of coding categories and changes to coding

categories (an element of data collection and data analysis) were documented in a code

book organized for the purposes of tracking ideas and thinking about the ongoing

analysis. A priori codes based on a literature review were generated prior to starting the

formal coding process. Each code was simply a label placed on chunks of qualitative

data in order to reduce it into more meaningful categories (Richards, 2005).

These categories were utilized during multiple re-readings of the data in order to

assist in the analysis. Thus the code book was utilized during the coding process to find

themes across interviews, links between various interview data and fieldnotes, as well as

discrepancies between interviews. As I looked at the data in reference to the code book, I

continued to ask questions such as: What is this particular passage about? What about a

particular passage makes it interesting? Where are there similarities in the fieldnotes?

Where are there differences? What seems to be missing from the data? Why am I

interested in a particular passage? As new codes were discovered, the code list was

modified accordingly. Cases were individually coded and then coded across cases. This

enabled the identification of categories for coding within each case and allowed

comparisons across the cases. With each revision of the code list, reasons for changes

were documented in the audit trail.

A copy of the evolving coding structure is in Appendix G. The initial coding

structure was based on the literature and the interview questions. However, these codes

were too broad and failed to capture the detail. The subsequent coding structure became

more of a stream of consciousness process where codes were created to capture the data

that men were sharing. At this point, it became clear that there were too many codes and

rather than reducing the data into more manageable, understandable chunks, the data

were being spread too thin. For example, there were over twenty categories related to

ways men reported responding to the abuse, but each category had only one or two pieces

of narrative data within it. The second coding structure allowed me to identify themes

across the codes and collapse codes into meaningful chunks of data. In order to do this,

different models were created within NVivo (2008), the qualitative software used to

analyze the data. These different models are detailed in Appendix G. The third model

seemed to make the most sense based on the literature and the data collected up to that

point. Minor adjustments were made to the model as new data were collected and

analyzed until I arrived at the final coding structure in Appendix F.

At the point no additional codes were found, a final code list was created along

with definitions and examples of each category and subcategory. With the final code list,

a final round of coding was conducted. All the data were coded case by case in order to

gain an understanding of each individual case. Then worksheets developed by Stakes

(2006) were utilized to facilitate cross-case analysis. The cross-case analysis assisted in

the identification of themes and the identification of discrepancies across cases.

Additionally, project summary reports were run to determine the frequency with which

each particular category or subcategory occurred within the data and the relative

importance of the particular category or subcategory in understanding the experience of

heterosexual men who are targets of intimate partner violence.

After the case by case coding was completed, a written summary of each

particular case was provided to the participants. These summaries told the basic story of

when and where the interview took place, details about the participant interviewed, and

the major events and issues discovered during the research. These summaries,

recommended in the literature on qualitative data analysis (Goetz & LeCompte, 1984;

LeCompte & Preissle, 1993), helped the analysis move from the minute details of the

data into the process of looking for emerging themes. These themes became abstract

constructs that represented a broader framework for understanding the phenomenon being

researched (Ryan & Bernard, 2000). In terms of this study, themes represented a broader

framework for understanding the experiences of heterosexual men who have been targets

of intimate partner violence.

The process of looking for themes consisted of reading through the data and

generating ideas about how to make sense of the data (LeCompte & Priessle, 1993). The

data were organized into categories within the code book and different ideas that were

expressed by the participants were recorded on worksheets for the express purpose of

identifying themes. By using the worksheets developed by Stake (2006), each case was

compared and contrasted to determine which pieces of data seemed to go together and

which did not. Then, the data were aggregated in each case by determining which categories were associated and could go into a group. For example, participant one expressed several ideas related to his experience that were gender related. So I took all the data related to gender for participant one and placed it into a group. Next, I compared and contrasted which pieces of data went together and which did not across the cases, and then I aggregated the data. As an example, I looked at all the data related to gender that had been identified for each individual case, and I identified the similar data related to gender that occurred across the cases and placed it into a group. Through this process, various themes started to emerge which were specific to an individual case. Additionally, themes began to emerge which existed across several cases.

Themes emerged through the process of theorizing what the underlying themes were, which was based on comparing, contrasting, and aggregating data. For example, as I was aggregating the data for gender for each case and across the cases, I was identifying recurring themes across cases. As I developed these themes, negative-case selection and discrepant-case selection were used to determine if modifications to themes were needed. Negative-case selection consisted of searching for a case that disconfirmed a theme while discrepant-case selection consisted of looking for cases that modified, refined, or elaborated the theme. In particular, case two was a negative case because he experienced three incidents of intimate partner violence within a one month period, and then his partner left; whereas, other cases experienced intimate partner violence over a period of years and the men would leave or attempt to leave, rather than their partners leaving. Negative-case selection and discrepant-case selection were conducted case by case in order to find data within the case that disconfirmed or modified a theme. Then negative-

case selection and discrepant-case selection were conducted across cases in order to find data across the cases that disconfirmed or modified a theme. This process resulted in a refined set of themes supported by the data.

Data Management

The data management system in the study consisted of several components— electronic files of all data stored in Nvivo 8 (2008), electronic files of all interviews, a jump drive containing written fieldnotes, typed fieldnotes, electronic files stored on net files, and a code book. Each interview was taped with a digital audio tape recorder supported by a combination of handwritten fieldnotes taken during the interview and typed fieldnotes created after the interview. Descriptive, analytic, and personal typewritten notes from my fieldnotes were generated within 24 hours of each interview. Attempts were made to transcribe the taped interview within one week of the live interview. The code book consisted of categories and subcategories of themes that emerged from the data that were collected and analyzed. Each category and subcategory was operationalized through a detailed definition and an example of the category or subcategory from the actual data. The code book was updated periodically to reflect new findings from data collection and analysis. With each revision of the code book, a detailed account as to what led to the revision of the code book was written.

Audit Trail

In order to establish dependability and confirmability of the research as well as enable other researchers to duplicate this study, an audit trail was created. This audit trail

was comprised of all the data collection materials, including but not limited to the codebook, descriptive notes, personal notes, analytic notes, as well as the taped interviews, which helped generate all the descriptive, personal, and analytic fieldnotes. In addition, a log was kept documenting my personal thoughts and feelings regarding the interviews, as well as my process of how I coded the data. Particular attention was paid to detailing my thought process when I was uncertain where to place certain pieces of data. Further, I created annotations within NVivo (2008) that were directly linked to the text, detailing my thought and decision processes.

Quality Assurance

This section offers information related to the trustworthiness, generalizability, and reflexivity of the findings from the current study.

Trustworthiness

The trustworthiness of a qualitative study is established through the credibility (internal validity), transferability (external validity), dependability (reliability), and confirmability (objectivity) of the study (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). This section begins with an explanation of how I established the trustworthiness of the data. Then, I discuss each one of the components of trustworthiness as it relates to this study. Further, I address the issue of generalizability as it relates to case studies in general and the current study in particular. Finally, this section ends with a discussion of reflexivity, highlighting the subjective nature of my qualitative study.

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In order to check the trustworthiness of the data, a focus group of colleagues was created to review the code book and ask questions about the process of developing the code book and conducting the analysis. Individuals in the focus group had a minimum of a master's degree in counseling, psychology, or social work. Following a presentation on the evolution of the code book and the processes of making decisions about categories, coding, and analysis, colleagues in the focus group were invited to provide a critique of the processes and make suggestions regarding additional themes that may exist within the data. Through this process, participants suggested that the themes "nothing is ever enough" and "guilt and shame" should be collapsed into one theme "the interplay between blame and guilt." This made sense, so those two themes were collapsed into one. This contributed to the trustworthiness of the data because the focus group was in agreement with the themes overall, but added refinement for one of the subthemes. Additionally, there was only one discrepancy between the coding structure as I conceptualized it and how the focus group conceptualized it. Specifically, they wondered if the stand alone code of "gender roles" could be placed under the code "precursors". Again, this speaks to the trustworthiness of the data, as the code book consisted of over 40 different codes, and the focus group disagreed with only one of the codes.

Credibility. When establishing credibility, qualitative researchers may include prolonged engagement, triangulation, member checking, and negative case analysis as various methods of achieving credibility. In this study, member checking and negative case analysis was utilized to establish credibility. Member checking consists of determining the accuracy of the findings by taking the final report or specific descriptions

and themes back to the participants for them to determine whether the descriptions and themes were accurate (Creswell, 2003). To achieve this, data shared during the first interview were fed back to the participant during the follow-up interview in order to ask clarifying questions and at the same time check the accuracy of my interpretation of their descriptions in the initial interview. Also, participants were provided a copy of an initial draft of the narrative description as well as the themes and asked for feedback in order to determine if the descriptions and themes were accurate. Additionally, negative case analysis was used to establish credibility. Negative case analysis consisted of searching for discrepant data within each case, then looking for discrepant data across cases. Any outlying information was identified, analyzed, and acknowledged. The identification of discrepant and outlying information is detailed within the results in chapter four.

Transferability. Transferability consists of the researcher providing the reader with enough information in the descriptive narrative, so that she or he gains an understanding of the phenomenon under investigation. Thick description is a hallmark of transferability. According to Heppner, Kivlighan, and Wampold (1999), "thick description is an unadulterated and thorough presentation of the data" (p. 263). Typically, thick description consists of presenting detailed information from interviews, observation field notes, and various supporting documents. As data were collected, I recorded detailed information that was typed into descriptive, personal, and analytic field notes. Then thick descriptions from these field notes were used to develop the code list and to provide examples of the themes. The words of participants and thick description from the descriptive, personal, and analytic field notes were used within the written

presentation of the findings so readers can obtain a mental picture of each participant and gain a clear understanding of the experiences of these heterosexual males who have been targets of intimate partner violence.

Dependability and Confirmability. Dependability and confirmability are ways for the researcher to establish reliability. One way to establish the reliability of the data is through a case study protocol (Yin, 1994). Appendix C includes the protocol for conducting interviews with battered men. This protocol was established to assure that I followed a set procedure for data collection in order to minimize differences in data collection due to researcher error. Also, this protocol provides consumers of the study information for replication.

In addition, an audit trail was established in order to enable consumers of this research to understand how I arrived at my conclusions. The crux of the data management system was a code book. The code book consisted of categories and subcategories of themes that emerged from the data as they were collected and analyzed. Each category and subcategory was operationalized through a detailed definition and an example of the category or subcategory from the actual data. The codebook was updated periodically to reflect new findings from data collection and analysis. With each revision of the code book, I provided a detailed account as to what caused me to revise the code book.

Generalizability

Generalizability is concerned with whether the research findings can be applied to or generalized to other populations. According to Yin (1994), the purpose of case study is more often conducive to generating theory rather than generalizing to other populations. The intent of this study was to capture the lived experiences of heterosexual men experiencing intimate partner violence and to identify themes from these lived experiences. With that intent in mind, each reader evaluating the research project needs to make his or her own decision as to whether the research can be applied beyond this sample of participants.

Reflexivity

Reflexivity provides a way to position the subjectivity of the researcher within the context of the research study. The findings from the data of qualitative research are impacted by the subjective experience of the researchers conducting the research. In order to address subjectivity and control for bias, I compiled notes that detail my personal views related to observations, interviews, and any other aspects related to the research. The following personal interest section is an attempt to openly and honestly offer my own self-reflections as well as identify possible biases that I have in relationship to the topic.

Personal Interest

I first became interested in the topic of heterosexual men as targets of intimate partner violence at a "Critical Analysis of Victim Assistance" seminar. This was a week-long seminar geared to help practitioners think critically about various aspects of

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providing services to victims of crime, ranging from theft to murder. When discussing

the nuances of providing services to victims of domestic violence, providers began

expressing concerns about the needs of men. More men were beginning to present at

domestic violence shelters because they had been the target of intimate partner violence.

Not only were providers unprepared to provide basic shelter, but they did not know how

the needs of men may resemble or differ from the needs of women who have been targets

of intimate partner violence. As a result of the seminar, I wrote a review of the literature

regarding how masculine gender role conflict and male help-seeking behavior may

inform victim assistance providers about barriers and facilitators to help-seeking for men

who have experienced intimate partner violence.

Although the seminar first piqued my interest in the experiences of men as targets

of intimate partner violence, I had extensive experience within the field of sexual assault

and domestic violence that served as a foundation to my overall interest in the topic. I

started working in the victim assistance field in 2002 when I accepted a position as the

education coordinator of a rape crisis center offering psycho-education and support

services to sexual assault survivors and community members residing within two rural

counties in Ohio. My experiences at the rape crisis center provided a foundation for my

understanding of intimate partner violence, which maintained that violence was a

function of a hierarchical, patriarchal social structure where white, heterosexual men

assumed power and utilized violence as a way to maintain that power. Wherever a power

differential existed, a potential for intimate partner violence could occur. However, when

I was notified that a family friend placed himself in a life-threatening situation in order to

escape intimate partner violence at the hands of his live-in girlfriend, I began to question

my assumptions about intimate partner violence. Questioning my assumptions regarding who can be a perpetrator and who can be a victim of intimate partner violence led me to conduct the current study.

During the course of the research, I experienced a range of thoughts and feelings regarding the information that participants shared. First, I made the assumption that studying male victimization would not have an emotional impact on me because I was studying men rather than women, and I would be less likely to identify with men. In fact, I found the information so heart breaking that I needed to engage in some type of self-care activity after each interview. After one interview, I was so emotionally moved that I began to cry in front of the participant. I found this open display of emotion embarrassing for a supposedly objective researcher, but later the participant sent me an e-mail and thanked me for my empathy. Additionally, I began to question the nature of intimate partner violence. What is an act of violence and what is just a dispute? The emotional and psychological aspects of intimate partner violence can seem less defined. Indeed, sometimes the men shared aspects of their experience that made me wonder if there had been times when I had perpetrated forms of emotional and psychological abuse. This was a sober realization, and I found myself paying attention to my intentions when I would engage with intimates in my life. Also, there were times when I questioned the veracity of what the men were sharing. I grew up in a home where I witnessed intimate partner violence perpetrated by my stepfather against my mother. So I had a personal model of the woman being victimized. Further, my training in domestic violence and sexual assault was so engrained that at times I would revert to the thoughts that men are perpetrators and women are victims, and I would question if the men were telling the

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truth. Then I would realize that I never did this when a woman shared her story of victimization at the rape crisis center. This realization enabled me to suspend doubts and just listen. Lastly, I felt a huge weight of responsibility to capture these men's stories accurately. As I began to identify themes, which moved me from the concreteness of the data to the more abstract, I began to fear that I might not capture it accurately. In particular, I recognize that I have an interest in gender studies and the role of gender role socialization in shaping men and women, so I feared that my placing these experiences within the context of male gender role socialization was pushing my agenda. Perhaps another researcher would not even see gender. In closing, I was well aware that during each step of the research process, I was making decisions about where to place the focus within the interviews and the analysis, and that these decisions would impact the findings.

Conclusion

In this section, I detailed the methods I utilized in order to conduct my case study. My intent was to illuminate the experiences of heterosexual men who have experienced intimate partner violence. My area of concentration was interviews of heterosexual men. The extended time interviewing participants in the field along with the thick description from field notes provided ample data to generate themes from the experiences of heterosexual men of intimate partner violence, which may inform future research on the topic. In addition, these data suggested potential facilitators and barriers to help-seeking for heterosexual men who have experienced intimate partner violence.

CHAPTER IV

RESULTS

Introduction

The purpose of this study is to understand the lived experiences of heterosexual

men who are targets of intimate partner violence by female partners. A multiple case

study interview design was utilized as a means to understand the lived experiences of the

participants, including perceived barriers and facilitators to help-seeking with regard to

the experiences. There is very little research that sheds light on this phenomenon, and the

research that does exist on heterosexual men's experiences makes a connection between

the experiences of heterosexual women as targets and the experience of heterosexual men

as targets. In short, the research suggests that men have similar experiences as women.

Identifying aspects of heterosexual men's experiences of intimate partner violence has

far-reaching implications for how service providers offer assistance to these men. The

central research question posed in this study was:

What are the lived experiences of heterosexual men who are targets of intimate

partner violence?

In order to answer this question, eight men, who self-identified as being a target

of at least two acts of physical violence within a one year period of time, were

interviewed. These criteria were based on similar criteria used in past research of women

as targets of intimate partner violence (Stanley, Bartholomew, Taylor, Orem, & Landolt, 2006; Walker, 1984).

Case Study

This section of the chapter presents the data gathered from interviews of eight participants. Because this is a multiple case study analyzing a collection of cases for better understanding of the phenomenon of heterosexual men who are targets of intimate partner violence, data were collected from an initial interview and a follow-up interview with each participant. The follow-up interview was conducted in order to clarify information provided within the initial interview. Stake (1995, 2006) emphasized the importance of looking at the particulars within qualitative research case studies. In this case study, the particulars consist of knowing each participant well—who he was and what he had experienced as a target of intimate partner violence, first to understand the experience of each case and secondarily to identify the uniqueness of each experience. Also, he indicated the importance of developing an understanding of the particulars of each case, then understanding the themes across the cases that apply to the overarching case, which he called the quintain (Stake). In this study, each man represents a case, and the experiences of heterosexual men who have been targets of intimate partner violence by a female partner represent the quintain, or the overarching case. The following section consists of the descriptive narrative of each case with attention to the particulars of each case.

Interview with Case One

The initial interview with participant one took place on Saturday May 17, 2008 from 11:15am until 1:30 pm in my office. The participant was a 40 year old African American self-identified heterosexual male. He indicated that he was a target of intimate partner violence by his wife, a 40 year old African American female. They had been together for over 15 years. They had two children together, as well as children from previous relationships. Participant one was six foot tall and 200 pounds. His partner was four foot nine inches tall and approximately 115 pounds. He had a bachelor's degree in criminal justice, and had been working on a master's degree in computer science. His work history had been unstable and inconsistent, vacillating between periods of employment in various unrelated jobs followed by unemployment. His partner was an LPN, but at the time of the interviews she was not working because of health problems.

A follow-up interview was conducted at the public library as per the participant's request. The interview went from approximately 6:00 pm to 7:10 pm. The participant and I met in a private room in the library that had windows along two walls. He was carrying a clipboard with a flyer attached and a multi-colored pocket planner. He maintained comfortable eye contact throughout the interview, and answered questions freely. The participant indicated that he would engage in "drinking and drugging" as a way to cope with the abuse. When I asked him the last time that he engaged in drinking and drugging, he drummed the table with his hands and let out a laugh.

Throughout the interview process, participant one described incidents in his partner's childhood and his own, which suggested they were targets of childhood abuse. He grew up in a home where alcohol and drug abuse occurred, and he admitted to having

problems with alcohol addiction. In addition to alcohol addiction, he indicated that he

had multiple affairs, but asserted that his affairs and use of alcohol was in response to his

unhappiness at home. He stated that he retaliated and used violence against his partner,

but mostly in response to her. Despite his partner initiating the violence that has occurred

between them, he has been charged with domestic violence on two occasions. He stated

that his wife has a problem with bipolar disorder. What seems unclear from the data

obtained from participant one is whether she emotionally and psychologically abused him

because he was using alcohol and having affairs, or did he start using alcohol and having

affairs to cope with the emotional and psychological abuse at home. Regardless of the

reasons for the physical acts of violence, he indicated that she would initiate an argument

and when he would attempt to leave, she would escalate into physical violence.

