Two Types of Violence Against Women in the American Family:

Identifying Patriarchal Terrorism and Common Couple Violence

Michael P. Johnson*

Pennsylvania State University

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*Department of Sociology, 211 Oswald Tower, University Park, PA 16802. mpj@psu.edu.

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ABSTRACT

One of the most long-standing and acrimonious debates in the history of the sociology of the family concerns the alleged gender-symmetry of domestic violence. Using data from a late 1970s survey, this paper demonstrates that the violence that most people associate with the term "domestic violence," i.e., recurrent, escalating, violent control of one's partner, is decidedly male. This conclusion is reached through the operationalization of a typology of partner violence that is based in the connections of individual violence with a general pattern of power and control, and that distinguishes among four types of partner violence: patriarchal terrorism, common couple violence, violent resistance, and mutual violent control. Patriarchal terrorism, the type of violence that is referenced by the term "domestic violence" in everyday speech and in the media, is almost exclusively male.

The most general implication of the results is that if we want to understand the nature of violence that takes place between domestic partners, we cannot continue to treat intimate violence as a unitary phenomenon. When we fail to make important distinctions among types of violence, we get the sort of conflicting, confusing evidence that has plagued the debate regarding the gender asymmetry of domestic violence.

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One of the most long-standing and acrimonious debates in the history of the sociology of the family concerns the gender-symmetry of domestic violence. The argument began with the appearance of data from the first National Family Violence Survey, Murray Straus and Richard Gelles' pioneering 1975 attempt to gather data on family violence from a national random sample. Those data appeared to document virtually perfect gender-symmetry in incidence of partner violence, with women being just as likely to assault their male partners as men were to assault their female partners (Straus, Gelles, and Steinmetz 1988 originally published 1980). In 1978, Suzanne Steinmetz took those data to their limit, arguing that there was a problem of "husband-battering" in the American family that was perhaps as serious as the problem of wife-battering (Steinmetz 1977-78). Reaction in the journals was swift and strong (Fields and Kirchner 1978; Pleck, Pleck, Grossman, and Bart 1978), as feminist scholars argued that all previous studies had found that partner violence was gender asymmetric, a problem of men beating their wives and partners. Behind the scenes there were personal attacks on Steinmetz and her colleagues, and the style of debate made it impossible to bring the protagonists together to address their disagreements. The arguments have continued through the 1990s (Dobash and Dobash 1992; Dobash, Dobash, Wilson, and Daly 1992; Straus 1990; Straus 1999).

A PROPOSED RESOLUTION OF THE DOMESTIC VIOLENCE DEBATE

In 1995, Michael Johnson (Johnson 1995) proposed a resolution of this debate, arguing on the basis of his literature review that there were two forms of partner violence in the American family. He proposed that (1) the random sample surveys of the family violence tradition, and (2)

the interviews with targeted samples of the feminist tradition both have sampling biases that produce two discrete sets of evidence, each containing information regarding only one of the two types of violence. First, he compared the two literatures, which I will refer to as the "survey literature" and the "shelter literature," with respect to their findings regarding characteristics of the violence . Of course, there were the dramatic differences in gender symmetry that had set off the debate, but he also found other major differences. First, the per-couple frequency of violence was much higher in the shelter literature than it was in the survey literature (on the order of 65 incidents per year vs. 6 incidents per year). Second, patterns of escalation of the violence were dramatically different (virtually certain escalation in the shelter literature vs. six percent escalation in the survey literature accompanied by considerable de-escalation). Finally, the violence in the shelter literature was generally not reciprocal, with only a minority of women fighting back, while about two-thirds of the reports in the survey literature involved reciprocal violence.

He then argued that these differences in the patterns of violence were compatible with the position that there are two types of partner violence in families, types that differ because of differences in the role of the violence in the maintenance of power and control in the relationship. One form of violence, which he called "patriarchal terrorism," is part of a general pattern of power and control, in which one person seeks to exercise general power and control over his partner and uses a variety of control tactics, including violence, toward that end. Shelter activists have long argued that the violence of wife-beating is only one tactic in a general pattern of power and control (Pence and Paymar 1993). The general motive to control one's partner is manifested in the use of a wide range of control tactics, of which violence is just one. The

violence is likely to have characteristics that reflect its origins in this general power and control motive. First, as a consequence both of socialization that encourages boys and men to see control as an essential component of masculinity, and of patriarchal family traditions that emphasize male control of family life, this form of violence is exercised almost entirely by men. Second, the violence in patriarchal terrorism is exercised relatively frequently, either in order to attempt to subdue resistance, or in order to display one's power. Third, the violence in patriarchal terrorism almost inevitably escalates over time, again in the service of general control over one's partner. Fourth, the average severity of violence in patriarchal terrorism will be relatively high, due to this escalation process. Finally, in most cases of patriarchal terrorism, the partner does not fight back. Although some women resist at first, in many such cases they recognize the futility of trying to physically resist a man who is determined to subdue them, through violence and through all of the other means at his disposal.

The other form of violence, which Johnson called "common couple violence," does not involve a general pattern of power and control. The violence erupts as a response to a particular conflict, and while control may be a temporary motive, the violence is not enacted in the service of a general interest in controlling one's partner. Thus, compared to patriarchal terrorism, this form of violence is more gender symmetric, occurs less frequently in the relationship, is less likely to escalate over time, and more frequently involves reciprocal violence.

The remainder of Johnson's argument (1995, pp. 288-291) is focused on the sampling biases that make it likely that survey research will tap only common couple violence, while shelter research taps only patriarchal terrorism. On the one hand, shelter research begins with a sampling frame (clients of public agencies such as police, courts, hospitals, or shelters) that for a

number of reasons probably includes only patriarchal terrorism. First, it is only when there is a general pattern of power and control, and a pattern of persistent or escalating violence, that a victim would be likely to feel a need to seek help from a shelter and/or to initiate divorce proceedings in response to the violence. Second, even in cases in which the victim is afraid to initiate contacts with agencies herself, if there are many incidents and they escalate over time, it is more likely that one of the incidents would come to the attention of the criminal justice system or the health system or the shelter system.

Survey research, on the other hand, begins with a general sampling frame and a random sample from it, but ends with a sample biased by non-response. Johnson (1995, pp. 290-291) showed that the National Family Violence Surveys, for instance, actually have a non-response rate on the order of 40% rather than the 18% usually reported, and argued that the non-respondents are likely to include virtually all of the cases of patriarchal terrorism in the target sample. Perpetrators of patriarchal terrorism would be reluctant to respond to a survey on family life, not wishing to expose themselves to the judgements of outsiders or to possible intervention by outside agencies. Their victims would be afraid to respond for fear of recrimination from their abusive partner.

Therefore, as a result of non-response bias, survey research on domestic violence taps only common couple violence, which Johnson argues is gender-symmetric. And shelter research, due to biases in sampling frames, taps only patriarchal terrorism, which Johnson argues is decidedly male. Thus, both sides of the debate are able to marshal evidence that supports their view of "the" nature of family violence.

THE CURRENT STUDY

Reasonable as Johnson's (1995) arguments may appear to be, he presented no direct evidence that the two forms of violence identified by the different research traditions are in fact distinguished by their embeddedness in different patterns of power and control. All he was able to establish with his literature review was that the violence in the two literatures differs in gender symmetry, frequency, escalation, and reciprocity. In this study, I will attempt to test Johnson's theory directly, with data that allow me to differentiate between patriarchal terrorism and common couple violence on the basis of the power and control patterns of the relationships within which they are embedded.

Such a test requires a fairly special sort of data set. First, the interview has to include questions not only about violence, but also about a variety of other tactics of power and control. In order to distinguish patriarchal terrorism from common couple violence, we need to be able to search for patterns of general power and control. Second, the sample has to have the potential to include perpetrators or victims of *both* patriarchal terrorism and common couple violence. If Johnson's sampling arguments are correct, most approaches to data collection would not meet this second criterion. The data set I will use is derived from interviews of married or formerly-married women in the Pittsburgh area, collected by Irene Hanson Frieze in the late 1970s (Frieze 1983; Frieze and Browne 1989; Frieze and McHugh 1992). The lengthy interview schedule includes a wide variety of items about various control tactics, including the use of violence. The sampling plan is mixed, beginning with a sample of violent relationships identified primarily though contact with shelters and the courts, then moving on to interview one neighbor of each those violent couples. The first part of the sampling plan is thus similar to the approach used in

shelter research, and therefore likely to tap patriarchal terrorism. The second part of the sampling plan is similar to that used in survey research (with the addition of a geographical matching to the violent sample), and therefore likely to tap common couple violence.

GENERAL ANALYSIS STRATEGY AND HYPOTHESES

The structure of this data set will allow us to proceed first by identifying clusters of respondents with similar patterns of controlling behavior. We will then be able to test whether violence occurs in all clusters, whether the nature of the violence itself differs from cluster to cluster, and whether different sampling strategies access different types of violence.

Identifying Clusters of Respondents on the Basis of Control Strategy Profiles

The general analysis strategy will begin with a cluster analysis of patterns of control, excluding couple violence for this stage of the analysis. Cluster analysis is a technique that searches for clusters of respondents who have similar profiles on the variables included in the analysis, in this case a variety of nonviolent tactics used to control one's partner. In a manner similar to exploratory factor analysis, cluster analysis produces a number of indices that one can use to determine the optimum number of clusters in the sample. One then looks at the average profile structure for the members of each cluster in order to develop a sense of the kinds of people included in the cluster.