Participant one indicated that he experienced physical, as well as emotional and

psychological abuse in his marriage. The physical abuse included pushing, grabbing,

hitting, scratching and being hit with an object. The emotional and psychological abuse

consisted of damage to or destruction of property; verbal attacks and name calling;

jealousy and possessiveness; threats of harm, abuse, and torture by pulling a gun on him

or threatening to call the police; minimizing, denying, and blaming; and withholding

affection. Participant one spoke of how often she would belittle him and attack his

manhood. She would often withhold affection and either refuse to have sex with him or

ridicule his performance in bed. Sometimes she would ask him to just hurry up and get it

over with when he wanted to have sex. After awhile he began to have doubts about his

ability to perform. When she would want to engage in sex, he did not know how to

respond. He said that this had impacted his ability to relate to women in general. He

expressed resentment for what he experienced, and he felt that his relationship with his wife had held him back personally and professionally. Indeed, he was no longer able to work in corrections after he was arrested for domestic violence. Additionally, he expressed confusion over the whole experience in terms of understanding it and deciding how to respond.

Participant one stated that he engaged in retaliation, but this was after attempting to remove himself from a heated situation. He said that when things became too heated, he would attempt to leave, but she would block him from leaving. Sometimes he would manage to get to the door, but she would start throwing things at him or kicking him. One time, she chased him around town for over two hours. At the end of two hours and after a great deal of built up frustration, he grabbed her and said that he was fed up. Someone witnessed him grabbing her and called the police. He was charged with domestic violence. Even though his clothes were ripped up from her attacks, he was never asked for his side of the story. He admitted contributing to the difficulties because he had multiple affairs, but he also expressed that he would turn to other women as a way to deal with his unhappiness. It seemed as if it was a coping strategy. In fact, he indicated that he was looking for someone to save his life because he didn't have the guts to save himself. He made reference to God on several occasions as a source of help. He also made reference to how race played a part in some of his arrests. He said that one of the main reasons he remained in the relationship was because of the children. Another reason was because of the financial strain. He did not seek help other than going to an alcohol treatment facility, but that was for his addiction, not for the problems in his relationship.

Interview with Case Two

The initial interview with participant two took place on Tuesday May 20, 2008 from 6:30 pm until 7:30 pm in my office. The participant was a 30 year old international graduate student from Europe, who self-identified as a heterosexual white male. He had short brown hair and had circles under his eyes. He indicated that he was married to his wife, a 30 year old white female, for ten years. She was a European international graduate student. They did not have children. He was five foot eight inches tall and 150 pounds. She appeared to be five foot six inches tall and 130 pounds, based on a photograph that the participant shared. He was unable to confirm her height and weight. She had a bachelor's degree and was working on her master's degree. He had his master's degree and was working on his doctorate. Both were in graduate school at the time of the intimate partner violence. Neither person was ever charged with domestic violence. There was no evidence of physical violence over the course of the relationship until the few months prior to her leaving. What is most interesting is that she left the relationship after the third incident of her throwing things and he retaliated by throwing things back. Prior to this time, he did not retaliate, but dodged her and then left the scene. He reported that neither of them had a history of abuse in their childhood.

Participant two reported on several occasions throughout the interview process that his wife had grown colder and colder toward him by withholding affection and refusing to engage in sex. He suspected that she did this because she was having an affair. After being rejected over and over, he had a sexual encounter with a woman. When his wife found out, she became jealous and began throwing objects. She did this

on three separate occasions. After the third incident, he retaliated by throwing things back, and she left. They are currently divorced as a result of the wife filing for divorce.

The experience of being a target of intimate partner violence impacted his relationship with his wife, and it impacted the quality of his work. He returned to his country of origin, but she still lives in the United States. Participant two expressed a certain amount of disbelief that this happened. He thought he knew his wife and that she would never engage in violence. He sought help after she left, by talking to his supervisor/academic advisor. He also saw a doctor and a psychotherapist.

He experienced sadness and fear as a result of her throwing objects at him. His worry was not a fear that she would injure him, but rather what would happen if he were to retaliate and hurt her. He stated that this type of situation is dangerous for a man because he will always be considered guilty in the eyes of the court. Also, he was sad for the loss of this relationship. Indeed, he seemed to suffer from depression as a result because he stated that he would lie on the floor crying and was unable to work for a period of time after she left due to his inability to concentrate.

He initially responded to the intimate partner violence by dodging and leaving. Then he responded by trying to reason with her. He engaged in some help-seeking from his supervisor, a doctor, and a psychotherapist. This help seeking occurred after the wife left. He seemed to attempt to problem solve and try to understand the situation, but he indicated that the situation led to a lack of concentration on his part. This lack of concentration affected his work and personal life. In fact, he was in a car accident during this period, which he attributed to his lack of concentration. Closer to the end of the

interview, he began to cry and he took several Kleenex to wipe the tears from his eyes. He wiped at his eyes several times.

This particular case differed from the other cases because the intimate partner violence occurred over a short period of time. He reported three separate incidents over the course of a one month period of time. The other cases experienced several incidents over the course of several years, varying from two to over twenty years. Additionally, in this case, the wife left the husband. In the other cases, either the men left or they are still in the relationship. Further, this is the only case where the participant reported that neither he nor his wife experienced any form of childhood abuse or past intimate partner violence. In all the other cases, the participants reported that either one or both parties in the relationship experienced childhood abuse and/or prior intimate partner violence.

Interview with Case Three

The initial interview with participant three took place on Wednesday July 30, 2008 from 12:32 pm until 2:18 pm in my office. The participant was a 29 year old graduate student, who self-identified as a heterosexual male. He indicated that he was about five foot eleven inches tall and weighed 175 pounds. He had a small frame. His wife was five foot six inches tall and 160 pounds. He indicated that he was married to his wife, a 29 year old South Asian American female, for two years, and dated for two and a half years prior to that for a total of four and a half years in the relationship. They had one son. She had a bachelor's degree, and he had a master's degree. Both worked outside the home at the time of the intimate partner violence, but both were in graduate school at the time of the interviews. On one occasion during the course of the

relationship, he was charged with domestic violence after she initiated physical violence and he retaliated. Both of them had a history of abuse in their childhood. The wife grew up with an alcoholic father who regularly abused his wife and children. The police were called on several occasions. The wife's father was known to pull a knife on her mother. Participant three described incidents in his childhood which suggested that his dad was physically abusive, including an incident when his father punched him in the stomach.

Participant three indicated that he began experiencing intimate partner violence after he had an affair. He experienced what he characterized as "rages" on the part of his wife. He stated that she was a "rageaholic," and when she became upset she would "flip" and have a glaze to her eyes. He experienced just about every form of physical abuse with the exception of choking. His experiences consisted of being hit with objects, including food, file folders, and chairs; being kicked and punched; being stabbed with a knife; being pushed, grabbed, and shoved; and being scratched, slapped, and hit. He indicated that her favorite thing to do was to scratch him because she said the police would look for scratches as an indication that the man had abused her and she scratched back in self-defense.

In addition, participant three was subjected to a range of emotionally and psychologically abusive tactics. He experienced destruction of property—mostly property that did not belong to him, but his friend or ex-girlfriend. He was kept from seeing his friends because she said his friends were a bad influence on him. He was subjected to jealousy and possessiveness, and as a way to maintain control over him, he indicated that his partner became pregnant. Also, he stated that she would use their son as a way to threaten him. He indicated that she would blame him for her abusive

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behavior and the trouble in their relationship and she would deny any wrongdoing on her part. In fact, he reported that she told him that she purposely got pregnant, then denied that she said or did that. He indicated that she would threaten to harm or hurt him with information that she knew about him, for example his use of pornography and escorts. He reported that at one point she manipulated him into staying in the relationship by threatening to kill herself. He experienced verbal attacks and name calling. From the information that participant three provided, it does not appear that he was ever threatened by her to abandon, divorce, or have an affair, nor did she withhold affection. This seems consistent because over all it appeared that she used every emotionally and psychologically abusive tactic to keep him in the relationship.

Participant three responded to the abuse through extensive feelings of guilt and sadness. He was caught in guilt cognitions, where he blamed himself for everything. Often he would take responsibility for the abuse in the relationship even though she initiated the violence. It is as if he believed he had the power to make it different if he just tried harder. Initially, he tried to defend himself by restraining her, but this caused her to escalate the violence, so he began to retaliate. He also described incidents where he would attempt to reason, attempt to placate her through apologies and treating her well (i.e., taking her to dinner, buying her gifts), but his most common response was avoidance. He would leave, ignore, engage in pornography and escorts, and drink among other avoidant coping strategies. He characterized himself as a conflict avoider.

In attempts to make things better, he went to individual and couples therapy. He also confided in a friend and a supervisor. He sought medical attention after she stabbed him. He also sought help through self-help books and Codependents Anonymous. In the

end, he left, and they filed for divorce. He stated that one of the reasons that he stayed

was because of his son, but ultimately, his son was the reason he left. He stated that he

did not want his son to grow up in that kind of environment.

He described himself as a nontraditional man and a feminist. He stated that he did

not believe that his nontraditional views contributed to the violence, although he thought

his response to the violence was atypical. He thought a woman would be more likely to

avoid and a man more likely to escalate, but he was a conflict avoider and his partner was

a conflict escalator.

Interview with Case Four

The initial interview with participant four took place on Tuesday August 19, 2008

from 9:18 am until 11:00 am in his office. Participant four, a 47 year old white male

from Europe, had been married to his second wife, a 41 year old white female, for twenty

years. They had three sons. Participant four was five foot eleven inches tall and 174

pounds. His wife was five foot three inches tall and 130 pounds. Both worked outside

the home, the husband as a therapist in private practice, and the wife as an associate

director in higher education. Both had doctorate degrees. Participant four described

incidents in his childhood, which suggested that his mom was verbally abusive. Neither

he nor his wife had been charged with domestic violence. They had attended couples

counseling.

Participant four stated that he experienced physical as well as emotional and

psychological abuse in both of his marriages, but for the purposes of this study, he

focused primarily on his current marriage. He indicated that the emotional and

psychological abuse was more common and felt worse than the physical abuse because the verbal abuse always contained the possibility of physical abuse. He experienced damage to and destruction of property, jealousy and possessiveness when he went on trips with friends and also in terms of the competitiveness in raising their children; blaming him for her having an affair; threats of harm; threats to have an affair; verbal attacks and name calling that are accompanied with a sarcastic tone and gestures; and withholding affection. In addition to these experiences in his current marriage, he experienced being hit with an object and pushed in his first marriage. In his second marriage, he had been bitten twice to the point of breaking the skin and drawing blood, for which he did not seek medical attention. Although this participant experienced physical violence in both his first and second marriages, the data presented here are related to the violence he experienced in his second marriage. In addition to being bit, he had also been pushed, shoved, walked into, scratched, slapped, and hit.

Participant four indicated that he often responded with trying to reason, using therapist strategies, or avoiding the situation. One form of avoidance that he spoke of in both interviews was the use of fantasy—wondering what life would be like with a different woman. He talked extensively about his reasons for staying, which included his responsibility to his children, his love for his wife, his own will and commitment to the marriage, and his openness to learn from the experience.

His wife had had an affair, which had been the source of some of their disagreements. Participant four reported that he felt anxious about her having another affair. He also felt anxious that every time that they engaged in verbal arguments, it would lead to some type of physical altercation. He also stated that he was surprised and

shocked that he had experienced bullying and abuse from women rather than men. He

always expected to be bullied by men because he was bullied by boys when he was a

child. He also talked about his feelings of guilt and feeling somehow to blame for what

had occurred in the marriage. During the interviews, participant four seemed to engage

in a great deal of analysis regarding the precursors to the abuse, as well as solution-

focused thinking in an attempt to figure out how to reduce or eradicate the abuse from the

relationship.

Participant four talked about the role of gender role stereotypes in this situation.

He stated that he thought their nontraditional gender roles contributed to the problems

that they experienced. He also felt like he was in a box that is full of contradictions about

how he was supposed to behave as a man. Part of this was being a "manly" man without

being abusive. He wished men could talk to one another about these complexities

without being accused of sexism.

Interview with Case Five

The initial interview with participant five took place on Thursday August 21,

2008 from 1:21 pm until 3:00 pm over the telephone. Participant five, a 49 year old

white male, had been married to his wife, a 56 year old white female, for twenty seven

years. They had no children. Participant five was six foot tall and 250 pounds. His wife

was five foot six inches tall and 160 pounds. Both worked outside the home, he was self-

employed and his wife was a school teacher. He had a bachelor's degree, and his wife

had a master's degree. Participant five reported that he came from a well-adjusted

family. He stated that his wife was in an abusive marriage prior to marrying him where

she claimed she was the target of violence. However, his wife had been charged with domestic violence one time for her violent acts against him. They had attended couples counseling.

The follow-up interview took place in my office from about 3:40 until almost 4:40. Again, I placed him on speakerphone and recorded the interview. Much of what the participant shared was a repeat of the first interview. The participant asked what would happen next, so I discussed where I was in the research process. He wanted to know if I was going to use this information to try to help men. I explained that my first goal was to let people know that men do experience violence at the hands of their female partners.

Case five reported that he experienced physical as well as emotional and psychological abuse over a long period of time. He stated that the emotional and psychological abuse was more prevalent than the physical abuse, and he indicated that it was so subtle that it took him a long time to name his experiences. He experienced damage to and destruction of property including his truck and motorcycle; isolation; jealousy and possessiveness; minimizing, denying, and blaming; threats of harm, abuse, and torture; threats to abandon, divorce, or have an affair; and verbal attacks and name calling. He reported several incidents that demonstrated jealousy and possessiveness. He would attempt to go out of town for a business trip and she would accuse him of having an affair or planning to hire a prostitute. A prime example of her minimizing, denying, and blaming would occur when he would tell her that she was hurting him with her words. She would respond by saying that it didn't hurt him; if she did hurt him, he misunderstood what she was trying to say; or if she hurt him that he deserved it. He

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indicated that on several occasions she attempted to trap him in the bathroom or in his car, so he could not escape her abuse. In addition to the emotional and psychological abuse, he experienced choking; being hit with objects; being bit and punched; being pushed, grabbed, and shoved; pulling of his hair; and being scratched, slapped, and hit.

In response to the abuse, he attempted to reason with her; tried to placate her; defend himself; and retaliate. He indicated that many of the times he would just leave to avoid the situation. He sought help from a variety of sources—family, friends, domestic violence shelter, police, therapist, and pastor. He indicated that the police were not helpful at all. He received the most help from his pastor and the domestic violence shelter. He indicated that the support of his family and friends had helped him get through this experience. He said that he stayed in the relationship because for the longest time he thought her behavior was normal, and his wife would tell him that sometimes you need to "eat a shit sandwich" for the sake of the marriage.

Although he said that for the longest time he did not know it was abuse, once he knew it was abusive, he began to firmly state that she was being hurtful and she needed to stop. He said that this caused the abuse to escalate. He said she denied that she was ever abusive to him, and she continued to bully him throughout the divorce process. When asked about the impact of having a woman engage in physical violence against him, he stated that he did not think that the fact that she was a female made a difference. He said the important thing was that he was experiencing violence and it needed to stop.

Interview with Case Six

      The initial interview with participant six took place on Tuesday February 10, 2009 from approximately 7:10 pm until 8:20 pm in my office. Participant six, a 34 year old white male, was a target of intimate partner violence by the mother of his children. She was a 26 year old white female. They were together for two and a half years. They had two children together and his partner had three children with her previous partner. Participant six was five foot five inches tall and 183 pounds. His partner was five foot five inches tall and 170 pounds. Participant six worked at a factory and was in the National Guard. His partner was a stay-at-home mom to five children. Both had a GED. Participant six described incidents in his partner's childhood and his own, which suggested they were targets of childhood abuse. He had never been in a relationship that involved violence, but his partner stabbed her last boyfriend. In the interview, he described some of his responses as being on edge always anticipating what she was going to do next. Additionally, he acknowledged that his response of retaliating was not appropriate, but neither were her actions. At the time of the interviews, he was participating in a batterer's education group because she charged him with domestic violence. In both interviews, he was more than willing to accept his fair share of the responsibility. He admitted that he retaliated and used violence against his partner, but mostly in response to her. It seems unclear who would start the verbal arguments. It sounds as if sometimes he would start them because she did not take care of things around the house. But other times it seems she started them because she did not like being home alone.

Participant six indicated that he experienced physical and emotional/psychological abuse. The physical abuse included pushing, grabbing, hitting, punching, and being hit with an object. The emotional/psychological abuse consisted of verbal attacks and name calling; jealousy and possessiveness; threats of harm, abuse, and torture by pulling a knife on him or threatening to throw something at him; and minimizing, denying, and blaming. He reported that often she would tell others that he was abusing her by either downplaying or omitting the verbal and physical abuse that she would initiate against him, and just focusing on the ways that he was retaliating against her. This made participant six feel betrayed. He stated she engaged in manipulative verbal attacks in order to try to have her needs met. These manipulations led to frustration on his part. The two feelings he expressed experiencing the most were frustration and betrayal. He did say that he felt threatened and fearful that she would hurt him on a couple of occasions.

Participant six admitted that he engaged in a great deal of retaliation, but this was after attempting on several occasions to remove himself from a heated situation. He said when she would hit him, he would let it go by walking away from the physical violence. He stated that he walked away when she engaged in physical violence for approximately one year from the first incident. Then he warned her that if she didn't stop he would retaliate. When she continued to hit him in subsequent arguments, he began to hit or pull her hair in retaliation. He admitted that he was at fault for hitting her, but that it was in response to her hitting him. He said that one of the main reasons he remained in the relationship was because of the children. He did not seek help other than talking to his friends about it. He said he never thought to seek help because he never saw it as

domestic violence, but as a dispute. He thought domestic violence was something men did to women, not the other way around. He said that it was difficult to know what to do in this situation because he was taught to never hit a woman, but he also felt like it was inappropriate to just take the abuse.

Interview with Case Seven

The initial interview with participant seven took place on Thursday July 9, 2009 from approximately 9:15 am until11:15 am in a restaurant of his choice. He met me at the train station, and then we walked to a location for the interview because he chose to meet in a public place. Participant seven, a 45 year old African-American male, was a target of intimate partner violence by his wife, a 35 year old African American female. They had been together for 10 years. They had two children together. He was five foot six inches tall and 178 pounds. His partner was five foot three inches tall and approximately 163 pounds. He had a master's degree in business, and had been working as a business consultant. His wife worked as a customer service representative. He described incidents in his partner's childhood which suggested she was a target of childhood violence. In addition, he indicated that she had been in past relationships where she had engaged in violence. Participant seven admitted that he retaliated and used violence against his partner on one occasion after she had "pushed him to the limit" with her verbal altercations.