A number of critical decisions had to be made about how to carry out this cluster analysis. The first decision, as noted above, was to exclude direct violence against one's spouse. The goal was to include as many of the "nonviolent" control tactics identified by Pence and Paymar (Pence and Paymar 1993) as possible. The data set allowed the development of indices of seven control tactics, as follows: threats, economic control, use of privilege, using children, isolation,

emotional abuse, and sexual control. There are data available on the use of these control tactics by both men and women, but only as reported by the female partner (a problem that will be discussed in the methods section below).

Identifying Types of Violence

If the cluster analysis does indicate that there are two identifiable clusters with profiles of control tactics that show a reasonable fit with Johnson's theory, we can then go on to ask if violence can be found in both types of control patterns. Although it might seem that one could then simply label violence that is embedded in a general pattern of power and control as patriarchal terrorism, and that which is not as common couple violence, as I began to do that coding I realized that the original discussion of the distinction between patriarchal terrorism and common couple violence (Johnson 1995) is ambiguous. Although the two types of violence are defined in terms of embeddedness in a general pattern of power and control assessed at the *individual level*, the description and discussion of various aspects of the two types of violence is couched at the *dyadic level*. The imagery of patriarchal terrorism in that discussion is an image of a husband controlling his wife and their relationship and using violence as one tactic in a general strategy of control. The imagery of common couple violence is of two people who get into arguments in which at least one of them sometimes turns violent, but neither of them is involved in a general attempt to take control of the relationship. The original dichotomy, focused as it is on individuals, does not adequately capture the possible types of violent relationships.

In order to categorize relationships we need to take into account the behavior of both partners. The first step, therefore, will be to create three categories of individual behavior for both men and women: (1) nonviolence, (2) non-controlling violence, attributed to individuals

whose violence is not embedded in a general pattern of power and control, and (3) controlling violence, attributed to individuals whose violence is embedded in a general pattern of power and control. The second step is to characterize relationships according to the dyadic pattern of violence, yielding (in principle) nine types of relationships (3 x 3), eight of which include some type of violence on the part of at least one partner. The final step involves moving back to the individual level and placing the individual's pattern of violence into its dyadic context, yielding four categories of individual violent behavior, as follows: (1) violent individuals who are involved in a relationship that includes only common couple violence ("common couple violence"), (2) individuals engaged in controlling violence, whose spouses are either nonviolent or engage only in non-controlling violence ("patriarchal terrorism"), (3) individuals involved only in non-controlling violence, whose spouses are violent and controlling ("violent resistance"), and (4) individuals who are involved controlling violence, and whose spouses are also violent and controlling ("mutual violent control").

Assessing the Differences among the Types of Violence

The first analysis of differences will address an elaborated form of the gender-symmetry question. The question is no longer simply whether "domestic violence" is gender-symmetric or gender-asymmetric, but whether patriarchal terrorism is male and common couple violence gender-symmetric. Of course, in this heterosexual context, mutual violent control must be gender-symmetric, and if patriarchal terrorism is male, violent resistance must be female.

At this point in the analysis, the focus will be narrowed to violent *men* because, as expected, there are very few "patriarchal terrorists" (n = 3) among the women in our sample. The question can then be asked if male patriarchal terrorism and common couple violence differ with respect

to frequency, escalation, severity, and reciprocity of violence. Johnson (1995) began by demonstrating that the two domestic violence literatures showed different patterns of violence, then he argued that these differing patterns probably arose from different motivations (a motive to exert general control vs. a reaction to specific conflict), and that these different motives would show up in patterns of control tactics in the relationship. In some relationships, one of the partners (in heterosexual relationships, almost always the male) has a general motive to control that manifests itself in the use of a wide variety of control tactics that may or may not include violence. When the control tactics do include violence (patriarchal terrorism) the violence is likely to be relatively frequent, to escalate over time, to be relatively severe, and to be non-reciprocal. In other relationships, there is no general motive to control, and thus there is only a limited use of control tactics. When such a relationship is violent (common couple violence), the violence is likely to be relatively infrequent, does not escalate over time, is less severe, and is reciprocal.

Assessing the Effects of Sampling Strategies

Next we will return to the central debate that prompted Johnson's analysis in the first place: Is domestic violence gender symmetric, or is it a problem of men beating their female partners? His explanation of the dramatically different gender patterns found in the two major domestic violence literatures hinges upon two hypotheses. First, he argued that patriarchal terrorism is exclusively male, while common couple violence is gender-symmetric. The analysis to test that hypothesis was discussed above. Second, he argued that shelter samples tap only patriarchal terrorism, while survey samples tap only common couple violence. Since this data set includes both a "survey" sample and a "shelter" sample, we can ask if patriarchal terrorism shows up

exclusively in the shelter sample, while common couple violence shows up exclusively in the survey sample. Third, it follows from these two hypotheses that the combination of gender patterns with sampling biases will produce data in which the incidence of domestic violence will appear to be gender symmetric in survey samples, and entirely male in shelter samples.