Participant seven indicated that he experienced physical as well as emotional and psychological abuse. The physical abuse included pushing, grabbing, hitting, scratching and being punched. He referred to physical abuse as "altercations and tussels." Because

of the nature of the altercations, he was unsure if he fit the profile. He stated that she

used physical violence against him, but he never feared for his life as a result. The

emotional and psychological abuse consisted of damage to or destruction of property;

verbal attacks and name calling; jealousy and possessiveness; threats of harm, abuse, and

torture; minimizing, denying, and blaming; and threats to abandon, divorce, or have an

affair. He stated that the emotional and psychological abuse was more hurtful because he

did not feel he deserved to be called names and treated in that manner. He found it most

hurtful when she called him "trifling" (a slang term for lazy) and a "miserable creep".

Participant seven stated when his wife came out pushing and swinging, he would

try to calm her down and attempt to hold her. These actions would merely aggravate the

situation and cause her to become more physical. Over time, his most common response

was to avoid the situation by withdrawing into what he referred to as his cave. He did go

to therapy on more than one occasion in an attempt to find out what he was doing wrong.

He indicated that he felt a responsibility to defuse the situation, and he felt like it was his

fault that the physical altercations were occurring. He indicated that he was never afraid

of her hurting him, but he was afraid that if she pushed too far, he could hurt her.

Although he said that he does not experience much emotion, he did express

embarrassment that this was happening.

Participant seven talked about the role of gender role stereotypes. First, he did not

identify his experience as intimate partner violence because he was not afraid of being

hurt nor did he sustain any significant physical injuries. Second, he had a preconceived

idea of what this looked like and the profile of the type of man who would be targeted,

which consisted of a "nerdy, wimpy" type of man. He did not fit the stereotypical profile

that he had in mind. He wondered if his active engagement in the cooking, housecleaning, and child-rearing made him more susceptible. He stated that a woman may be less likely to "mess with a man who was a tough guy, or a gang banger."

After I completed the follow-up interview, I received a call from participant seven wishing to share the latest altercation with his partner. He called on Monday August 10, 2009 at 1:29pm, stating that he had just been subjected to an altercation this morning. He said that she came in the door swinging at him. He stated that she had read stuff that he had put on facebook regarding his recent date that made her angry. They had been separated for a year, and he had started dating while they finished the process of divorce. She indicated that she was hurt because he went out with someone. He reported that she sent him a text that said six times "I hate you." He said when she came over today; she came in swinging at him. He tried to catch her, but she kept going. So he said that he stepped back from her. He put his arms up to protect himself. He indicated that she stated that he disrespected her, and that he is to blame for the end of their marriage. Then she accused him of acting suave because he was staying calm during the altercation. She hit him in the face. She said that he did not meet her emotional needs. He told me that he was saddened by the altercation, but he did not engage in arguing and physical retaliation.

Interview with Case Eight

The initial interview with participant eight took place on Thursday August 13, 2009 from approximately 8 am until 9 am over the telephone. This participant lived in Europe, so we did a telephone interview from my land line to his cell telephone. When

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we first began the interview, he seemed a bit groggy, and spoke softly. As the interview progressed, he spoke louder and more clearly. He would stop from time to time to check if I understood what he was saying. Sometimes he would check to make sure that he understood my question because English was a second language for him. There were times during the interview when he began to cry. Participant eight, a 58 year old white male, was a target of intimate partner violence by his wife, a 50 year old white female. The two of them lived in Europe. They were together for 8 years, and they had three children together. Participant eight was 6 foot tall and 198 pounds. His partner was five foot seven inches tall and approximately 154 pounds. Participant eight had an advanced degree in social work. His partner went to medical school and worked as a doctor in private practice. Participant eight described incidents in his childhood which indicated that he was a target of childhood abuse. He stated that he was often the target of violence throughout his life because he was blind in one eye. He said his disability made him a target, and he was often excluded in various social circles. When he first met his wife she always included him as part of her social circle, then later she began excluding him from her social life. This scared him. He was unclear if his partner ever experienced childhood abuse or not.

I did a follow-up interview on Tuesday August 25, 2009 from approximately 8:00 am to 8:40 am over the telephone. I asked questions that I generated based on the first interview. At one point, I read a passage from the first interview in order to obtain some clarification of something he shared. The participant asked me to speak slowly so he could fully understand my questions. He spoke clearly throughout the entire interview. Sometimes it was difficult to understand because of the connection, and sometimes it was

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difficult to understand because of the language barrier. But overall, he seemed to understand the questions, and he was willing to ask for clarification when he did not understand or hear the question.

Participant eight indicated that he experienced physical, sexual, as well as emotional and psychological abuse. The physical abuse included pushing, grabbing, hitting, slapping, scratching, injecting with tranquilizers, medicating with benzodiazepines, and spitting. The emotional and psychological abuse consisted of verbal attacks and name calling; threats of harm, abuse, and torture; threats to abandon, divorce, or have an affair; minimizing, denying, and blaming. Additionally, he experienced sexual abuse when she forced him to have intercourse because she wanted to conceive a third child. Participant eight spoke of how often she would verbally attack him and ask him why he doesn't just step in front of a train and kill himself. She would threaten to leave him, and at times she would inject him with a tranquilizer, so she could leave the house without his accompaniment. In addition, she medicated him with benzodiazepines. He indicated that he believed that she did this as a way to have control over him. He stated that as a medical doctor, she had to have known the side effects and the addictive nature of the medication, but she never told him. He developed an addiction to benzodiazepines, which he said impacted his behavior and his memory.

Participant eight stated that he was unable to defend himself. The physical pain from his medical condition made it difficult for him to do anything in response. And when she injected him with tranquilizers, he was completely out. He indicated that when he attempted to contact the police, they thought he was the perpetrator. In one incident, he was arrested, but he was never charged with domestic violence. In this particular

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incident, she jumped on his back from behind. The police arrived on the scene as he was

trying to get her off his back. Additionally, when he talked to friends about what was

happening, they found it difficult to believe that he was a victim of his wife's violence.

He said that he stayed in the relationship because he loved her, and he thought they

would spend the rest of their life together. He stated that his wife kicked him out of the

home and that she filed for divorce on the grounds that he was abusive toward her. But

he said it was the opposite. He indicated that the negative impact of the benzodiazepines

left him unable to defend himself in court. She gained custody of the children, and she

had denied him visitation. He said that he was surprised that this happened because he

was raised that he would experience violence from a man, not from a woman. He said

repeatedly that when he attempted to tell what happened, people would not believe him

because men are always thought to be perpetrators and women are always thought to be

victims.

Case Summary

In summary, there seemed to be a consistent pattern of men attempting to leave

when a verbal disagreement began to escalate. When the men attempted to leave, the

women escalated the physical violence, then men often reported feeling as if they were to

blame for what happened or for failing to stop it. Additionally, men stated that they

could not believe that a woman would do this because they always thought that if they

would experience violence, it would occur at the hands of men. Men in this study also

reported the experience of being scratched, which is not an act of violence included in the

literature on measures of physical violence. Since intimate partner violence typically

focuses on male perpetrated violence on females, perhaps scratching is not something that men do, but rather something women do. Also, men stated that they felt like they were placed in a double-bind. They were larger than their partners, so should they take the physical abuse and set up the conditions that women can hit them without consequences? Or do they retaliate knowing that they are larger and capable of inflicting greater injury? They seemed to believe they were in a no-win situation.

From the patterns across the cases, two major themes emerged related to men's experiences of intimate partner violence--one that is related to intimate partner violence that looks similar regardless of whether it is male-on-female, female-on-male, male-on-male, or female-on-female; and the other is a theme related to a gendered experience. This gendered experience involves the personal, social, and legal aspects of men being targets of intimate partner violence. For example, several men spoke of their fear around their experience of abuse, but it took on different forms. Several men feared for their personal safety. In addition, several feared that if they retaliated or defended themselves that they would be arrested because in society men are perceived as the perpetrators. As a variation on the fear of retaliation or defending against attacks, one participant feared that if he engaged in such behavior that he would hurt her or crush her, so he refrained from such responses. There is something very interesting about the fact that these men thought about the possibility of being arrested because society views men as perpetrators, or the possibility of hurting their partner, or the fact that they were taught to never hit a woman, but not taught what to do if a woman hits them. These thoughts seem to be unique to men's personal experiences of gender role socialization. The following section

details the two major themes related to men's experiences of being a target of intimate partner violence.

The Self-Reported Experiences of Heterosexual Men

This section of the chapter presents the data gathered from interviews of the eight participants and formulates themes that capture the overall case of heterosexual men's self-reported experiences of intimate partner violence. First, demographics of the men and their partners are provided and compared to provide a basis to consider whether physical power or social power contributes to heterosexual men's experiences of being a target of intimate partner violence. Then, a discussion of graphs related to physical abuse, emotional/psychological abuse, and responses to abuse offers an overview of most common reported forms of abuse and responses for heterosexual men who were targets of intimate partner violence. Lastly, themes are identified and illuminated to gain a better understanding of the overall case of heterosexual men who self-reported being targets of intimate partner violence.

As shown in Table 4.1, participants ranged in age from 29 to 49 years of age. Data related to weight and height were captured in order to compare the size of these men with their partners as it has been suggested that physical size may play a factor in intimate partner violence with perpetrators being heavier and taller than their victims (Hamby, 2005). Comparing the data within Table 4.1, which provides the demographic information for each couple, it is evident that all the participants weighed more and were taller than their female partners. Thus, when looking at physical attributes suggesting power differentials, no patterns emerged.

Table 4.1

Demographics of Participants and Their Partners

Couple	Sex	Age	Race/Ethnicity	Education	Occupation	Height	Weight
Demographics							
1	M	40	African American	bachelor's	Office support	6'	200 lbs
	F	40	African American	associate's	unemployed	4'9"	115 lbs
2	M	30	White	master's	graduate student	5'8"	150 lbs.
	F	30	White	bachelor's	graduate student	5'6	130 lbs.
3	M	29	White	master's	graduate student	5'11"	175 lbs.
	F	29	South Asian American	bachelor's	graduate student	5'6"	160 lbs.
4	M	47	White	doctorate	therapist	6'	174 lbs.
	F	41	White	doctorate	associate director	5'3"	130 lbs.
5	M	49	White	bachelor's	self-employed	6'	250 lbs.
	F	56	White	master's	teacher	5'6"	160 lbs.
6	M	34	White	GED	unemployed	5'5"	183 lbs.
	F	26	White	GED	homemaker	5'5"	170 lbs.
7	M	45	African American	master's	managing consultant	5'6"	178 lbs.
	F	35	African American	some	customer service	5'3"	163 lbs.
8	M	58	White	master's	social worker	6'	198 lbs.
	F	50	White	medical school	doctor	5'7"	154 lbs.

It has been asserted that the cause of violence in the United States is the result of a "systematic, institutionalized" (Creighton & Kivel, 1992, p.13) power differential. Thus, social groups without equal power—women, children, and people of color to name a few—are more often targets of physical violence. Within this social perspective, hegemonic masculinity, which Connell (2005) defined as "the configuration of gender practice…which guarantees (or is taken to guarantee) the dominant position of men and the subordination of women," (p. 77) places white, heterosexual men with the most institutional power, and thus those most likely to perpetrate intimate partner violence in order to maintain their power. Thus this study looked at demographics to determine if the women had more social power then the men in terms of age, occupation, education, and race. If so, this could provide partial support to the assertion that violence is the result of a systematic, institutionalized power differential. A review of Table 4.1 reveals that the men and their partners were either evenly matched in terms of occupation or the men held a position with more power and responsibility. As far as level of education, men and their partners were evenly matched or the men were more educated than the women, except in the cases of participant five and participant eight. With participant five, the wife has a master's degree and the man has a bachelor's degree. With participant eight, the wife had a medical degree, and the husband has a master's degree. In terms of race, each couple was the same race with the exception of case three. With participant three, the male was white and the female was South Asian American. If power differentials based on physical size or social identities played a role in this relationship, I would expect the male to use his power as a white male over his Asian American wife, but this

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was not the case. Thus, no patterns emerged in terms of power differentials playing a role in violence.

A review of Figures 4.1 and 4.2 highlights the most common forms of emotional and psychological abuse as well as physical abuse that heterosexual men referenced experiencing. These figures represent the number of times that men made references to the different forms of abuse, not the number of different incidents that were reported. Overwhelmingly, verbal attacks and name calling were the most common forms of emotional and psychological abuse with men making 185 references to such acts. Additionally, being scratched, slapped, and hit were the most commonly reported form of physical abuse with men making 85 references. Overall, the men in the study made more than twice as many references to emotional and psychological abuse than physical abuse, reporting 408 references versus 170 references respectively.
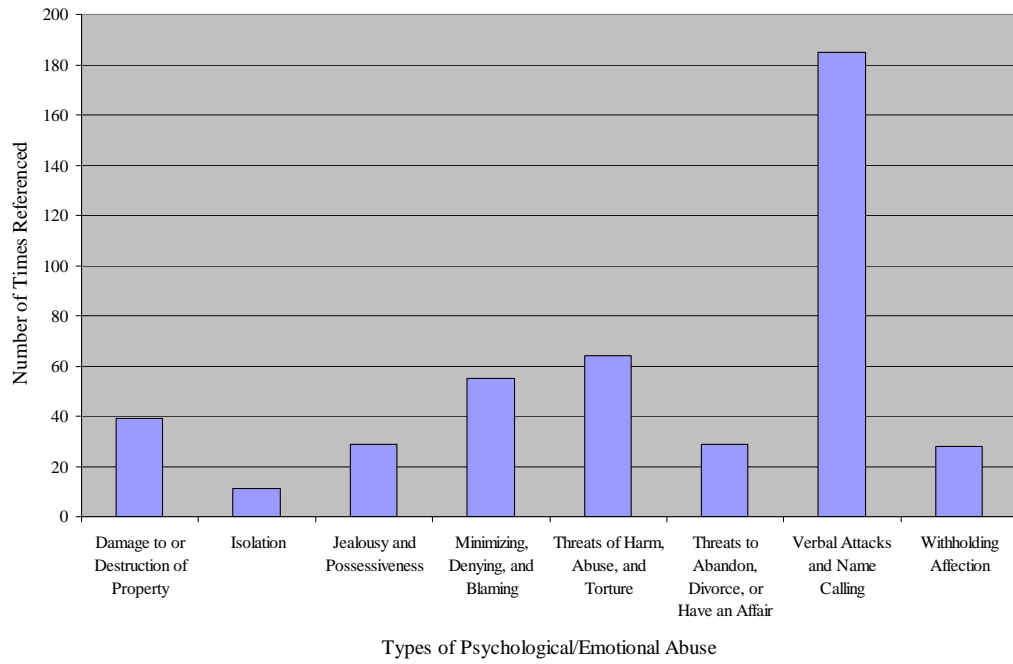
Figure 4.1. Number of references made to types of psychological/emotional abuse.
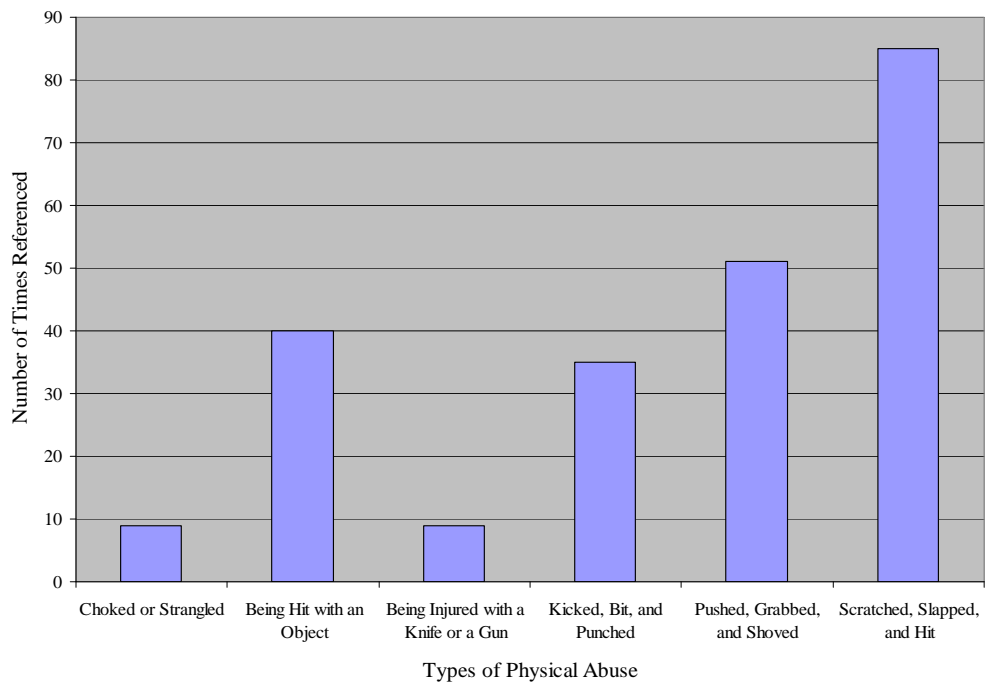

Figure 4.2. Number of references made to types of physical abuse.

Figure 4.3 provides a visual representation of men's responses to being a target of intimate partner violence, including affective, behavioral, and cognitive responses. In terms of the breakdown on affective responses, the men in the study made 231 references to affect with men most commonly feeling afraid. In terms of behavioral responses, 447 references to behavioral responses were made with the most common response being leaving or seeking help. The behavioral responses of leaving and seeking help support the nontraditional gender role theme that is discussed later in this chapter. In particular, men referenced engaging in help-seeking behavior as a behavioral response second only to leaving as a response. These references to help seeking seem contrary to the literature on male help-seeking (Addis & Mahalik, 2003; Mahalik, Good, and Englar-Carson, 2003). Thus the fact that the men in this study were likely to seek help in response to intimate partner violence suggests that they may adhere to less traditional gender roles. Lastly, participants made reference to cognitive responses 279 times, referencing emotion-laden cognitions slightly more often than problem-focused cognitions. For the purposes of this study, emotion-laden cognitions, as defined in appendix F, referred to thoughts heavily loaded with affect. While problem-focused cognitions, as defined in appendix F, referred to thoughts that concentrate on solving something or working something out.