Hypotheses

The following hypotheses are derived from Johnson's theory and from the general analysis strategy outlined above.

H1: A cluster analysis of nonviolent control tactics profiles will yield as an optimal solution a two-cluster pattern, in which one of the two clusters will be high on a relatively large number of control tactics, the other low on a relatively large number of control tactics.

H2: Partner violence occurs in both high and low control contexts.

H3: Patriarchal terrorism is primarily male and in this heterosexual context it follows that violent resistance will be primarily female.

H4: Common couple violence is gender symmetric.

H5: Patriarchal terrorism is higher in per-couple frequency than common couple violence.

H6: Patriarchal terrorism is more likely to escalate than is common couple violence.

H7: Patriarchal terrorism is more severe than is common couple violence.

H8: Targets of patriarchal terrorism are less likely to be violent than are targets of common couple violence.

H9: Patriarchal terrorism appears almost exclusively in shelter samples, and common couple violence almost exclusively in survey samples.

H10: As a result of the patterns predicted in H3, H4, and H9, domestic violence appears to be gender-symmetric in survey samples, and exclusively male in shelter samples.

METHODS

Sample

All of the data presented in this paper come from interviews with married or formerly-married women living in southwestern Pennsylvania in the late 1970s. The non-random sampling design was a complex attempt to include a fairly large number of women in violent relationships, along with a comparison group of women in non-violent relationships. Sampling began with three groups of women who had identified themselves as being in violent relationships: "One group consisted of women who had filed a legal action to remove their husbands from their homes because of the husband's physical abuse. Names of all the women who had filed under the Pennsylvania Protection from Abuse Act 218 were listed in public court records. These women were telephoned and asked to participate in the study. A second group included women who had sought help at one of the area shelters for battered women. Finally, some of the battered women were recruited through notices posted in laundromats, stores, and restrooms." (Frieze and McHugh 1992, pp. 172-173). A comparison group was added by matching each battered woman to another married or formerly-married woman from the same neighborhood (Frieze and Browne 1989).

The multiple data analyses presented below use the sample in two basically different ways. First, whenever data on both men and women are presented, the data regarding the men come from their partner's interview. This "sample" is actually artificially constructed from the women's interviews, it appears to have a sample size double that of the real sample, and it

involves observations on men and women that are not independent. Inferential statistics will not be presented for these data presentations. Second, some analyses involve comparisons only within gender (in this paper, men), for which the caveats regarding sample size and independence do not apply, and inferential statistics will be presented.

Finally, for analyses involving a comparison of a "shelter sample" with a "survey sample" the following two segments of the total sample will not be used: the seven women contacted through an "other shelter," evidently not a women's shelter, and the 76 women who were contacted by means of flyers in laundromats, stores, and restrooms. That leaves a "shelter sample" that includes data from respondents who were identified either through a women's shelter or through a list of women who had filed for Protection from Abuse Orders. These are means similar to those used in the feminist research tradition discussed above. The "survey sample" consists of women contacted through means similar to those used in the family violence tradition discussed above, in this case women who lived on the same block as women in violent relationships who had been identified by other means. Although this sample is not random (it is matched with the violent relationship sample geographically), it is similar to the samples used in most survey research in that it does not specifically target violent relationships. To the extent that the neighborhood match captures variables that are related to relationship violence, we would expect this sample to over-represent violent relationships relative to a random sample.

The fact that the data are all collected from the female member of the couple creates some problems that should be kept in mind throughout the analysis. Most generally, a good deal of the analysis will be focused on men's behavior, and it will be important to remember that this is men's behavior as reported by their wives. There is considerable evidence that men and women

do not necessarily see things the same way, especially with respect to violence in their own homes (Szinovacz and Egley 1995). Additionally, with respect to the hypothesized gender differences in the general use of control tactics, control is notoriously most visible to those over whom it is exercised. Thus, it is possible that even if men and women were equally controlling, female respondents would be more likely to perceive and to report their partner's controlling behavior than their own.

Measurement

Seven measures were created to tap control tactics analogous to those identified by Pence and Paymar (Pence and Paymar 1993): threats, economic control, use of privilege, using children, isolation, emotional abuse, and sexual control.

Threats. Each measure of threats (one for husbands, the other for wives) is the mean of two items with five-point response formats ranging from "No, never" (1) to "Often" (5). The first item is: "Has your husband (Have you) ever gotten angry and *threatened* [emphasis in survey instrument] to use physical force with you (him)?" The second item followed a series of questions about violence directed at the spouse: "Is he (Are you) ever violent in other ways (such as throwing objects)?"