Many of the emotion-laden cognitions were related to a sense of guilt. For example, participants expressed a sense of guilt that they were in an abusive relationship, and they thought that they should be able to fix it. This experience of guilt is discussed in more detail in the section about the interplay between guilt and blame. Overall the men

in this study were more likely to make reference to behavioral responses to the violence than affective or cognitive responses.
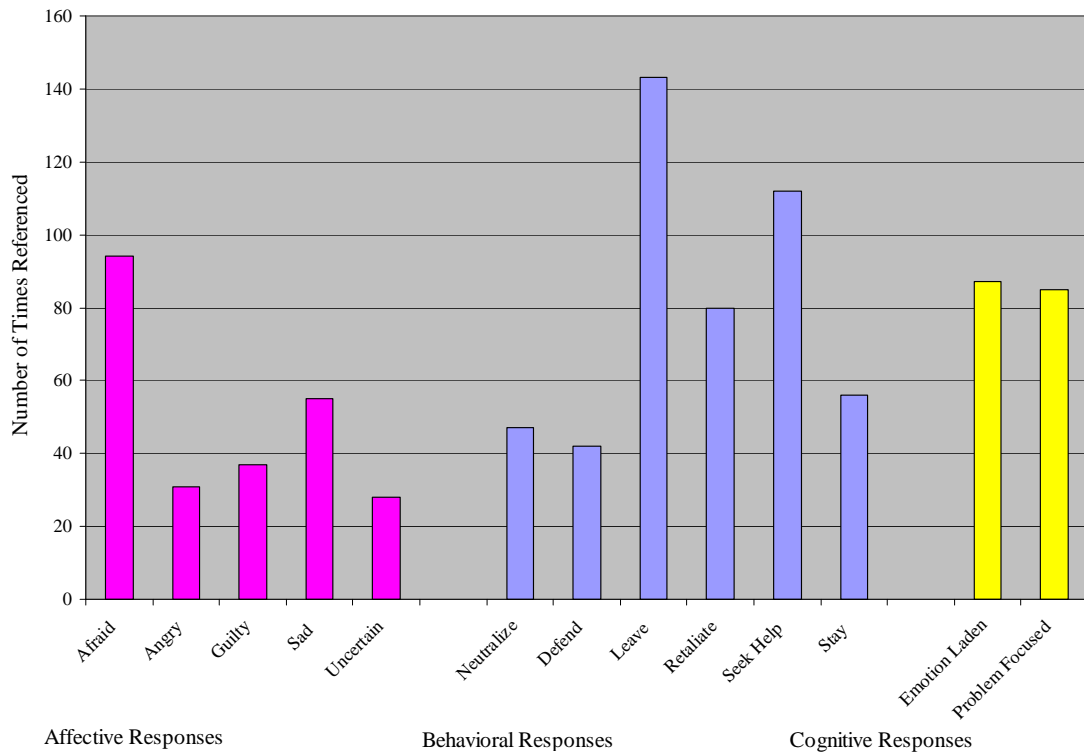
Figure 4.3. Number of references made to affective, behavioral, and cognitive responses.

Men's Self-Reported Experiences Compared to Women's Experiences

One major theme across the narratives consisted of men recounting experiences of being a target of abuse that appeared to mirror women's experiences of being a target (Pence & Paymar, 1993; Walker, 2000). Within this major theme, there were three subthemes: the simultaneity of love and violence, the interplay between blame and guilt, and the use of avoidant coping strategies. The following section discusses these subthemes in more detail.

Simultaneity of Love and Violence: Men in this study shared the complexity of living with women who professed to love them and at the same time engaged in acts of violence against them. In all eight cases, participants spoke of the love that they felt for their partners despite the violence they experienced. Of these eight men, five of them talked about their struggle to reconcile the acts of nurturance and love displayed by their partner with the acts of violence their partner perpetrated. Specific examples of the experiences of the simultaneity of love and violence in participants own words highlight this theme.

Participant four shared a number of examples where his female partner cared for him by buying him clothes that he needed and other acts of care. As one example, he stated, "So there's something, a feeling of being nurtured in that way that really is very, very meaningful. And frankly, you know I'm saying this and wondering how does this fit with the other stuff." Upon reflecting on these acts of nurturance, he found himself wondering how they fit with the acts of violence, which included biting him deeply enough to break the skin. Participant five found himself questioning how his partner could say that she loves him, but continue to perpetrate acts of violence against him. He said,

> You know, I guess the biggest thing was hope. I was hoping that this was not going to continue. I was hoping, you know I guess I was hoping that it would stop. And I guess I thought, uhh, she said she loved me and it's like well how can you love me and do this to me. How can you not see you're hurting me and want to stop?

He struggled to reconcile the love of his wife with her acts of violence, and he kept hoping that it would stop.

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Participant six experienced repeated incidents where his partner expressed a

commitment to the relationship and agreed with him on how they should respond to

difficulties with extended family. But when the extended family challenged them, she

would place the blame on him. For example, they were living with her extended family,

and her brother would make a lot of noise when the children were sleeping. Participant

six and his partner agreed that they should mention how disruptive this was because the

children had school in the morning. Before they had an opportunity to approach her

brother with their concerns, the brother noticed that they were upset about something.

When her brother asked her why they were upset, she said she was not upset. Instead she

blamed participant six for having a problem with the noise. Participant six said, "I felt

betrayed. This is somebody who is supposed to love me and this is what they do. You

don't love me if you're going to do this to me."

> In response to experiencing physical violence, participant eight reported,
>
> And when it happened, I was so much surprised. You know a woman that I really
> loved. That was in some way was really caring for a certain time, and seemed to
> change her mind, and became a completely different person. This was surprising
> me and this was disappointing me. Now how does this woman who says she
> wants to spend the rest of her life with me start beating me, spitting at me,
> shouting me names?

Again, the man struggled to reconcile how a woman who says that she loves him, could

start to engage in physical and verbal acts of violence.

Interplay between Blame and Guilt: The interplay between blame and guilt was

another subtheme where men's experience of being a target of abuse mirrored women's

experiences. Women who have been targets of intimate partner violence indicated that

they were often blamed for the violence that the men perpetrated (Chang, 1989; Ferraro

& Johnson, 1983; Lempert, 1994; Pence & Paymar, 1993). Additionally, women have

reported experiencing a sense of guilt and shame and attempt to figure out how to fix

things, so the abuse will stop (Kubany, Abueg, Owens, Brennan, Kaplan, & Watson,

1995; Kubany, & Manke, 1995; Street, Gibson, & Holohan, 2005). In the current study,

six of the men who were targets of female violence reported being blamed. For example,

participant three reported,

> And although there were periods when I would really try to make things work
> with her, I wasn't consistent. But there were a lot of periods where I really did
> try. And you know, I could never do good enough for her.

Likewise, participant six shared, "So she started arguing because it was my fault that she

was alone when yet I have to go be at work." Similarly, participant seven indicated,

> And I think she always blamed me for it. I know she does to this day she just
> blames me…Yeah she says I'm not paying attention to her needs. Or she says that
> things are always my fault if I had been more in tune to her needs.

> Additionally five of the six men who reported being blamed for the violence

indicated that they would internalize a sense of guilt while attempting to identify ways to

fix things so the abuse would stop. Participant one recalled,

> but when the fire dies down I uhh somehow convinced myself that uhh there
> was always something I could've did differently to avoid the whole situation.
> Everything was essentially my fault if I did things a different way uhhh things
> wouldn't have happened the way they had.

Similarly, participant three stated,

> I mean, I think there were times I mean just hating myself for one thing, feeling
> guilty and shameful about everything. Not being able to fix anything, or stop it
> just, you know, in some ways getting worse, in some ways just carrying on.

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Participant four reported,

> I felt awful. I felt terrible. I felt like, I mean one thing that I cannot at all shirk and get rid of this, is this feeling that it's my fault, that I'm somehow guilty for escalating it or for not, for not following my gut instinct.

Participant seven indicated,

> I guess the whole tricky thing about this is that somehow I thought most of this was my fault…I always felt like I needed to defuse it. And when I went to defuse it, it seemed to escalate her anger. That was always confusing as well.

So again, these men were expressing experiences similar to women who have been targets of intimate partner violence. They were being blamed for the violence, of which they were a target. Additionally, they were internalizing responsibility for the acts of violence resulting in a sense of guilt for being unable to fix it.

Participant five indicated that he never felt guilty about what was happening, but he did make attempts to try to fix things so the abuse would stop. He insisted, "There's nothing I can say. There's nothing I can do to make it stop. Apologizing won't make it stop, trying to reason with her will not make it stop, nothing makes it stop." In addition, to apologizing and trying to reason, this participant also tried to make her happy and thus appease her by providing her with a beautiful home with a swimming pool, a vacation home, as well as ten weeks of vacation each year, but these things were never enough. He stated that she always wanted more. He would spend ten weeks on vacation with her, and two weeks after their return, she would complain that he never spent any time with her. This feeling that nothing was ever enough was expressed by participants three, four, five, six, and seven.

Avoidant Coping Strategies: Women who have been targets of intimate partner violence report the use of avoidant coping strategies as a way to withstand the abuse (Chang, 1989; Lempert, 1994; Street, Gibson, & Holohan, 2005). In terms of dealing with the violent attacks, six participants in the current study used avoidance by occupying themselves with other activities. One participant attempted placation by engaging in activities to appease his abuser such as correcting situations that most often lead to violent attacks. Two participants reported dissociating. Six participants indicated that they physically struck back to stop the abuse. Within this study, all eight men reported engaging in a variety of these avoidant coping strategies. Self-distraction as a coping strategy included extra-marital affairs, fantasizing about other women, spending more time at work then taking the long way home, and playing video games. One form of self-distraction was fantasizing what it might be like to be with another woman or to actually engage in a sexual or emotional relationship with a woman, which participants one, three, and four used as a coping strategy. Participant three indicated, "I started sleeping, like hiring escorts and call girls, and sleeping with prostitutes. That was a way of escaping the relationship, not really the violence." Thus he engaged in sexual relations with other women as a way of avoiding; whereas participant four talked about fantasizing about other women. He stated,

> I look at other women and I think, well I wonder if things would be better
> with that person. I mean it could be anyone, a stranger. It's not, you know,
> someone I know, or it could be someone I know, but it's not. Chances are that
> if it's someone I know, I'm less likely to think that (laughs) because I know
> them…You know it's the fantasy, that somehow you know that this could be
> better.

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Additionally, participant one sometimes engaged in extramarital affairs, and at other times fantasized what it could be like to be with another woman as an avoidant coping strategy.

Other self-distracting coping strategies included spending more time at work, and playing video games. Participant five reported that as the abuse became worse, he found himself spending more and more time at work. And when he did decide to come home, he would take the long way. He stated,

> And I found myself instead of…you know, I've got a ten minute drive home from the shop…I was taking you know twenty to thirty minutes because I didn't want to come home. I was taking long scenic relaxing, you know, roads home.

So for participant five, spending time at work, then taking long, scenic relaxing roads home became a form of coping. As a form of self-distraction, participant seven was coping by playing video games. He indicated,

> Typically what I would do is I would just probably listen to it and I'd be like alright I'm just going to play some video games and go into my own little world. I didn't go out to drink or stuff like. I probably just went and did some video games and tried to zone it out. That's probably why she said I became distant because I was like I don't want to start an argument. I don't want to see the wrath.

So men reported the use of self-distraction such as extra-marital affairs, fantasizing about other women, working long hours, and playing video games as a form of coping to avoid the abuse.

Two of the participants, participants one and three, discussed the use of alcohol and drugs as a way of coping with the abuse. For example, participant one said,

> At the time it created so much pressure I just wanted to escape. Let me go get some beers or something. That would lead to something else because a few just wasn't enough. It was party time. With that came other problems. Drinking and driving. Messing up the money or with other women. Out all night. Out a day or

two. Things of that nature. So things just always stacked up, so then it became, oh I goofed up again.

Two other participants indicated using stoicism as a way to cope. For example, participant four indicated, "because the way that I deal with this is, is I kind of like shut myself off more and more." And participant five said, "and I guess I would kind of, my response was I really tried not to show that it, that it, that it did anything to me." Finally, all the men with the exception of participant two reported the use of disengagement by trying to leave the situation as a way to cope. Unfortunately, when the men attempted to leave, this would often lead to an escalation of the violence. For example, the women may have been engaging in emotional and psychological abuse, and when the men attempted to leave the situation, the women would escalate by engaging in physical violence.

Men's Self-Reported Experiences Related to Gender Role Socialization

Another major theme within this study consisted of heterosexual men's experiences of being a target of intimate partner violence related to gender role socialization. Gender role socialization is a process whereby men and women learn societal expectations, standards, and norms about appropriate masculine and feminine behavior (Mahalik, Courneyer,et al., 1998). Within this study, participants shared their experiences of engaging in nontraditional male gender roles, being controlled based on traditional gender roles, and responding related to male gender roles. The following section provides a breakdown of these three subthemes.

Nontraditional Male Gender Roles: Six of the men within this study indicated

that they engaged in nontraditional gender roles. For instance, participant one stated,

> I mean for years I worked, cooked, cleaned…I did it all only to face rejection.
> Not only emotional abuse (pause). I work uhh I work from eight thirty [am] to
> ten thirty [pm] last night. Went home, there's nothing for me to eat, nothing
> prepared…

Likewise participant six said,

> You know the house was clean. Dinner was cooked. They (the children) didn't
> get into things. I mean they had their own toys. They would play with their toys.
> You know, I would straighten up at the end.

Both participants one and six described ways that they engaged in nontraditional gender

roles in the home, but this was often in response to the fact that their partners lacked the

life skills to engage in these activities. In both of these cases, the men reported that these

women struggled with mental health issues related to childhood abuse. In contrast,

participant three described himself as a nontraditional man, even a feminist, but did not

go into detail identifying the various nontraditional roles he assumed within the home.

However, throughout his interview, he talked about the ways he divided up the

responsibility of caring for their son. He indicated,

> I mean the whole thing about not being traditional. I have always had female
> friends, consider myself a feminist, have gay friends. I've wondered if I'm
> bisexual or not, so I mean all that stuff is uncommon, but for me that was never an
> issue. Umm…I've never been like a macho masculine guy or whatever so…the
> days he [his son] got sick and he needed to stay home from day care, we split
> those.

Similarly, participant four described himself as nontraditional in his roles at home. He
shared,

> One thing about our family that's really, really different is that I have from the
> very, very beginning have spent a lot of time and umm probably more than fifty
> percent being involved with the children. And umm that has caused kind of an
> upset just in terms of how I think how she felt especially about how she should act

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as a mother should act as a as a wife, even though she is not a very traditional person.

In addition, participant seven stated, "I'm doing all these things that the man of yesterday did plus in addition I have to meet the emotional needs and take care of babies and all these other things." Although participant eight did not state that he is a nontraditional male, nor did he provide a breakdown of tasks that he did within the relationship that would be considered nontraditional, he did speak of his wife as a strong woman. He also reported that his wife was a medical doctor, affording them a lifestyle he has been unable to replicate since the divorce. From those descriptions, one could conclude that they had nontraditional roles because she appeared to be the main breadwinner.

Two of the six men felt that engaging in nontraditional masculine gender roles may contribute to them being targets of intimate partner violence. For example, when asked how their (he and his wife's) nontraditional gender roles played a part in the violence, participant four stated,

> I think it's a huge part…my having opinions about clothes that the boys should wear, you know, is something that if we didn't have nontraditional gender roles, you know, she would be the one deciding that, right? I wouldn't say anything about it. It has increased the competitiveness between us, umm. Yeah in ways that I guess could be harmful, are harmful sometimes…

Similarly, participant seven suggested,

> I think women have been more fearful of a man, of the old man's ways compared to this new man. Because it's sort of like just because I cook and clean don't take that as me being a weak man. Whereas let's say I was a gang banger and I projected this tough ass image. Now I'm not saying it wouldn't happen, but I'm saying that a woman might think twice before approaching this guy in a certain way. And I think that's what has occurred.

Thus, six of the men reported nontraditional gender roles within the relationship, and two

of the six men attributed nontraditional gender roles as playing a part in their being

targets of intimate partner violence.

Controlled Based on Gender Roles: Six of the men in this study spoke of

physical as well as emotional and psychological abuse where the female partner used

traditional gender role expectations as a way to exert control. Participant one spoke of

several incidents where she would attack his manhood or rely on traditional gender role

expectations as a form of abuse. He reported that she would say things like "you ain't no

man, you ain't nothing. Hit me. Hit me. You ain't tough. You ain't bad enough. I dare

you." Additionally, he stated, "and she said come on, come on. That's what she wants.

She wants to get me fired up. [She said,] 'I want you to hit me, I want you to hit me, so I

can call the police.'" He provided other instances during the interviews where she would

challenge his manhood. The fact that she would encourage him to hit her, so she can call

the police, suggests that she understands that traditional gender role expectations exist

that if violence occurs between a man and a woman, the man will be arrested, and she

appeared to use that knowledge as a way to control him. Similarly, participant six

reported,

> Here she had called my dad and told my dad a completely different story. My
> dad's yelling at me. And I'm like, but she pulled a knife on me, which my dad
> didn't know. She [said], you know, I hit her…she never hit me at all. Oh, no, she
> only hit me after I hit her, that's what she said.

In this incident, he reported that she omitted aspects of the story where she was the

perpetrator and he retaliated in self-defense in order to make him look like the

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perpetrator. Again traditional gender role expectations and norms would make her story

seem more plausible, than his.

Two of the men stated that their wives actually staged incidents to make it look as

if they were perpetrators of violence. Participant one said,

> She threw herself on the ground and said why uhhh why are you hitting me why
> are you hitting me. Her friend came off the porch and said now look you might as
> well get up 'cause everyone standing here seen that man ain't even touched you.
> You've been doing everything to him.' So she gave up on that.

In this scenario, the wife tried to stage an incident to make participant one look like the

perpetrator, but fortunately there were witnesses who challenged her. The statement, "so

she gave up on that" seemed to indicate that participant one felt that she was using this as

a control tactic. In another case, participant eight indicated,

> I was standing in the garden with my son trying to discuss, suddenly she showed
> up and jumped up on me from the back. I couldn't see her and she threw me to the
> floor, to the ground or the floor. And she started screaming like I had done
> something to her.

Again, it appeared that his wife, understanding traditional gender role expectations,

attempted to stage an act of intimate partner violence to make him look like the

perpetrator, when in fact she was.

In the case of participant three, his partner flat out stated that she would engage in

particular acts of violence against him so the police would suspect him as the perpetrator.

He stated,

> …as a social worker, she knows the first thing that police look for are scratch
> marks umm on the attackers face. So she would always like scratch on my face to
> make it look like she was defending herself. Umm, and she would always
> threaten that too, like oh I am going to scratch your face because the police would
> arrest you because that's what they always look for.

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Again, the female partner used traditional gender role expectations that men are the

perpetrators of domestic violence as a way to manipulate and control him.

Participant five reported an instance where his wife accused him of being gay

because he was going on a vacation with a male friend without her. He stated,

> And she would say, why would you want to go on a trip with your friend instead
> of your wife. Uhh you know, what are you gay? Uhh, she accused me of being
> gay. And she would say are you butt fucking [name omitted]? And for days she
> would refer to him as my butt fucking friend.