For wives' report of their husband's behavior, the mean of this variable is 2.72 (between "once" and "two or three times"), the standard deviation 1.51, and the range from 1.00 to 5.00. Cronbach's alpha for the two item scale is .74. For wives' report of their own behavior, the mean is 1.99 ("once"), the standard deviation 1.05, the range is from 1.00 to 5.00, and alpha is .46.

Economic control. Economic control is the average of two dichotomized items. The first asks "Who decides how the family money will be spent in terms of major expenses?" It was dichotomized with a high score indicating that either "husband (wife) makes entire decision" or "husband (wife) has deciding vote." The second item asked for an open-ended response to "How much money do you (does your husband) have to spend during an average week without accounting to anyone?" The dichotomization cut-point was chosen to make this second item more an indicator of control than of disposable income: a response of $10 or less indicated high control, one of more than $10 indicated low control. For husbands' economic control, the two-item scale has a mean of 1.36, a standard deviation of .39, ranges from 1.00 to 2.00, and has an alpha of .46. For wives, the mean is 1.20, the standard deviation .27, the range from 1.00-2.00, and alpha is

-12.

Use of privilege. This scale is the mean of six items, each of which indicates that the target person uses one of the following tactics to get his/her spouse to do what he or she wants. At this point I will stop reporting alternative forms of the question, unless it seems necessary for clarity. The six items were: (1) "suggests that you should do something because he knows best or because he feels he is an expert at a particular thing," (2) "restricts your freedom," (3) "stops having sex with you," (4) "threatens to leave you," (5) "emotionally withdraws," or (6) ". . . suggest[s] that you should do something because other people do." The response format for all items addresses frequency, ranging from "Never" (1) to "Rarely" (3) to Always" (5). For husbands, the scale has a mean of 2.03 ("Rarely"), a standard deviation of .81, ranges from 1.00

to 4.83, and has an alpha of .76. For wives, the mean is 1.92 ("Rarely"), the standard deviation .62, the range is from 1.00 to 4.19, and alpha is .65.

Using children. There are three items in this data set that get at a spouse's use of the children to get his or her way with his/her partner. Two of them involve responses to the question, "When your husband is angry with you, how does he show it?" The two relevant response options were "Directs his anger to the children or pets" and "Uses physical violence with the children." The third item is "Does he ever try to get what he wants by doing any of the following to you? How often?" One of the actions listed is "Uses physical force against the kids to get what he wants from you," with the five response options ranging from "Never" to "Always." This item was dichotomized between "Never" and "Rarely," and the three items were averaged. For wives' report of their husband's behavior, the mean was 1.19, the standard deviation .30, the range from 1.00 to 2.00, and alpha equal to .68. For wives' report of their own behavior, the mean was 1.12, standard deviation .21, the range from 1.00 to 2.00, and alpha equal to .41.

Isolation. The measure of isolation is the mean of two items with five-point response formats ranging from "Never" to "Always." The items are: "Does your husband know where you are when you are not together?" and "Are there places you might like to go but don't because you feel your husband wouldn't want you to—How often does this happen?" For wives' reports of their husband's behavior, the mean of this measure is 3.32 (between "sometimes" and "usually"), the standard deviation is .77, the observed range is from 1.00 to 5.00, and alpha is equal to .09. For wives' reports of their own behavior, the mean is 2.64 (between "rarely" and "sometimes"), the standard deviation is ..84, the range from 1.00 to 5.00, and alpha equals .06.

Emotional abuse. The three-item emotional abuse scale includes one item that gets at active abuse (sex is sometimes unpleasant because "He compares you unfavorably to other women "), and two "passive abuse" items that indicate that he never or rarely praises, and never or rarely is "nice to you in other ways (smiling, concerned with how you are feeling, calling you affectionate names, etc.)." All three items are dichotomies. For husbands the mean is 1.25, the standard deviation is .33, the scale ranges from 1.00 to 2.00, and alpha is .57. For wives the mean is 1.08, the standard deviation is .21, the range is from 1.00 to 2.00, and alpha is .48.

Sexual control. There are two items in the sexual control scale, tapping whether sex is ever unpleasant because "he forces me to have sex when I don't want to," or "he makes you do things you don't want to do." Both items are dichotomies. For husbands the mean is 1.22, the standard deviation .36, the range is 1.00-2.00, and alpha is .70. For wives the mean 1.02, the standard deviation .01, the range is 1.00 to 2.00, and alpha is .35.

Violence measure. The violent respondents were identified by the wife's responses to two questions about violence, one referring to her, the other to her husband, each embedded in a section of the interview concerning anger. Although the specific question does not mention anger, it follows a series of 15 questions about how she and her husband show their anger. The specific question was: "Has he (Have you) ever actually slapped or pushed you (him) or used other physical force with you (him)?" The five point response format included "No, never," "Once," "Two or three times," "Several times," and "Often." It was dichotomized between "No, never" and the other responses, to distinguish ever-violent from non-violent individuals.