In this case, his wife was using the threat that he must be gay, a descriptor that goes

against traditional male gender roles, as a way to control and manipulate him into either

taking her on the trip with them or completely cancelling the trip altogether.

Responses Related to Male Gender Roles: Eight of the men in this study shared

various responses to the abuse that were related to masculine gender role socialization.

Many of the men felt in a bind because they were socialized to never hit a woman.

Further, they were socialized to expect that if they would experience being a target of

violence, it would be from another man, not a woman. So when they became targets of

violence perpetrated by a woman, they were uncertain how to respond. Some were

surprised. Participant eight indicated,

> I was brought up as a man. You never beat a woman. That's the way I have been
> brought up. That's my socialization. You never beat a woman and you're not
> supposed to expect, experience violence from a woman. Usually a man
> experiences violence from a man. And when it happened, I was so much
> surprised.

Similarly, participant four expressed,

> And partly it's the surprise that, that a woman could…I mean (small laugh)…I
> guess for the longest time I thought it would be men you know who would hit, hit

me or bully me or because of my glasses or something like that and that uhh…I'm
still not quite sure how to deal with that part of it either.

Participant six shared,

It was, it was hard to…it was hard to decide what to do because like I said I was
brought up not to hit women. But I'm not going to be beaten on either, so it's like
what do I do. And normally, if it was anybody else, I would have just went off.
Ummm…as far as impact, I think that was it. It was just hard to tell what to do.

Similarly, participant seven reported, "I was raised that you don't hit women, fight

women. That type of attitude. And all of a sudden I found myself in one of those

situations, which was pretty ironic." Additionally, he expressed concern, not that she

could hurt or kill him, but that if she took her violence too far, he could physically hurt

her. He said,

I'm like I could just crush you. I could take one hand and just crush you. But yet it
didn't make sense to do that. I never felt threatened to that degree. Like oh my
gosh she could kill me.

So repeatedly, men would express that they were taught gender role norms such as men

never hit women. And if a man is a target of violence, the perpetrator would be a man

not a woman. Therefore the men were surprised and did not have any gender role norms

to indicate how they should respond when they became the target of a woman's violence.

Some of the men did not seek help because of masculine gender role socialization

dictates that men are not targets of physical violence by women; therefore, they did not

recognize it as domestic violence. Participant six stated, "But yeah I had my friends, but

I didn't go seeking therapy, or counseling, or anything like that because like I said I

didn't see it as domestic violence. I just saw it as a dispute." Others stated that sex

biased stereotypes that men are perpetrators of violence and women are victims kept

them from seeking help because they did not think they would be taken seriously.

Participant seven reported,

> As a guy like me…like for instance if I went to the police and pressed charges
> they'd be like what the fuck is your problem, man? You can't handle your
> woman? It wouldn't even be taken, it doesn't seem like it would be taken
> seriously because of this whole stereotype in this society.

Additionally participant two said,
> I started to think that this uhh is very dangerous to a man because we cannot
> respond to it because I mean uh so normally people think that men are like…if
> you go to the court with this, I'm always, I'm always guilty. Yeah so uhh it's
> very difficult to say anything else, nobody…nobody would believe me.

Indeed, the men who sought help were not taken seriously. Participant five said,

> And I said, she's screaming at me for one or two hours a day. She won't stop. I
> can't take it anymore. And now when she starts, I get up and leave because it
> doesn't stop. And his advice to me (laughing) after several sessions was to grow
> a pair of balls and talk to her.

In the above case, he and his wife were attending couples counseling with the wife's

pastor. Fortunately, when this man approached his own pastor, the pastor was informed

about domestic violence, and he referred him to the local domestic violence shelter.

Participant eight actually turned to a friend for assistance, but he was not believed

because of his physical size. He shared, "A tall guy like you is being attacked by a

woman? Do you want me to laugh? Do you want me to believe that? Am I supposed to

say something? That is one reaction I remember."

Conclusion

This chapter presented data gathered from interviews of eight participants who

represent individual cases of men's experiences as targets of intimate partner violence. A

descriptive, narrative was provided for each participant consisting of observations,

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general impressions and a summary of the findings for each case. Then themes and subthemes, which are displayed in Figure 4.4, were identified across the various cases in order to breathe life into the quintain of men's experiences of being a target of intimate partner violence. The two major themes included men's experiences that mirrored the experiences of women, as well as men's experiences of being a target of intimate partner violence which were related to gender role socialization. Under each of these themes were subthemes which were supported by the interview data. The subthemes for experiences that mirrored women's experiences included the simultaneity of love and violence, the interplay between blame and guilt, and the use of avoidant coping strategies. The subthemes for men's experiences related to gender role socialization included engaging in nontraditional male gender roles, being controlled based on traditional gender roles, and responding related to male gender roles. The following chapter provides a discussion of the findings from the themes and subthemes of chapter four, as well as limitations of the study, and suggestions for future research.
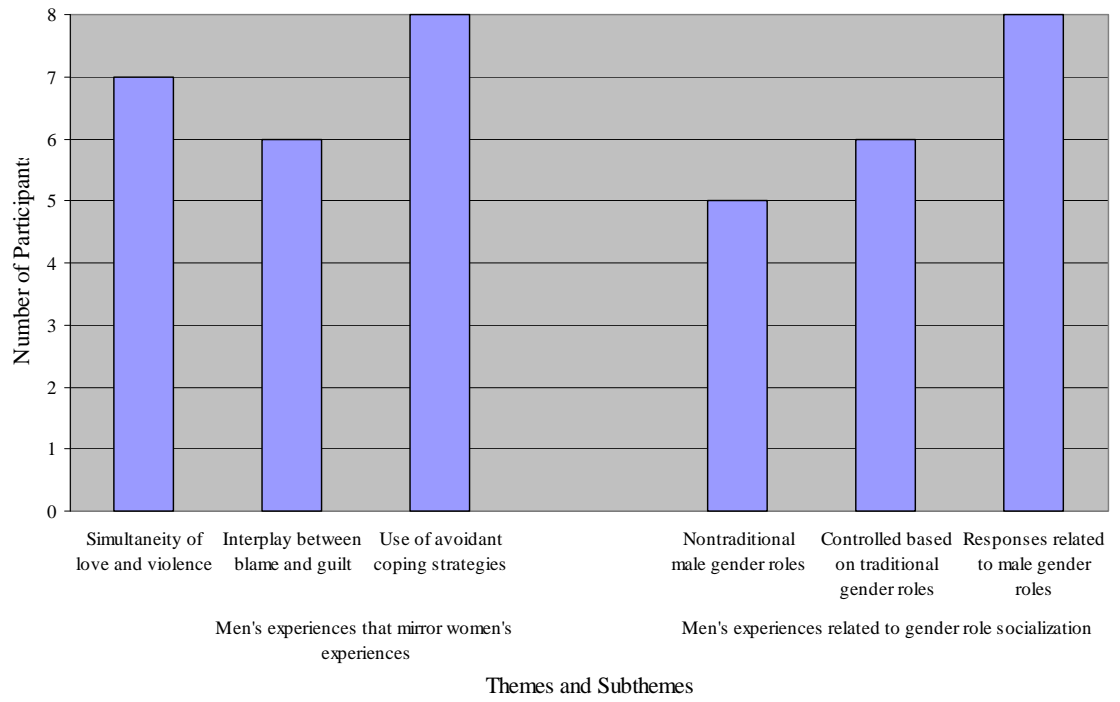
Figure 4.4. Number of participants reporting various themes and subthemes.

CHAPTER V

DISCUSSION

Introduction

This chapter provides a discussion of the findings, conclusions, and

recommendations for further research resulting from this research study. After a review

of the study, the first section provides a discussion of the findings as they relate to the

research question. The next section offers conclusions about the study. The final section

contains theoretical, research, and applied implications; limitations, and

recommendations for future directions.

Review of the Study

The purpose of this study was to explore the experiences of heterosexual men

who are targets of intimate partner violence. To date, research on the experience of men

who are targets of intimate partner violence consists mostly of survey data, which have

provided both prevalence and incidence information related to violence against men

(Archer, 2002; Field & Caetano, 2005; Hines, Brown, & Dunning, 2007; Straus & Gelles,

1990; Tjaden & Thoennes, 2000). Although this type of information is useful for

understanding the scope of intimate partner violence, it fails to provide a context for

intimate partner violence where one might obtain an understanding of the lived experience of men who have been the target of intimate partner violence.

Two often cited surveys in the field of intimate partner violence include the National Violence Against Women Survey (Tjaden & Thoennes, 2000) and the National Family Violence Survey (Straus & Gelles, 1990). Data from the National Violence Against Women Survey, an example of a crime victim study, indicate that the lifetime prevalence of violence against men by an intimate partner is 7.9% (Tjaden & Thoennes). Thus, 7.9% of men in the U.S. population will experience intimate partner violence at some time during their lifetime. In addition, data suggest that both a man's race and history of childhood physical abuse are predictive factors of men becoming targets of intimate partner violence (Tjaden & Thoennes). What cannot be obtained from survey data are the narratives of these men's experiences. By interviewing men who self-identify as being a target of female partner violence, one can gain a better understanding of the lived experiences of these men.

In order to learn about the experiences of heterosexual men who have been targets of intimate partner violence, eight men who self-identified as heterosexual and experiencing a minimum of two acts of physical violence, were interviewed for case study. Each participant engaged in two interviews. The initial interview consisted of a semi-structured interview protocol which lasted from one to two hours. After the initial interview was transcribed and analyzed, a second interview was conducted to clarify answers provided in the initial interview and to ask follow-up questions that arose from the analysis of the initial interview. The interview data were analyzed, themes identified,

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and findings discovered regarding the nature of heterosexual men's experiences of being a target of intimate partner violence.

Discussion of the Findings

This section presents a discussion of the findings from this research presented in chapter four. The discussion is presented in the context of the research question that was posed:

What are the experiences of heterosexual men who have been targets of intimate partner violence?

It has been asserted by feminist researchers that intimate partner violence is a gendered experience, and thus heterosexual men are not targets of intimate partner violence (Dobash & Dobash, 1988; Kurz, 1993; Walker, 1989). Rather, men experience violence at the hands of women as an act of retaliation or self-defense (Kurz, 1993; Pleck, Pleck, Grossman, & Bart, 1977). Because of this assertion, it is important to address the believability of the interviews of men who participated in this study. First, research on the experiences of women who have been targets of intimate partner violence has relied on self-report data. Just as the narratives of women are considered reliable data, the narratives of men should be given the same consideration. Second, the men who participated in this study received no compensation of any kind for sharing their experiences. Therefore, they were not motivated by financial remuneration to participate in this study. Finally, although the identity of the participants was known, they signed an informed consent form indicating that all of their identifying information would remain

anonymous. Therefore, men would not receive any personal gain from sharing their

perspective of intimate partner violence.

But on the other there are potential biases in any self-report data. With self-report

data, there is a tendency for individuals to share information that will make them appear

socially desirable (Heppner, Kivlighan, & Wampold, 1999). Therefore, it is possible that

the men in this study omitted information that would make them look culpable. On the

other hand, several of the men relayed stories of retaliation that portrayed them in a

negative light, so if they were trying to appear socially desirable, one wonders why they

would include stories of retaliation. Further, self-report data are provided from the

perspective of the person who experienced the phenomenon, in this study, men as targets

of intimate partner violence. However, what one person might perceive as an act of

emotional and psychological violence, another person may consider a regular part of

intimate partner conflict. Next, it is possible that a person may self-report in a way to

make them appear more distressed than is the case (Heppner, Kivlighan, & Wampold).

In this study, it is plausible that the men made their stories appear more distressing than

was actually the case. Additionally, participants may respond in a way that they think

will confirm the researcher's position on the topic (Heppner, Kivlighan, & Wampold).

Although every attempt was made to take an objective approach to the topic, the men in

this study may have speculated what types of answers would confirm my position related

to male victims of intimate partner violence.

Demographics

The participants in this study who were targets of intimate partner violence ranged in age from the late 20s to late 50s and the majority had children. They came from a range of occupational backgrounds. In all but two of the cases, the men held occupational positions equivalent to or with more responsibility and power than their partners. Also, participants had either the same or more education than their partners in all but two of the cases. Indeed, this sample consisted of highly educated participants in comparison to the general population, which may have an impact on whether the findings are representative of men's experiences within the general population. One case consisted of an interracial marriage, and in that case the husband was white and the wife was Asian Indian. All other cases consisted of partners with the same racial background. After reviewing these demographics, it seems as if overall the men had social identities that were part of the dominant group (Hardiman & Jackson, 1997), which suggests that they would hold the power and privilege. However, they were targets of violence. Indeed, in the literature on women as targets of intimate partner violence, Walker (1984) indicated that disparities between social, educational, and economic status where men had more status than the women, were predictors of intimate partner violence. This leads to further questions about what other contextual factors may need to be explored in terms of power differentials within intimate partner relationships that could lead to violence. What other ways may women wield social power in a relationship? Also, in each case, the men were taller and weighed more than their partners, which is contrary to the stereotype of a bigger, stronger woman physically assaulting a smaller, weaker man. So how do we make sense of that information?

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In four of the cases, the men were either accused or actually charged with domestic violence, in contrast to only one case where the woman was charged with domestic violence. This leads to questions about the nature of the men's arrests. Were they arrested as a result of a criminal justice system that makes the assumption that the man is always the perpetrator and the woman is always the victim? Or were these men actually perpetrators of violence but are self-reporting in a socially desirable way for this study. Archer (2000) suggested that men tend to underreport their acts of aggression, perhaps this is the case for the current research. Additional research needs to be conducted in an attempt to answer these questions.

General Impressions

Johnson (2004) theorized that there were two form of intimate partner violence—common couple violence and patriarchal terrorism. Within this study, two of the cases seemed to engage in a form of common couple violence. In fact the interview data from case one and case six caused me to wonder who the perpetrator was and who the victim was. Sometimes it seemed as if the men were perpetrating violence. Island and Letellier (1991) indicated that sometimes it can be difficult to distinguish between perpetrator and victim because the perpetrator will incite the victim to strike first. On the other hand, the participants in this study self-reported that they had been the target of the violence and they merely engaged in physical retaliation as a response, which women have reported doing in response to being a target (Graham-Kevan and Archer, 2005; Kernsmith, 2005). Additionally, four of the men engaged in at least one affair, which served as a precursor to physical abuse for three of the cases. In one of the cases it appeared that he engaged in

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multiple affairs and identified this as his way of coping with the violence. However, one of the participants stated that a man who had an affair would deserve physical abuse. Despite this expressed sentiment, this does not justify the use of physical violence as a response to a man having an affair. With case four, he was married and was having an affair. When he had sex with his wife and his mistress found out, his mistress began engaging in physical violence as a response. This particular case is an exemplar of the complexities that can arise when looking at intimate partner violence. So how do affairs add to the complexity of the research on intimate partner violence? When are affairs a coping mechanism for intimate partner violence, and when are affairs a form of emotional and psychological abuse? The current research suggests that intimate partner violence is very complex and may require more than theories that dichotomize the phenomenon.

Themes

As presented in chapter four, several themes arose from the data. One major theme across the narratives consisted of men recounting experiences of being a target of abuse that appeared to mirror women's experiences of being a target (Pence & Paymer, 1993; Walker, 2000). Within this major theme, there were three subthemes that were similar to women's experiences: the simultaneity of love and violence (Zink, Jacobson, Pabst, Regan, et al., 2006), the interplay between blame and guilt (Chang, 1989; Ferraro & Johnson, 1983; Kubany, Abueg, Owens, Brennan, Kaplan, & Watson, 1995; Kubany, & Manke, 1995; Lempert, 1994; Paymer & Pence, 1993; Street, Gibson, & Holohan, 2005), and the use of avoidant coping strategies (Chang, 1989; Lempert, 1994; Street,

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Gibson, & Holohan, 2005). The forms of intimate partner violence that all men reported

experiencing included physical abuse, as well as emotional and psychological abuse.

Within these reported acts of violence, men indicated that they had been scratched and

spit on. Scratching has been documented as an act of violence within the same-sex

intimate partner violence literature with studies of female on female violence, but not

within the literature on heterosexual intimate partner violence. Perhaps scratching is an

act of violence perpetrated primarily by women, and the existing literature on

heterosexual intimate partner violence has focused on women as targets. Another

distinction in the violence that men reported is related to sexual coercion. Only one man

indicated that he had been sexually coerced, but many of the men shared examples of

how their partners would withhold sex as a method of manipulation and control. Further

research needs to be conducted to explore the extent to which women may use sexual

withholding as a method of manipulation and control.

Men's Self-Reported Experiences Compared to Women's Experiences: Men

reported being a target of physical acts of violence similar to what women have

experienced (Pence & Paymer, 1993; Walker, 2000). In terms of the breakdown on

physical abuse, the participants made nine references to being choked or strangled; 40

references to being hit with an object; nine references to being injured with a knife or a

gun; 35 references to being kicked, bit, or punched; 51 references to being pushed,

grabbed, or shoved; and 85 references to being scratched, slapped, or hit. These are the

number of times that these specific acts are referenced, rather than number of reported

incidents. One might speculate that men would reference acts that occurred more

frequently, but future research would need to be conducted to determine the actual incidence of each type of physical violence.

Although researchers have suggested that injury resulting from violence against men does not rise to the level of injury that women sustain (Straus & Gelles, 1990), participants in this study reported severe acts of violence that included being choked or strangled, being stabbed with a knife, and being injected with tranquilizers. Two types of violence that heterosexual men reported that heterosexual women do not report or have not been asked about experiencing include scratching and spitting. Hines, Brown, and Dunning (2007) indicated that men in their study reported being scratched and spit on, which are acts of violence that heterosexual women have not reported experiencing. In Renzetti's (1992) study of lesbian intimate partner violence, one of the most common forms of physical abuse included being scratched. Perhaps scratching is a form of physical violence that is solely perpetrated by women, but further research is warranted to learn more about this.

Also, men reported being a target of emotional and psychological acts of abuse similar to what women experience. In terms of the breakdown on emotional and psychological abuse, participants made 39 references to damage to or destruction of property; 11 references to isolation; 29 references to jealousy and possessiveness; 55 references to minimizing, denying, and blaming; 64 references to threats of harm, abuse, or torture; 29 references to threats to abandon, divorce, or have an affair; 185 references to verbal attacks and name calling; and 28 references to withholding affection. Again, these were the number of times that men referenced these acts of emotional and psychological abuse, rather than the number of incidents that they experienced. Thus

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participants from this study reported acts of emotional and psychological abuse similar to what women have reported that led to the creation of the Power and Control Wheel of the Duluth Model (Pence & Paymar, 1993). One might speculate whether men were more likely to reference acts that occurred more frequently or if they referenced acts that had the most impact upon them. Overall, men made more references to the psychological and emotional abuse than the physical abuse, but men also stated that they experienced more emotional and psychological abuse than physical abuse. Further research would need to be conducted in order to learn more about the actual number of incidents for particular acts of violence, which could provide a better understanding of the particular types of abuse that men are more likely to experience in comparison to women.