Level of escalation. Level of escalation was assessed by a question near the end of the section on violence (husband's or wife's) that asked, " Did he (did you) become more violent

over time?" Response options were (1) Much less, (2) Somewhat less, (3) About same, (4) Somewhat more, and (5) Much more.

Severity of violence. Severity of violence was assessed in a section of the interview dealing with "the time your husband was (you were) the most violent with you (him)." The question was "How badly were you (was he) hurt?" It was an open-ended question with probes, coded into the following categories: (1) force, no hurt, (2) no physical injury, (3) simple injury, (4) severe, no trauma, (5) severe, some trauma, and (6) permanent injury.

RESULTS

Cluster Analysis of Control Tactics Profiles

H1: A cluster analysis of nonviolent control tactics profiles will yield as an optimal solution a two-cluster pattern, in which one of the two clusters will be high on a relatively large number of control tactics, the other low on a relatively large number of control tactics.

The goal of this analysis is to assess the structure of control tactics used by the members of the couples involved in our sample. We have wives' reports regarding the use of seven major types of control tactics by themselves and their husbands: threats, economic control, use of privilege, using children, isolation, emotional abuse, and sexual control. Husbands' and wives' behavior were treated as separate cases.

The clustering algorithm was Ward's method, an agglomerative approach that selects each new case to add to a cluster on the basis of its effect on the overall homogeneity of the cluster, and which therefore tends to produce tightly defined clusters, rather than strings (Aldenderfer and Blashfield 1984, pp. 43-45). Each of the control tactic indices was standardized, and Euclidean distance was the measure of dissimilarity. Figure 1 shows the index of dissimilarity

for the one-cluster through 15-cluster solutions. The pattern of a gradual increase in the index up to a major jump indicates that the number of clusters immediately prior to the jump is the optimal solution, in this case two clusters

INSERT FIGURE 1 ABOUT HERE

The "meaning" of the two clusters can be adduced from a look at the average profile for the members of the two clusters, as shown in Table 1. The pattern is quite simple, with one cluster (High Control) simply being high on all of the seven control tactics relative to the second cluster

INSERT TABLE 1 ABOUT HERE

(Low Control). Looking at the standardized scores, we see that the High Control cluster is on average roughly one standard deviation or more above the mean for every one of the seven nonviolent control tactics. These data clearly confirm Hypothesis 1.

Two Forms of Violence: Controlling Violence and Non-Controlling Violence

The core of Johnson's argument is that there are two forms of violence in the family. Controlling violence is violence in the service of a general motive to control one's partner, and is therefore embedded in a general pattern of power and control. Non-controlling violence is a more situational form of violence, found in relative isolation from other forms of control.

H2: Partner violence occurs in both high and low control contexts.

There are 331 violent men and women in our sample, and although there is a relationship between control and violence (see Table 2), perpetrators of violence are found in both control clusters.. Sixty-eight percent (224) are in the low control cluster, and thirty-two percent (107) in

INSERT TABLE 2 ABOUT HERE

the high control cluster, partially confirming H2. However, as discussed above, this approach to categorizing violence ignores the dyadic context within which it takes place Taking into account the dyadic context and differentiating among non-violence and four types of violence yields the following distribution for the artificially constructed sample of 542 men and women for whom the necessary data were available: Nonviolence (n = 212; 39.1%), common couple violence (n = 146; 26.9%), patriarchal terrorism (n = 97; 17.9%), violent resistance (n = 77; 14.2%), and mutual violent control (n = 10; 1.8%). This analysis establishes that patriarchal terrorism and common couple violence can be differentiated, with partner violence sometimes embedded in a general pattern of power and control, other times not. Now we can go on to ask if the types of violence differ in other ways as predicted.

Violence and Gender

Is domestic violence primarily male, or is it gender symmetric? The next two hypotheses address this central question of the domestic violence debate, arguing that the answer differs for the different forms of violence.

H3: Patriarchal terrorism is primarily male and in this heterosexual context it follows that violent resistance will be primarily female.

H4: Common couple violence is gender symmetric.

Table 3 presents a crosstabulation of gender and type of violence for the violent individuals identified in our data. Patriarchal terrorism is indeed primarily male, 96.9% in this sample.

INSERT TABLE 3 ABOUT HERE

Violent resistance to patriarchal terrorism is clearly female (96.1%), as it must be if the patriarchal terrorism is male. Common couple violence, as predicted, is gender-symmetric, 55.5% male in this sample. Hypotheses 3 and 4 are supported by these data.

Characteristics of the Two Types of Male Violence

Gender and type of violence are so highly confounded, that there are only three women identified as involved in "patriarchal terrorism" and only 3 men involved in "violent resistance." Furthermore, there are only five couples identified as involved in "mutual violent control." The next set of analyses will therefore focus on the characteristics of male patriarchal terrorism and male common couple violence.

Based on his literature review, Johnson argues *post hoc* that the pattern of male violence found in shelter samples (violence that is relatively frequent, that escalates over time, and that is not reciprocal) is consistent with a general motive to control and thus represents patriarchal terrorism. Since this general motive is not involved in common couple violence, it is less frequent (H5), less likely to escalate and therefore less severe (H6, H7), and less likely to be reciprocated (H8).

H5: Patriarchal terrorism is higher in per-couple frequency than is common couple violence. The data on frequency of violence support H5. Following a long series of questions about the nature of their husband's violence, women with husbands who had ever been violent were asked, "Can you estimate how many times, in total, he was violent with you?" For patriarchal terrorism (n = 90) the mean frequency of violence was 58.4; for common couple violence (n = 77) the mean frequency of violence was 14.4 ($\underline{F} = 14.15$; $\underline{p} < .001$). However, since the distribution of frequency of violence is heavily skewed (one wife reported 500 incidents of

violence), the medians for the two groups provide a more accurate picture. The medians are 20.0 and 3.0 for patriarchal terrorism and common couple violence, respectively.

H6: Patriarchal terrorism is more likely to escalate than is common couple violence. Wives were asked, "Did he become more violent over time?" with five response options varying from "Much less" to "Much more." We collapsed the responses into three groups, representing de-escalation, no change, and escalation. Table 4 presents the data relevant to H6. The

INSERT TABLE 4 ABOUT HERE

relationship between type of violence and escalation is clear ($X^2 = 41.97$; $df = 2$; $p < .001$), with about 75% of the patriarchal terrorism escalating, as compared with 28% of the common couple violence. In fact, more than half of the common couple violence (54%) actually de-escalated over time (compared with about 13% of the patriarchal terrorism). The data clearly support H6.

H7: Patriarchal terrorism is more severe than common couple violence. The data in Table 5 clearly support this hypothesis ($X^2 = 48.43$, $df = 5$, $p < .001$). Permanent

INSERT TABLE 5 ABOUT HERE

injuries occur eight times as often in patriarchal terrorism (10.6%) as in common couple violence (1.3%). If severe injuries are defined to include the top three categories in Table 5, they occur almost three times as often in patriarchal terrorism as in common couple violence (75.5% vs. 27.6%). It is very important to note, however, that common couple violence *can* be extremely violent, with severe trauma or permanent injury involved in almost one out of eight such cases. The defining feature of patriarchal terrorism is not its level of violence, but its involvement in a general pattern of power and control.

H8: Targets of patriarchal terrorism are less likely to be violent than are targets of common couple violence.

Table 6 presents the data regarding what has often been called "reciprocity" in the literature.

INSERT TABLE 6 ABOUT HERE

The data not only do not support H8 (X^2 = 2.09; df = 1; p =.15), but indicate a slight trend in the opposite direction, with more violence among targets of patriarchal terrorism (79%) than among targets of common couple violence (70%). But is this really reciprocity?

Table 7 presents data on the relationship between type of violence and the difference in frequency of violence between husbands and their wives. This is a simple difference score, with

INSERT TABLE 7 ABOUT HERE

negative numbers indicating that the wife reports that she has been violent more often than her husband, and positive scores indicating that she reports that he has been more violent than she. The association is in the predicted direction and clearly significant (X^2 = 22.30; df = 6; $p < .001$). For patriarchal terrorism, 71% of the husbands had been violent at least five more times than their wives, and 26% had been violent over 50 more times. For common couple violence, only 31% had been violent at least five more times than their wives, and only 7% at least 50 more times. Furthermore, it is only in common couple violence that any of the wives had been violent significantly more often than their husbands. H8 is supported.

Sampling Strategies and the Gender Asymmetry Debate

For tests of the hypotheses regarding the effects of sampling strategy, the "shelter sample" includes data from women identified either through a women's shelter or through a list of

women who had filed for Protection from Abuse Orders. The "survey sample" is women who were neighbors of respondents who were in violent relationships.

H9: Patriarchal terrorism appears almost exclusively in shelter samples, and common couple violence almost exclusively in survey samples.

H10: As a result of the patterns predicted in H3, H4, and H9, domestic violence appears to be gender-symmetric in survey samples, and exclusively male in shelter samples.

Table 8 presents data on gender and type of violence separately for the shelter and survey samples. (The previous tables include respondents who were solicited by other means. See the sampling section above for details.)

INSERT TABLE 8 ABOUT HERE

Beginning with H10, which directly addresses the differences found in the two domestic violence literatures, although the survey data on total violence do look gender-symmetric as predicted, the shelter data hardly show exclusively male violence. Although 99% of the men have been violent at least once in their relationship, 80% of their women partners have also been violent.