As a review, the Power and Control Wheel, developed from group interviews of over 200 battered women in Duluth who participated in educational classes provided by the Duluth battered women's shelter, provides a breakdown of the types of abusive behaviors utilized by men to create a power differential and maintain power and control over their female partners (Pence & Paymar, 1993). These abusive behaviors include using coercion and threats; using intimidation; using emotional abuse such as put-downs and name-calling; using isolation; minimizing, denying, and blaming; using children as a way to control such as threatening to take them away so she will never see them again; using male privilege by making all the decisions and defining roles; and using economic abuse such as preventing her from working and/or not letting her know about the family finances (Pence & Paymar).

In this study, using children and economic abuse were not as readily reported by the men, although one participant did speak of how his wife used their son as a pawn in

order to have control over him. Also, another participant spoke of how his wife controlled the finances. One element of the Duluth Wheel that does not fit with this study of men as targets of violence is using male privilege in order to control (Pence & Paymar, 1993). On the surface, it does not seem that women could use male privilege in order to control men. On the other hand, if male privilege posits that men hold the power and therefore the men are most likely to perpetrate intimate partner violence, then women may have used male privilege as a way to control. Indeed, this study demonstrated how women would use the system to falsely accuse men of being perpetrators of violence, and obtain sole custody of the children, as was the case with participant three and eight.

Within this major theme, there were three subthemes: the simultaneity of love and violence, the interplay between blame and guilt, and the use of avoidant coping strategies. Faced with the simultaneity of love and violence, participants in this study spoke of feeling confused, betrayed, and hurt by the expression of love and at the same time the use of violence. One participant talked about the ways that his partner could be nurturing and how he appreciated this nurturance, but then he seemed confused and perplexed on how to hold these acts of nurturance alongside these acts of violence. Another participant kept hoping that his wife would see how she was hurting him and want to stop. Again there seemed to be a sense of confusion, as he indicated that he could not understand how she could say that she loved him, but continued to hurt him. From another participant's perspective, he felt betrayed. He said that he could not understand what would make her do hurtful things to him when she said she loved him.

Another sub-theme was the interplay of blame and guilt. Past research has demonstrated how women as victims of intimate partner violence are blamed for the

violence that is perpetrated against them (Chang, 1989; Ferraro & Johnson, 1983; Lempert, 1994; Pence & Paymar, 1993), and that women felt guilty for the violence that occurred (Kubany, Abueg, Owens, Brennan, Kaplan, & Watson, 1995; Kubany, & Manke, 1995; Street, Gibson, & Holohan, 2005). Also, in the one qualitative study of men's experiences of being a target, six of the twelve participants stated that the verbal abuse that they received from their wives caused them to accept partial blame for the abuse (Migliaccio, 2002). Likewise, within the current study, six out of the eight men experienced blaming, and five of these six men experienced interplay between guilt and blame. Men were blamed for the violence by the partner—often for not paying enough attention. In response to the minimizing, denying, and blaming, the men felt guilty as though they really were to blame and attempted to fix it. These similar responses that men and women experience in reaction to being a target of violence make sense as how people in general respond to a traumatic event, rather than as a response that is particular to the experience of intimate partner violence.

The third sub-theme was the use of avoidant coping strategies. Past research indicated that women engaged in avoidant coping strategies such as self-distraction, alcohol and drugs, disengagement, denial, and stoicism (Street, Gibson, & Holohan, 2005). Additionally, the one qualitative study of men's experiences of being a target reported that they used avoidance by occupying themselves with other activities (Miglicaccio, 2002). Participants of the current study engaged in similar avoidant coping strategies. Within this study, men reported self-distraction as a coping strategy including extra-marital affairs, fantasizing about other women, spending more time at work then taking the long way home, and playing video games. Six out of the eight participants

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engaged in some form of self-distraction as a way of avoidant coping. Two of the participants reported using alcohol and drugs as an avoidant coping strategy. Also, two participants spoke specifically about being in denial.

Yet two different participants stated that they did not realize that they were experiencing domestic violence while the incidents were occurring. It was only later upon personal reflection and reading accounts about domestic violence that these men were able to identify the abuse. One plausible explanation for these men not recognizing that they were targets of domestic violence could be that they were in denial at the time of the violence. Another explanation could be that these men have been socialized to believe the traditional gender role expectations that assume men cannot be targets of domestic violence. Two participants indicated that they disengaged from the relationship. In particular, one participant stated that he would go into his "cave," and he believed that this action led to a further distancing, which made his wife feel as if he was not attending to her needs. Six participants reported a form of stoicism as a way of coping. Indeed, the participants indicated that they would just take the blows. Further research may explore whether these are typical coping strategies for men in general, or if these are strategies particular to men who have been targets of intimate partner violence.

Men's Self-Reported Experiences Related to Gender Role Socialization: Another major theme that emerged in this study of heterosexual men's experiences of being a target of intimate partner violence was related to gender role socialization. Gender role socialization is a process where men and women learn societal expectations, standards, and norms about appropriate masculine and feminine behavior (Mahalik, Courneyer, et

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al., 1998). Men in this current study shared their experiences of engaging in nontraditional male gender roles, being controlled based on traditional gender roles as discussed in chapter four, and responding related to male gender roles.

In terms of engaging in nontraditional male gender roles, two participants seemed to take on nontraditional roles as a function of their partners' lacking life skills and four of the participants described themselves as nontraditional. Additionally, six of the participants talked about sharing in household responsibilities and caring for the child (ren). One participant spoke of how this sharing of responsibility led to many of the altercations because his wife would disagree with and criticize his parenting. Another participant stated how his partner complained that he did not give her enough attention, again leading to altercations. Although she was a stay-at-home mom, he would work all day, then come home and need to take care of household chores and care for the children. This left little time for him to spend one-on-one time with her. From another participants' perspective, he helped care for his son, and the couple even split the amount of sick time they took from work in order to care for their son when he was ill. But his partner would accuse him of not doing his share. In this way, men repeatedly spoke of engaging in nontraditional gender role behaviors, which they said often led to either verbal abuse and/or physical abuse. From these accounts, I wondered if the women held traditional male gender role expectations for their partners, since the research by Walker (1984) indicated that women victims of physical assault reported that the men who physically assaulted them held traditional female gender role expectations.

In addition to the potential that abusive experiences would arise from engaging in nontraditional gender roles, participants in this study experienced being controlled based

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on traditional gender roles. One way they were controlled based on traditional gender roles was to have their manliness questioned. For example, one participant's wife went so far as accusing her husband of being gay as a way of trying to control his behavior and stop him from taking a trip with one of his colleagues and friends. Another way that men believed they were controlled based on traditional gender roles was through women "using the system." That is, according to the men, the women partners would use the traditional gender role expectation that men were always the perpetrators and women were always the victims, and threaten to call the police and charge them with domestic violence. Alternatively, women would stage violent acts to make it look as though the men were the perpetrator. In one case, the woman threw herself on the ground to make it look like he physically attacked her. In another case, the woman jumped on his back from behind in public while no one was around. Then when he made gestures to remove her, she fell to the ground and yelled for help to make it look like he was the aggressor. Further, she accused him of intimate partner violence throughout the divorce proceedings in order to obtain sole custody of the children. Another woman told her husband that she would scratch up his face because the police always look at scratch marks on the man's face as evidence that the woman was acting in self-defense. Repeatedly, many of the participants believed that their partners used their knowledge of gender role expectations as a method of control.

Further, men in this study would respond to the violence in ways related to masculine gender role socialization. The majority of the men indicated that they were taught to never hit a woman. When they became targets of violence by women, they were surprised and uncertain how to respond. In fact, they were raised to believe that if

they were ever a target of physical violence, it would be perpetrated by a man. So they had no model to inform them on how to respond. Several men stated that it was hard to know what to do because if they defended themselves or retaliated, they had the strength to seriously injure their partner. And if they responded with physical violence, the police and/or courts would hold them responsible. Repeatedly, participants stated their belief that men are always the perpetrators and women are always the victims. Three of the men stated that they did not classify the behaviors in their relationship as domestic violence. One in particular reported that he saw the violence as just a dispute because domestic violence is something that happens to a woman, not a man. Further, when men reported that they sought help, they indicated that it was generally not taken seriously. And some men said that they did not seek help because of this expectation. It was possible that these men did not believe that they would be taken seriously because men as targets of intimate partner violence are not considered "normal." Indeed, Addis and Mahalik (2003) suggested the perception of whether the problem seemed normal for men impacted whether a man would seek help. Further research needs to be conducted regarding the facilitators and barriers to help-seeking for men who are targets of intimate partner violence. Additionally, research might explore the perceptions that people have regarding men who report experiences as a target of intimate partner violence.

Conclusions

In the introduction of this study, it was asserted that intimate partner violence is understood through the framework of hegemonic masculinity, where the man is the perpetrator of violence against a woman. In terms of theory within the literature on

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intimate partner violence, Johnson (2004) differentiated violence into two categories—

common couple violence and patriarchal terrorism, where the patriarchal terrorism

consists of one-sided violence with the man perpetrating violence against the woman.

But how can these frameworks inform situations where men are the targets of women's

violence? In one theory, Connell (1987) indicated that there are multiple masculinities,

and in order to have hegemonic masculinity, there must be subordinate masculinities.

These subordinate masculinities do not garner the same power as men who wield

hegemonic masculinity. Several men in this study described themselves as nontraditional

or indicated that they engaged in nontraditional roles within the home. These men may

fall within this category of subordinate masculinities, and their women partners may

engage in acts of violence toward them because they perceive them as "less than" a man.

What is interesting is how five of these men are over the age of forty and were

coming of age during a time of changing sex roles. Both men and women have been

renegotiating gender roles within the realm of work and the household over the past fifty

years. As these men over the age of forty are assuming more nontraditional gender roles,

one wonders do their women partners struggle with their own socialization about what

makes a man a "real man?" Perhaps this very struggle set the stage for outward violence

when the man was not fulfilling the traditional gender role. Consequently, the man is

placed in a double bind as he attempts to adjust to the changing gender roles by assuming

more nontraditional roles and at the same time is ridiculed for not being man enough. Of

course, further research is needed, which identifies the degree to which the men and

women in a relationship involving intimate partner violence identify with traditional

gender roles to determine whether these assertions are accurate.

Also, this study led to additional questions as to whether some of these men were actual victims of intimate partner violence because half of them had an affair, which seemed to act as a catalyst for the women to engage in physical violence. It seemed unclear in some cases whether the women were engaging in emotional and psychological abuse prior to the affair. Additional research would need to investigate the reasons that the men were engaging in affairs and the connection between the affairs and the subsequent abuse. Were the affairs another avoidant coping strategy? If so, what types of emotional and psychological acts of violence were occurring within the relationship prior to the affair? How did these emotional and psychological acts of violence impact the men aside from serving as a catalyst for an affair?

This study also raised questions regarding the nature of violence which women tend to perpetrate, as well as the type of women who engage in said violence. Within the intimate partner violence literature an act of physical violence tends to be privileged over emotional and psychological abuse as the impact of physical violence is visible. Yet women who have been targets often report that they would prefer the physical violence over the emotional and psychological abuse. The men in this study expressed this same sentiment. Within this study, the men referenced acts of emotional and psychological abuse more often than physical violence. This could correlate with the actual incidence, or it could be that the emotional and psychological abuse was more hurtful and therefore the men spoke of it more often. Additional research needs to be conducted on the nature of women's use of emotional and psychological abuse within relationships. Indeed, future research needs to start taking into account the complexity of intimate partner violence.

In the field of victim assistance for domestic violence, advocates argue not to blame the victim as some people who have witnessed physical violence against women have stated that the woman deserved it because she was engaging in verbal abuse. Of course, no person deserves to be the target of physical violence; however, that does not excuse the use of verbal abuse perpetrated prior to the physical assault. Future research needs to be conducted on women's use of emotional and psychological abuse. And in particular, in cases where men have been identified as the perpetrator, research needs to be conducted to discover if the men were identified as the perpetrator because they initiated an act of physical violence. If this is the case, additional questions need to be asked about what occurred prior to the men engaging in physical acts of violence.

Many men in this study reported that their partners had been victims of childhood violence and/or intimate partner violence. Additionally, some of the men reported that their partners struggled with mental illness. Very few conclusions can be made from these findings as the data were men's self-reports of their partner's character, but they do lead to additional questions. Are these common features of women who engage in intimate partner violence? What are other identifying features of women who engage in the perpetration of intimate partner violence? Further research needs to be conducted to identify if these are common features in women who perpetrated violence against men.

General Implications of the Findings

The following section provides theoretical implications, research implications, and applied implications that arise from the findings of the current study.

Theoretical Implications

Current theories related to intimate partner violence have suggested that there are two forms of intimate partner violence: common couple violence and patriarchal terrorism (Johnson, 2004). Within this theoretical framework, men's experiences of being a target of intimate partner violence would be placed in the category of common couple violence, as patriarchal violence is based on the idea that men are using their male privilege to physically terrorize women. However, the men in this study described incidents of violence such as being choked, injected with tranquilizers, and stabbed with a knife that required stitches, which suggests a severity that goes beyond common couple violence. Additionally, men reported being targets of physical violence where they did not respond with physical violence in return, which indicates that in some cases the violence was one-sided rather than an interchange occurring back and forth between the couple.

Another theoretical framework has asserted that intimate partner violence is a product of hegemonic masculinity (Connell, 2005) which places white, heterosexual men with the most institutional power, and thus those most likely to perpetrate intimate partner violence in order to maintain their power. This too seems like an oversimplification of intimate partner violence as it fails to take into consideration multiple masculinities, such as being a man of color or being a man from a lower socioeconomic status. The experiences of institutional power for a white, heterosexual man from a working poor background would vary from the experiences of institutional power for a white heterosexual man from an upper middle class background. Additionally, it fails to take into consideration other levels of analysis. For example, men

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may have institutional power, but do they have interpersonal power. The findings within this study suggested that men held the institutional power in terms of their education and background, but little could be extrapolated in terms of their interpersonal power. Therefore, the findings from this study suggest that further theoretical frameworks need to be explored as plausible explanations of intimate partner violence which incorporates the complexity of the phenomenon. In other words, future theoretical frameworks need to move beyond the frameworks of common couple violence and patriarchal terrorism in order to incorporate the complexity of intimate partner violence. Additionally, Connell's (1987) research related to multiple masculinities could serve as a framework for better understanding the experiences of men as targets of intimate partner violence.

Research Implications

The findings from this study generated more questions than answers. For example, the men made reference to a variety of physical as well as emotional and psychological types of violence that they experienced. What was unclear was whether these references were correlated with the number of incidents they experienced, or whether the acts of violence they referenced were emphasized because these acts of violence had the greatest impact on them or if they were attempting to inflate their experiences. Additionally, four of the men were arrested for domestic violence, of which three were actually charged. This raises questions as to who was the perpetrator and who was the victim. Were these men actually targets of violence and responded by retaliating, which led to an arrest? Or did these men actually perpetrate violence but recounted their experiences in a way to make them look more socially desirable? Future research will

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need to take into consideration social desirability when studying the phenomenon of men as targets of intimate partner violence.

Four of the men in this study indicated that they engaged in at least one affair. For three of the four men, the affair appeared to serve as a catalyst to physical violence. What is unknown is whether emotional and psychological violence was perpetrated prior to the men having an affair. Nor is it known whether having an affair was a way for the men to exercise power and control over their partners. Further research needs to be conducted in order to discover to what extent affairs may serve as a catalyst to physical violence and to what extent affairs are a mechanism for coping with violence, whether it be physical or emotional and psychological. Additionally, future research needs to consider whether men engage in affairs as a way to exercise power and control over their partners.

Use of the children, economic abuse, and male privilege are all forms of emotional and psychological abuse identified on the Duluth Power and Control Wheel (Pence & Paymar, 1993). Only one man in this study indicated that his partner used their child as a way to exercise power and control over him. And only one man spoke of his partner controlling the finances. In terms of privilege, women may have used the concept of male privilege where culturally it is expected that men are perpetrators of violence as a form of control. An example could be when participant one said his partner encouraged him to hit her, so she could call the police. Therefore, additional research needs to be conducted to determine whether the Duluth Power and Control Wheel holds true for men who experience intimate partner violence. Since few men indicated that they experienced using children or economic abuse, which are forms of psychological and emotional abuse

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on the Duluth Power and Control Wheel, perhaps these are not forms of power and control that men experience. However, men did report that they felt their partners withheld affection and sometimes withheld sex as a way to exercise power and control over them. Indeed, I would suggest based on the findings from this study that withholding affection and sex may be a form of emotional and psychological violence that men experience.

Additional research needs to consider the barriers and facilitators to help-seeking for men who are targets. The men in this study seem atypical as they were willing to discuss their experiences, and they indicated engaging in various types of help-seeking. When researching the barriers and facilitators, researchers may want to take into consideration whether the men who have been targets were able to identify that they were experiencing intimate partner violence. Men in this study indicated that they knew they were experiencing physical violence, but they did not label it as domestic violence because that was something that they were taught men perpetrate against women. Another perspective to consider when looking at the barriers and facilitators to help-seeking would be the perceptions that people in the general population have in regards to men being targets of intimate partner violence. Men in this study stated that when they tried to tell someone about the abuse that the person responded with disbelief that a man could be a target of violence perpetrated by a woman.

Further research needs to consider the characteristics of women who engage in acts of violence as well as identify the types of violence perpetrated by women. Men in this study reported that in some cases that their partners had been targets of violence as children, suffered from mental illness, and adhered to traditional male gender role

expectations. Additional research needs to be conducted on women who identify as

perpetrators of violence to determine whether these are typical characteristics. Also, men

in this study indicated that they experienced physical acts of violence such as being

scratched on and spit on, as well as the emotional and psychological act of violence of

withholding sex and affection as a way of control. These acts have not been reported by

heterosexual women within the intimate partner violence literature. Therefore future

research needs to identify acts of violence particular to female on male violence.

Applied Implications

Currently, service providers are focused on offering resources to women who are

targets of intimate partner violence. It was difficult to find any resources directed

specifically for men with the exception of the Domestic Abuse Helpline for Men

(DAHM). DAHM is a nonprofit organization in Maine with an internet presence that

offers information on how to access the helpline for men who are targets of intimate

partner violence. The DAHM website offers a definition of abuse with a focus on what it

looks like for men as well as reasons men do not tell. Also, they provide stories of

individual's experiences of being a target of intimate partner violence. In this study, it

seems evident from what men reported about their help-seeking behaviors as it relates to

this issue that many service providers and the population at large find it difficult to

believe that heterosexual men can be targets of intimate partner violence. Perhaps the

findings from this study will start to change this perception and service providers will

begin to address the issue.

To the extent that the findings from this study can be examined quantitatively and shown to be more prevalent among men within the general population, current practices in the justice system would need to be addressed. For example, participants identified that they believed that their experiences would be minimized or dismissed by law enforcement and the court system, or actually were minimized or dismissed. Clearly, this type of minimization and/or dismissal places men as targets of intimate partner abuse at continued risk. Education of law enforcement, prosecutors, and judges would need to be undertaken in order to enlighten these public servants about the nature and characteristics of this form of intimate partner violence.

Half of the cases indicated that they had either been arrested or charged with domestic violence after defending themselves or retaliating against female initiated physical assault. Although this study is qualitative in nature, a quantitative inquiry could be conducted to examine the degree to which men in domestic violence batterer treatment programs have had similar experiences. To the extent that this has been the case, male offender treatment programs might require re-examination and modification in order to address this complex facet of domestic violence. In other words, it is plausible that offender treatment programs should be modified to direct attention to circumstances where the men have retaliated in order to explore strategies designed specifically to reduce retaliation by male partners.

Additionally, the phenomenon of heterosexual men being targets of intimate partner violence has implications for programs addressing violence and aggression among youth. Simple models are typically employed in social justice education interventions that assist program participants in conceptualizing the perpetration of

violence as a systematic, institutionalized power differential based on social identities, where some identities are dominant and some are targets (Hardiman & Jackson, 1997; Harro, 2000; Creighton & Kivel, 1992). Within the construct of gender, men are considered the dominant group oppressing women, who are targets of men's oppression. But such social justice education instructional assumptions might need to be critiqued, and greater complexity might need to be introduced into social justice education conceptual models of oppression in order for individuals to learn ways of identifying problems associated with oppression based on gender, as well as viable responses and solutions, that include the possibility that men can be targets of violence.

General Limitations of the Study

The following section provides general limitations of the current study as it relates to the actual research design, as well as the trustworthiness, generalizability, and reflexivity of the study.

Design

To date, the bulk of research on men's experiences of intimate partner violence has consisted of the previously identified survey data with either a focus on family violence or crime victim studies. Of course, survey research is plagued by the limitations inherent in utilizing self-report data. These limitations include participant distortion either in presenting the self as socially desirable or as more impaired. Furthermore, Schwartz (1999) suggested that self-report data can be problematic because small changes in question wording, question format, and question context can result in

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significant changes in the results. In essence, the questions we ask influence the answers we receive. Although the current research project was plagued with similar issues, the iterative interview process included follow-up interviews in which clarifying questions could be asked. This did not eliminate the problems with self-report, but attempted to provide more contextual information about the men's experience.

An additional problem with self-report data is the tendency for individuals to answer questions in a way that places them in a favorable light. This would seem particularly true in the case where men have been perpetrators of intimate partner violence. Indeed, Archer (2000) suggested that men tend to underreport their acts of aggression against women. Therefore, it is plausible that men underreported their acts of aggression in this study.

Trustworthiness

Trustworthiness consists of the credibility, transferability, as well as the dependability and confirmability of the data. Within this study, thick description was provided to give readers a clear understanding of each case, which supported the transferability of the research. In terms of credibility of the study, negative case analysis and member checking were used. Prolonged engagement was not utilized because this was not a field study where I was observing the phenomenon as it unfolded. And in fact, this would have been an unethical research method as it would place my subjects at risk. But triangulation could have been used as a way to increase the credibility of the study. This could have consisted of interviewing individuals who knew about the experiences of the participants. However, since this study was focusing on the self-reported experiences

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of men who are targets of intimate partner violence, interviewing individuals who knew about the experiences of the participants would have yielded their perspectives of the men's experiences, not necessarily the men's actual experiences.

Dependability and confirmability is established through the interview protocol, the audit trail, and the codebook. Although an interview protocol was created, it was a semi-structured interview protocol, which provided the flexibility to ask follow-up questions based on the participants responses. In some cases, the participants would provide an answer to a protocol question that incorporated responses related to other questions in the protocol. In such cases, I would need to restate the answers, then ask the questions in the protocol in order to determine if they had additional information to add. Since each participant approached the questions from their own perspective and style, the actual interviews did not follow the exact interview protocol for each participant interview. This could have led to variations in how men responded to the questions and impacted the types of data that were collected.

An audit trail was created as well as a codebook. The audit trail detailed the process of data collection and data analysis; whereas, the codebook was a method for making sense of the data collected. The creation of the codebook was based on my interpretation of the data. Another researcher looking at the data from another lens may have created a different codebook. This could have an impact on the dependability and confirmability of the data. Having a research team creating a codebook could have increased the dependability and confirmability of the data because the codebook would be created based on agreement with the members as to how to best make sense of the

data. This could eliminate the bias of a single researcher collecting and analyzing the data.

Generalizability

The literature indicates that men are not likely to engage in help-seeking, particularly for issues that are not normative for men. Being a target of intimate partner violence would not be considered normative for men. Therefore, the men who agreed to participate in this study may have experiences that are markedly different than other men who have been targets of intimate partner violence and were unwilling to participate in the study. As a group, and across different ages, nationalities, and ethnic and racial backgrounds, men seek professional help less frequently than women (Addis & Mahalik, 2003). Additionally, Moller-Leimkuhler (2002) asserted that male gender-role expectations may lead to men not perceiving, under evaluating, and/or denying symptoms, which may create barriers to help-seeking. Indeed, men who acknowledge a conflict with traditional masculinity ideologies are found to be more psychologically distressed and have more negative views about using mental health services (Robertson & Fitzgerald, 1992). From a theoretical perspective, Addis and Mahalik (2003) considered how the effects of gender role socialization and constructing masculinity for men within various help-seeking contexts may be "moderated by basic social psychological processes" (p. 10), such as the perceptions of whether the problem seemed normal for men. The cultural norm is for women to be targets of intimate partner violence rather than men. Therefore, it is likely that men who adhered to traditional

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gender roles and experienced being a target of intimate partner violence were less likely to respond to this study; and this therefore, impacted the results.

Additionally the men who participated in this study came from a variety of educational and occupational backgrounds, but overall the sample was more educated than men within the general population. Based on this observation, one wonders whether the findings from this study are representative of what men in the general population experience as targets of intimate partner violence. Although qualitative research tends to consider the particular rather than the generalizable, the particulars from qualitative research often provide the foundation for future research. Therefore, future survey research may be conducted with men in the general population to identify the extent men experience intimate partner violence.

Reflexivity

Another limitation of this study is that it was a qualitative study consisting of data collection, analysis, and reporting by a single researcher who viewed the data through her own personal lens. Because there were no other researchers, there was no triangulation of the interpretation of the data, which could impact the credibility of the findings. On the other hand, other methods were employed to establish credibility, such as member checking and negative case analysis. Additionally, personal notes were kept throughout the process of data collection and analysis as a way to identify researcher bias. Also, a personal interest statement was included within the methods section in order to provide transparency of potential researcher bias. Future qualitative research on this topic may incorporate additional methods to account for research bias, such as assembling a

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research team of which each team member codes the data, then cross checks the coding structure for each team member.

Future Directions

The findings from this study raise compelling questions for further research on related topics. One recommendation for future research includes conducting a large scale study of heterosexual men who have been targets of intimate partner violence similar to the study by Walker (2000) or Renzetti (1992). Such a study would consist of mixed method data that could be analyzed to create a more comprehensive understanding of heterosexual men's experiences of being a target of intimate partner violence.

Because all of the men in this study spoke of the amount of emotional and psychological abuse that they sustained within the relationship, future research needs to focus on how to better operationalize and measure the constructs of emotional and psychological abuse in order to understand the nature of this type of abuse as it is experienced by both men and women. It seems plausible that women are more skillful at emotional and psychological abuse because in many cases women do not have the physical size in comparison to their partner to make a physical impact. Therefore, it would be beneficial to compare the differences between how men and women engage in emotional and psychological abuse, as well as the differences between how men and women experience being a target of such abuse.

Within this study, three of the men mentioned that their partners initiated violence, but they engaged in retaliation. Since this study used self-report data, future research could include a qualitative study interviewing both men and women who identify being

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in a relationship involving intimate partner violence in order to compare perspectives. As part of the data collection, the researcher could administer a personality disorder assessment to both men and women who are interviewed. Because research (Craig 1999) has demonstrated that batterers tend to exhibit particular personality disorders, administering this test could provide interesting data for analysis along with the interviews.

As another recommendation, research on the barriers and facilitators to help-seeking for men who are targets of intimate partner violence could benefit service providers who wish to offer services to this population. A number of factors have been identified in the literature that seems to be related to this tendency for men to move away from help-seeking. For example, Good and colleagues (Good, Dell & Mintz, 1989) discovered restrictive emotionality is predictive of not seeking help. In addition, factors related to traditional male roles have been shown to correspond to negative attitudes toward counseling and help-seeking behavior (Good et al., 1989; Robertson & Fitzgerald, 1992). Therefore, service providers need to be aware that they may need to modify the services they offer in order to reach men.

On the other hand, some factors that seem to facilitate male help-seeking behavior have been identified in the literature. In a study by Cusack, Deane, Wilson, and Ciarrochi (2004), sixty percent of men reported that intimate partners and general practitioners are the greatest sources of influence on their help-seeking behavior. Clearly, women who are initiating physical violence toward their male partners are not likely to encourage their partners to see help. Also, whether men have a positive or negative experience as a result of seeking help has a greater influence on future help-seeking than

the original influence on their help-seeking behavior (Cusack et al., 2004). Because it is not considered "normative" for heterosexual men to be targets of intimate partner violence, service providers may not provide a positive experience when these men seek help. And in fact, this study and the study by Hines and colleagues (2007) provided data that suggests that heterosexual men have negative experiences when they seek help for intimate partner violence. Therefore, service providers need to start acknowledging that men can be targets of intimate partner violence, and begin creating gender neutral publicity and promotional materials on the subject. Likewise if men seek services, it is important for service providers to offer a positive experience, which could start with the service providers believing the men's accounts.

Thus in the literature, potential barriers related to male help-seeking include higher levels of restrictive emotionality, which have been linked to greater adherence to traditional male roles. Additionally, for those men who do engage in help-seeking, having a negative help-seeking experience seems to deter them from engaging in future help-seeking behavior. In contrast, the positive influence of intimate partners and general practitioners seems to be a facilitator to male help-seeking. Further, for those men who do engage in help-seeking, having a positive help-seeking experience seems to enhance the chances that they will engage in future help-seeking behavior. Research on men's issues suggests that in general men are reluctant to seek help. Additionally, research on intimate partner violence indicates lower incidence and prevalence rates for men as targets of intimate partner violence as compared to women (Tjaden &Thoennes, 2000). Further research needs to be conducted to investigate whether there is a connection between lower incidence and prevalence rates of men as targets of intimate partner

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violence and men's reluctance to seek help in general. Indeed, information on the general help-seeking behaviors of men may provide an explanation as to why incidence and prevalence rates for men as targets of intimate partner violence are so low, as well as why so little is known about their experiences.

A Closing Perspective

Research has value to the extent that it offers new information and understanding of a phenomenon that may or may not have been researched in the past. With this particular study, it is hoped that the findings bring attention to the experience of heterosexual men who have been targets of intimate partner violence. Additionally, it is hoped that service providers utilize these findings when considering how to offer services to this population. In particular, the very act of believing a man when he says that he has been a target of intimate partner violence would be a good start. Finally, it is hoped that the findings from this study serve as a basis for future research focused on understanding the phenomenon of heterosexual men's experiences of being a target of intimate partner violence.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

LETTER TO DIRECTORS

January xx, 2008

Dear X,

You are invited to participate in a study being conducted by Theresa Benson, MA, a counseling psychology doctoral candidate in the Department of Counseling in the College of Education at The University of Akron. The purpose of this study is to understand the experiences of heterosexual men who are targets of intimate partner violence.

I would like to ask your assistance in identifying heterosexual males who have been targets of intimate partner violence and providing them information related to the study. The interview process will consist of two interviews. The first interview will last approximately two hours and will take place at a convenient time and place for the interviewee. The follow-up interview will take about one hour. Interviews will be tape recorded and later transcribed. Audiotapes will be destroyed after transcription. Questions will focus on the experiences of heterosexual males who have been targets of intimate partner violence.

You will receive no direct benefit from assisting in this study, but your participation may help better understand the experiences of heterosexual males who experience intimate partner violence. Participation in this research is voluntary and participants may refuse to participate, or may discontinue participation at any time without penalty.

Any identifying information collected will be kept in a secure location and only the researcher will have access to this information. Participants will not be individually identified and pseudonyms will be used in any presentation of the research results. Signed consent forms will be kept separate from the data, and nobody will be able to link responses to individual participants.

If you would be willing to participate in this study, you may call Theresa Benson at (217) 244-7535. This project has been reviewed and approved by The University of Akron Institutional Review Board. If you have any questions about your rights as a research participant, you may call Sharon McWhorter, Associate Director for Research Services at (330) 972-7666 or 1-888-232-8790.

Regards,

Theresa Benson

APPENDIX B

LETTER TO PARTICIPANTS

January XX, 2008

Dear X,

My name is Theresa Benson. I am a counseling psychology doctoral candidate in the Department of Counseling in the College of Education at The University of Akron, and I am conducting a study to understand the experience of heterosexual men who are targets of intimate partner violence. My interest in this topic stems from my personal experiences with a male friend who became a target of intimate partner violence at the hands of his live-in girlfriend.

I would like to interview you for this study to gain an understanding of your own experiences. I see this as an opportunity for men, who have experienced two or more incidents of physical violence perpetrated by their female partners, to give voice to their experiences, as well as contribute to an understanding of this issue. Questions will focus on your experiences as a target of intimate partner violence. The actual interview process will consist of two interviews. The first interview will last approximately two hours and will take place at a convenient time and place for you. The follow-up interview will last approximately one hour and again will take placed at a convenient time and place for you. Interviews will be tape recorded and later transcribed. Audiotapes will be destroyed after transcription. Results will be made available to you at the conclusion of the study.

If you have any questions about the study or would be willing to participate, you may call me at (217) 744-7535. This project has been reviewed and approved by The University of Akron Institutional Review Board. If you have any questions about your rights as a research participant, you may call Sharon McWhorter, Associate Director for Research Services at (330) 972-7666 or 1-888-232-8790.

Regards,

Theresa Benson

APPENDIX C

INTERVIEW PROTOCOL

Questions for heterosexual men who have been targets of intimate partner violence
1. Tell me what led you to respond to this research.
2. Tell me about your experience.
    2.1 How did the events occur over time?
    2.2 Were there changes in the incidents over time?
3. How did you respond to the incidents?
How did you respond after the first incident?
How did you respond to subsequent incidents?
4. What was the impact of having a female partner physically hit you?
    4.1 Did you sustain injuries, and if so, what types of injuries?
    4.2 What was the emotional/psychological impact of the incidents?
5. Are you still in the relationship? If not, how long did you stay in the relationship?
    5.1 What kept/keeps you in the relationship?
    5.2 If you are no longer in the relationship, what made you leave the
        relationship?
6. What meaning have you made from going through this experience?
7. Did you seek help?
    7.1 If so, what type of help?
    7.2 If so, how helpful or responsive were those from whom you sought help?
    7.3 If not, what kept you from seeking help?
    7.4 Whether you sought help or not, what might have facilitated the process of
    seeking help?

APPENDIX D

INFORMED CONSENT

Studying The Experiences of Heterosexual Men Experiencing Intimate Partner Violence

You are invited to participate in a study being conducted by Theresa Benson, MA, a counseling psychology doctoral candidate in the Department of Counseling in the College of Education at The University of Akron.

The purpose of this study is to understand the experience of heterosexual men who are targets of intimate partner violence. In addition, we will explore how the experiences may serve as facilitators or barriers to help-seeking.

I would like to interview you for this study. The interview process will consist of two separate interviews. The first interview will last approximately two hours and will take place at a convenient time and place for you. The follow-up interview will take approximately one hour. Interviews will be tape recorded and later transcribed. Audiotapes will be destroyed after transcription. Questions will focus on your experiences as a target of intimate partner violence and the facilitators and barriers to seeking help.

There are no known risks associated with this research. You will receive no direct benefit from participation in this study, but your participation may help better understand the experiences of heterosexual men who experience intimate partner violence, as well as the barriers and facilitators associated with seeking help.

Participation in this research is voluntary and you may refuse to participate, or may discontinue participation at any time without penalty.

Any identifying information collected will be kept in a secure location and only the researchers will have access to this information. Participants will not be individually identified and pseudonyms will be used in any presentation of the research results. Signed consent forms will be kept separate from the data, and nobody will be able to link responses to individual participants.

If you have any questions about this study, you may call Theresa Benson at (217) 244-7535. This project has been reviewed and approved by The University of Akron Institutional Review Board. If you have any questions about your rights as a research

participant, you may call Sharon McWhorter, Associate Director for Research Services at (330) 972-7666 or 1-888-232-8790.

I have read and understand the information provided above and voluntarily agree to participate in this study. I will receive a copy of this consent form for my information.

_____   _____

Participant Signature   Date

DEMOGRAPHIC WORKSHEET

Age:

Race/Ethnicity:

African American   Hispanic   Native American

Asian American   Caucasian   Other

Occupation:

Highest level of Education:

Years together as a couple:

Children: Yes   No

Age of Partner:

Height of Partner: Weight of Partner:

Race/Ethnicity of Partner:

African American   Hispanic   Native American

Asian American   Caucasian   Other

Occupation of Partner:

Highest Level of Education of Partner:

CODE LIST

Free Nodes:

> Gender roles—when participants talk about behaviors that men and women enact congruent or incongruent with the socially constructed ideals of masculinity and femininity.
> Example: "And partly it's the surprise that, that a woman could…I mean (small laugh)…I guess for the longest time I thought it would be men you know who would hit, hit me or bully me or because of my glasses or something like that and that uhh…I'm still not quite sure how to deal with that part of it either."

Tree Nodes:

I. Affective—an emotional response that a person experiences as a result of being a target of IPV.
Example: "And it was like, you know I was just fearful of. It was either she was just yelling at me or I was fearful of well what is she going to yell at me for next. And I uhhh she wouldn't even be in the house and I'd hear a noise in the house and I would tense up and would be afraid she was coming home, what's she going to yell at me for now."

> A. Afraid—scared or fearful.
> Example: "This woman had just woke me up, approached me with a gun in a threatening manner, and I feared for my life."

> B. Angry—feeling extreme emotion due to hurt feelings, hostile.
> Example: "That was emotional. I was angry. I was angry because we had said and made an agreement to each other before we ever went out of our marriage we would talk to each other first and we would not be together. So it angered me that she did that. I told her even if it wasn't physical, which I think it was, none the less, even if it wasn't physical it was emotional and you were searching for that outside the marriage. I was pretty angry. I was really angry that night. I ended up, got in the car and just drove for a couple of hours at like 1 in the morning. And I didn't come back until that next morning. She was already gone for work and the kids were already at daycare."

C. Guilt—accepting blame and responsibility for a wrongdoing.
Example: "I mean, I think there were times I mean just hating myself for one thing, feeling guilty and shameful about everything."

D. Sad—unhappy, sorrowful, affected by grief
Example: "And I walked three miles to the metro downtown. Took the metro back here and called a friend basically crying come pick me up. I was that upset."

E. Uncertain—emotion related to doubt, shock, surprise
Example: "'Cuz you know (pause) at times, I'm just unsure about myself when it comes to (long pause) some of it is me, some of it is just simply my genetic makeup, (pause) and then a lot of it is how what I've subject…subjected myself to…the conditioning that has taken place (pause) over the years."

II. Behavioral—an action a person takes as a result of being a target of IPV
Example: So finally I guess I pulled away from her and she knew I was going to get away, and she just hit me. And then I just walked away from her, and continued walking. That was one of the times that I let it go. That was the first time I remember it happening.

A. Avoid—to stay away from or evade.
Example: "Sometimes…the best thing to do…and I'm sure I did this several times…was to just leave the apartment, but that's when she would break stuff."

B. Defend—to fight to protect self.
Example: "Ummm, umm, basically, I'm a nonviolent kind of guy. I'm very laid back. And I guess that's kinda why I took this, and I took it for you know, way too long, a time. And basically, I would, uhh, I would just kind of turn my shoulder into her say and I would try to block her punches. She would punch me on my upper arm, which you know, certainly hurt some, but it wasn't uhh, you know it wasn't uhh. You know, I, I, I'm much bigger than she is and it wasn't, it wasn't a painful thing. I would get bruises, when she would hit me with her fist as hard as she could, but umm you know, I would just try to kind of block her punches, and uhh you know she'd eventually stop.'

C. Neutralize
Example: "And I would say things like "you know what you act like you really want somebody to put their hands on you, but you got the wrong one. I'm not going to beat you. You act like you want someone to beat you. I'm not gonna beat you." "

D. Retaliate—repay like for like.
Example: "And I kind of remember the first time I actually just hit her back and umm. I had just gotten so tired and desperate and it was just more of a reaction. But I remember feeling like. I remember the feeling because there is nothing like I'd done before."

E. Seek Help—to look for support, assistance, or guidance.
Example: "I talked to a doctor but he gave me some tranquilizers."

F. Stay—to continue to be in the relationship.
Example: "Well, I guess uhh I loved her, and I kind of made a commitment to stay with her for life. And she kind of would tell me and convince me that uhh you know, marriage, you know, you're not always happy in a marriage. That uhh, sometimes you got to make sacrifices and put your marriage first and not your personal needs and desires. And you know if you got to eat a shit sandwich now and then for the sake of the marriage, then that's what you got to do."

III. Cognitive—thoughts that a person experiences as a result of being a target of IPV
Example: "Sometimes I would like to just say affair because it feels like it makes my case more solid. You know it's not something that I could necessarily do something about, but it seems like a justification of my pain or my anger about it. And when I think that then I think well it's really not a justification. So I'm really caught there, you know, I'm really caught with what I think…not what I think is right or wrong but how I think I should hold her accountable."

A. Emotion Laden—thoughts heavily loaded with affect
Example: "I mean, I think there were times, I mean just hating myself for one thing, feeling guilty and shameful about everything. Not being able to fix anything, or stop it just you know, in some ways getting worse, in some ways just carrying on. Like I said I felt like I was giving up my life. That's really what it felt like. And I'm sure I was probably suicidal and thought about it."

B. Problem Focused—thoughts that concentrate on solving something or working something out
Example: "Things are OK for a while but it's like OK when's the next uhh flare up going to be. And I've tried to study the pattern so that I can brace myself. I've have tried to uhhh keep up with the cycles the monthly cycles uhh menstrual cycles because the emotions are heightened at that time. That could be a real I mean to try to keep up with the signs and signals and indications to brace myself because again I've convinced myself that if if I can be…if I can prepare myself to be uhh more compassionate at those heightened emotional times then I can

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avoid…help…avoid the traumatic situations for the entire family. But it doesn't"

IV. Intimate Partner Violence—a pattern of behaviors, including but not limited to psychological/emotional, sexual, and physical abuse, used by an individual to hurt, dominate, or control an intimate partner and where there is a threat of negative consequence for noncompliance
Example: "Well, I've been slapped. I've been thrown out of the bed and she trampled on my body when I was down. Imagine this all happened when I was under bensodiazepines and I couldn't act, you know. I was more or less helpless. And she would call me names. She would shout. She would talk like…she would talk like trucker, what's the expression...like a truck driver. She would mention all these words that I didn't know she was able to pronounce, or was familiar with them, but she did. She called me everything. She told me, finally die. Kill yourself under the train. Throw yourself in front of the train."

    A. Emotional and Psychological Abuse—this construct is defined by the following items:
        1. Damage to or destruction of property—to hurt, ruin, or annihilate a material possession that belongs to someone else
Example: "Umm and so it progressed to umm…to S umm throwing things and breaking things umm. Usually they weren't mine oddly enough. Umm for example, she tore up a book my ex-girlfriend had given me…umm our roommate, P, she broke a chair of his and some CDs. Umm with my stuff, she tended to just throw it around. Umm, and after a couple months of that, it escalated umm."

        2. Isolation—detaching or separating the person from others
Example: "And that actually, S, did a lot to try to dissuade me from talking to them. Interfering with e-mail and phone calls, or all of a sudden getting sick right before I'm supposed to go visit a friend, and umm. She had this theory that some how like my friends made me more evil, or the ones who knew what I was doing accepted it and encouraged it. So then she hated my friends."

        3. Jealousy and possessiveness—suspicious fear that leads to attempts to control.
Example: "And she would say, why would you want to go on a trip with your friend instead of your wife? Uhh you know, what are you gay? Uhh, she accused me of being gay. And she would say are you butt fucking E?"

4. Minimizing, denying, and blaming—to downplay someone's experience, to declare something untrue, to say someone is the cause of something unfortunate
Example: "And uhh, and would basically tell her basically that she was saying hurtful things to me and she needed to stop. And she did one of three things. She would uhh tell me, well she would say what did I say, and I would repeat it to her, and she would deny that she said it. And then we would argue over whether or not she said it (chuckles). And this would lead to a continuous loop. You know, she would deny it and I would say of course you did, I'm standing right here. And the second thing she would do is she would say well maybe I said that, but it wasn't hurtful. And then we would just argue continuously you know whether or not it was hurtful. She would deny it was hurtful, I would say that it was hurtful. And we just…it was like a continuous loop. And the third thing she would do is she would say well maybe I said that but you misinterpreted what I meant. And now we are arguing in a continuous loop whether or not I knew what it was she meant."

5. Threats of harm, abuse, or torture—warning that a person will hurt and injure intentionally, or inflict pain on someone unmercilessly
Example: Meanwhile I took that little diversion as a way of trying to get away. So I took off running down the street, but there she comes trying to run me over.

6. Threats to abandon, divorce, or have an affair—warning that a person will leave, legally end a marriage, or cheat.
Example: It's like three o'clock in the morning or something, and she would be awake and I would be awake, but she wouldn't know I was awake. She would think I was sleeping. And she'd roll over and whisper in my ear, stuff really softly thinking I was asleep. And she would say things like I want a divorce, I you know, I'm going to divorce you. She'd say, I don't love you any more. She'd say you're not going to like being lonely. She'd say, there's guys knocking on the door for me. Hurtful things like that, whispering it really softly in my ear, where I could barely hear it.

7. Verbal attacks and name calling—attempt to harm someone through words.
Example: I know, she calls me a miserable creep and that hurts.

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8. Withhold affection—to restrain or hold back tenderness, warmth, love, and kindness.
   Example: "But by the time I saw her later that day, it wasn't a confrontation. She just gave me the cold shoulder kind of things."

B. Physical Abuse—this construct is defined by the following items:
   1. Choked or strangled—to suffocate someone.
      Example: So now she's pinned between the steering wheel and myself and it's a small two seat car. So she's, and she's, you know, wedged in there. And has her elbow up against my throat choking me.

   2. Hit with an object—to bring something down hard on another person.
      Example: "And uh in the next morning she started to throwing things to me and I mean I'm pretty much like uhh have good reaction. And she was like throwing these like stuff like glasses and whatever in the morning."

   3. Injured with a knife or a gun—to cause harm with a weapon.
      Example: "And she just started going really crazy and she had this look in her eyes like she was gone um, and uhh, she picked up a kitchen knife and was threatening to attack me with it. I was holding my son and saying what are you doing. And I wasn't able to reason with her at all, and she was really weird and talking about how she wanted to hand the knife to me. And she kept getting closer to me and she kind of had me backed into umm a corner of the apartment. And she wasn't like really coming after me, but she was walking towards me and holding the knife and I kept asking her to put it down and go back in the kitchen. And I'm not really sure what happened, but all of a sudden there was blood squirting everywhere. And uh, you know I totally freaked out because you know I didn't feel anything, so I thought for sure it was our son. And luckily somehow she flipped back to reality when she saw the blood and uhh it turned out somehow that she had just gotten me twice in the arm, but it was pretty, pretty deep."

   4. Kicked, bit, and punched—to hit someone with your foot, to make a wound by biting someone with your teeth, or to hit someone very hard with your fist.
      Example: 'Well I had uhh, you know, I had uhh, pretty good bite mark on my hand. You know she didn't really take a big chunk

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out of it or anything. Ummm, but it was a pretty bad, a pretty bad bite."

      5.   Pushed, grabbed, or shoved—to seize or clutch someone or a body part of someone roughly
Example: "and it would get to the point where I knew that there needed to be space and I would attempt to leave the room or the house and she would push me or grab me or scratch me or kick me. "

      6.   Scratched, slapped, or hit—to mark someone with a sharp point such as nails, to smack someone with an open hand.
Example: "I've had fingernail marks across my chest across my arms my neck stuff like that you know shirt hanging all off like the Hulk you know just literally and things like that you know."

C. Sexual Abuse
Example: "She made me…she forced me …it's very, very…it's hard to tell you because it makes me so sad. She wanted a third child and she abused me just to get a third child."

V. Post Effects—the results and outcomes that come from experiencing IPV
A. Relationships—connection between two people
Example: And then, I go to court, well, I'm talking to attorneys about the divorce, and I, I called one up to discuss this and uhh, you know he said well it's two or three grand to go to court for this. And he says you know, your paying for, you're paying for, I was paying all the bills, even though I wasn't living here and he says you know, you're not only going to be continuing to pay the mortgage, the cable, the electric, and everything, but he says the court will determine that the two of you need to be separated, and they will give you a stay away order from your own house. You will not be allowed to go back to your own house even though you've done absolutely nothing wrong.

B. Work—job or form of labor
Example: So uhh so it's because of those things I can no longer because of the domestic batteries I could no longer uhh work in law enforcement. I couldn't go back to work in corrections. Ummm, it just uhh it just uhhh those were blows that I really hadn't gotten past yet.

VI. Precursors to Intimate Partner Violence—forerunner to IPV
A. Affair—cheat on intimate partner by engaging in intercourse with someone other than your intimate partner.
Example: Certainly with, I mean the first, the first biting incident, the umm…the catalyst was the affair. It was what happened, you know I only

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vaguely recall what went before. But I think it was something along the lines of her saying well you know, I really love him and umm…I, you know, I don't regret having done it. I mean things, things that kind of got us into umm an argument that had to do with her insisting that this is something that she didn't regret and also that she felt umm I wasn't paying attention to her anyway.

B. Alcohol and Drugs—consuming alcohol and drugs.
   Example: We both uhh had real issues. Uhhh, neither one of us were whole individuals and uhh we had come from dysfunctional homes, alcoholic, with uhh one or both parents were either alcoholics and/or drug addicts. So we had issues.

C. External Stressors—factors outside the relationship that are creating tension and strain on the relationship.
   Example: We went…she went up to visit her dad because umm he was in the hospital. It was the second time he had almost drank himself to death, so he was in intensive care for a week. He almost died. The third time he actually did die, but umm…umm you know, she went to see him umm…I hadn't met him yet. He actually had refused to talk to her for a couple of years after she started dating me and live with me. There umm…she was originally from India. Her family came here when she was five and umm…her parents, especially her dad were…ummm pretty traditional in a lot of ways. Umm although personally I think her dad was a big asshole.

D. History of Violence—hurtful treatment a person experienced in past relationships.
   Example: Well, because it's like certain things led up to what happened. I will say that my wife had a history of getting into fights with her boyfriends before I came in. And I had never really been in a relationship like that at all.

EVOLVING CODING STRUCTURE

I. Initial Coding Structure
   A. Intimate Partner Violence
      1. Physical
      2. Emotional/psychological
      3. sexual
   B. Response
   C. Help Seeking
   D. Impact

II. Second Coding Structure
   A. Intimate Partner Violence
      1. Physical
      2. Emotional/Psychological
      3. Sexual
   B. Response to Abuse
      1. Alcohol and substance abuse
      2. Avoidance
      3. Block the Punch
      4. Leave
      5. No response
      6. Physically retaliate
      7. Placate
      8. Rationalize
      9. Took a Stand
      10. Use reason
      11. Verbally retaliate
   C. Help Seeking
      1. Books
      2. Family
      3. Friends
      4. Medical Treatment

5. Mental Health
6. Neighbor
7. None
8. Pastor
9. Police
10. Residential Treatment
11. Supervisor
12. Support Groups

D. Impact of Abuse
1. Abusive behavior
2. Afraid
3. Anxious
4. Car accident
5. Children witness
6. Confused
7. Dangerous
8. Depression
9. Difficult to know
10. Dissociate
11. Fantasize about other women
12. Feelings of being a bad father
13. Feelings of guilt
14. Funny
15. Gratitude
16. Hide Physical Injury
17. How related to others
18. Isolation
19. Limited social life
20. Lost self-confidence
21. Personal growth
22. Physical injuries
23. Powerless
24. Rely on higher power
25. Sexual dysfunction
26. Sleep difficulty
27. Stress
28. Surprised
29. Trapped
30. Try to make amends
31. Upset

1. Physical
   a. Pushed, grabbed, shoved
   b. Being slapped
   c. Being kicked, bit, punched
   d. Being hit with an object
   e. Being choked or strangled
   f. Being injured by knife or gun
2. Emotional/psychological
   a. Verbal attacks
   b. Isolation
   c. Jealousy/possessiveness
   d. Verbal threats of harm, abuse, or torture
   e. Threats to divorce, abandon, or have an affair
   f. Damage to or destruction of property
3. Sexual

D. After effects
   1. Affective
   2. Behavioral
      a. Leave
      b. Stay
      c. Seek help
      d. Defend
      e. Retaliate
   3. Cognitive
      a. Sad
      b. Angry
      c. Afraid
      d. Happy
      e. Uncertain

V. Model 3
   A. Precursors
      1. History of violence
      2. Affairs
      3. Alcohol and other drugs
      4. External Stressors
      5. Financial Stressors
   B. Intimate Partner Violence
      1. Physical
         a. Pushed, grabbed, shoved

   b. Being scratched, slapped, hit

   c. Being kicked, bit, punched

   d. Being hit with an object

   e. Being choked or strangled

   f. Being injured with a knife or a gun

  2. Emotional/Psychological

   a. Withholding affection

   b. Threaten to harm, abuse, or torture

   c. Threaten to divorce, abandon, or have an affair

   d. Jealousy/possessiveness

   e. Minimize, deny, and blame

   f. Damage to or destruction of property

   g. Isolation

   h. Verbal attacks and name calling

  3. Sexual

 C. Response

  1. Affect

   a. Guilt

   b. Afraid

   c. Angry

   d. Uncertain

   e. Sad

  2. Behavioral

   a. Stay

   b. Retaliate

   c. Seek help

   d. Attempt to reason

   e. Avoid

   f. Defend

   g. placate

  3. Cognitive

   a. Emotion laden

   b. Problem focused

 D. After Effects

  1. Relationships

  2. Work

VI. Third and Final Coding Structure

 A. Precursors

  1. History of violence

2. Affairs
3. Alcohol and other drugs
4. External Stressors
E. Intimate Partner Violence
   1. Physical
      a. Pushed, grabbed, shoved
      b. Being scratched, slapped, hit
      c. Being kicked, bit, punched
      d. Being hit with an object
      e. Being choked or strangled
      f. Being injured with a knife or a gun
   2. Emotional/Psychological
      a. Withholding affection
      b. Threaten to harm, abuse, or torture
      c. Threaten to divorce, abandon, or have an affair
      d. Jealousy/possessiveness
      e. Minimize, deny, and blame
      f. Damage to or destruction of property
      g. Isolation
      h. Verbal attacks and name calling
   3. Sexual
F. Responses to Intimate Partner Violence
   1. Affective
      a. Guilt
      b. Afraid
      c. Angry
      d. Uncertain
      e. Sad
   2. Behavioral
      a. Stay
      b. Retaliate
      c. Seek help
      d. Avoid
      e. Defend
      f. Neutralize
   3. Cognitive
      c. Emotion laden
      d. Problem focused

G. After Effects
    1. Relationships
    2. Work

APPENDIX H

HUMAN SUBJECTS APPROVAL

NOTICE OF APPROVAL

Date: December 4, 2008

To: Theresa Benson
       729 S. Mattis Avenue
       Champaign, IL 61821

From: Sharon McWhorter, IRB Administrator

Re: IRB Number 20071203-2   *"The Experiences of Heterosexual Men who have been Targets of
                                 Intimate Partner Violence"*

Thank you for submitting your Application for Continuing Review of Research Involving Human Subjects
for the referenced project. Your protocol represents minimal risk to subjects and has been approved
under Expedited Category #7.

Approval Date: December 3, 2008
Expiration Date: December 13, 2009
Continuation Application Due: November 29, 2009

In addition, the following is/are approved:

☐ Waiver of documentation of consent
☐ Waiver or alteration of consent
☐ Research involving children
☐ Research involving prisoners

Please adhere to the following IRB policies:

- IRB approval is given for not more than 12 months. If your project will be active for longer than one
  year, it is your responsibility to submit a continuation application prior to the expiration date. We
  request submission two weeks prior to expiration to insure sufficient time for review.
- A copy of the approved consent form must be submitted with any continuation application.
- If you plan to make any changes to the approved protocol you must submit a continuation
  application for change and it must be approved by the IRB before being implemented.
- Any adverse reactions/incidents must be reported immediately to the IRB.
- If this research is being conducted for a master's thesis or doctoral dissertation, you must file a
  copy of this letter with the thesis or dissertation.
- When your project terminates you must submit a Final Report Form in order to close your IRB file.

Additional information and all IRB forms can be accessed on the IRB web site at:
http://www.uakron.edu/research/orssp/compliance/IRBHome.php

☒ Approved consent form/s enclosed

Cc: James Rogers – Advisor
Cc: Stephanie Woods – IRB Chair

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