H9, however, is strongly supported. The violence (both male and female) in the survey sample is almost entirely common couple violence (89%), and there is very little common couple violence in the shelter sample, although more than I expected (24%). The male violence in the shelter sample is largely patriarchal terrorism (74%), and the female violence is largely violent resistance to it (73%).

DISCUSSION

The first contribution of these analyses is to extend Johnson's (1995) violence typology by placing individual violence into its dyadic context, and making it clearer that this is not a typology of individual incidents of violence, but of the general nature of an individual's violence within a relationship. Had the operationalization of the typology focused only on the embeddedness of the *individual's* violence in his/her own general pattern of power and control, women who sometimes fight back against their patriarchal terrorist partners would have been misidentified as being involved in common couple violence. The contextual approach allows the specification of four types of individual violence. Patriarchal terrorism is individual violence embedded in an individual pattern of controlling behavior *and* in a dyadic context in which one's partner is either nonviolent or violent but not controlling. Mutual violent control is individual violence embedded in an individual pattern of controlling behavior and in a dyadic context in which one's partner is also violent and controlling—essentially this is two patriarchal terrorists involved in mutual combat. Violent resistance is individual violence that is *not* embedded in an individual pattern of controlling behavior, but that *is* in a dyadic context in which one's partner is violent and controlling. Common couple violence is individual violence that is not embedded in an individual pattern of controlling behavior and is in a dyadic context in which one's partner is either nonviolent or violent but not controlling.

The second contribution is the presentation of evidence strongly supporting hypotheses regarding male violence that are derived from this dyadic extension of Johnson's (1995) theory. The distinction between patriarchal terrorism and common couple violence is operationalized with data regarding a variety of control tactics, the two types of violence are identified, and they

are demonstrated to show patterns of gendering, per-couple frequency, escalation and severity as hypothesized. *Patriarchal terrorism* is almost exclusively male and involves a relatively high average per-couple frequency of violence. It is highly likely to escalate in severity, and is therefore also relatively likely to involve extreme violence and serious injury. Although the hypothesis that wives of patriarchal terrorists would be unlikely to be violent was not supported (79% were sometimes violent), in most such cases there is a major gender-asymmetry in frequency of violence, indicating that in most incidents wives of patriarchal terrorists do not fight back. *Common couple violence* is relatively gender-symmetric and occurs with a much lower per-couple frequency than does patriarchal terrorism. It is more likely to de-escalate in severity than to escalate, and only rarely involves severe violence (one out of eight cases for men). There is also more gender-symmetry in the frequency of common couple violence—in a significant minority of cases (about 40%) the frequency of violence is roughly the same for husbands and wives.

It is important, however, to remember that the differences between these two types of violence are relative, and that within each of these two types of violence, there is quite a range of frequency, escalation, severity, and mutuality of violence. On the one hand, the power and control of patriarchal terrorism can sometimes be maintained without frequent or severe violence; on the other, common couple violence can sometimes be an endemic feature of a relationship and can escalate to extreme violence. The defining characteristic that differentiates the two types of violence is their embeddedness (or not) in a general pattern of power and control. Patriarchal terrorism involves one partner who is into the violent and general control of

his (or her, but almost always his) partner. Common couple violence is partner violence that does not serve general power and control needs for either partner.

The third general contribution is related to critical sampling issues in the domestic violence literature. As noted at the beginning of this paper, the hypothesis that there would be no common couple violence in shelter samples, and no patriarchal terrorism in general samples implies almost overwhelming barriers to widespread research in which the types of violence could be studied comparatively. We can now be somewhat more optimistic. Although the data do indicate a strong relationship between sampling plan and type of violence, there were indications that (1) a large enough general sample could include enough patriarchal terrorism (10% of the men's violence) for comparison with common couple violence, and (2) shelter samples can include enough common couple violence (23% of the men's violence) for comparison with patriarchal terrorism. If, in the future, data collection efforts will always include questions about a variety of control tactics in addition to violence, we can begin to delve into the causes, the developmental history, and the consequences of these different forms of violence.

This paper represents a first step in differentiating among major forms of partner violence, providing one means of distinguishing among patriarchal terrorism, common couple violence, violent resistance, and mutual violent control. If we want to understand the nature of the violence that takes place between domestic partners, we are going to have to become more subtle than we have been. We cannot continue to treat intimate violence as a unitary phenomenon. When we fail to make important distinctions among types of violence, we get the sort of conflicting, confusing evidence that has plagued this debate regarding the gender asymmetry of domestic violence. When we distinguish patriarchal terrorism from other forms of partner

violence, we can say straightforwardly and with compelling evidence that the violence that most people associate with the term “domestic violence” (i.e., recurrent, escalating, violent control of one’s partner) is decidedly male.

Figure 1
Index of Dissimilarity by Number of Clusters
Men and Women (n=548)
(Data from interviews with 274 women)

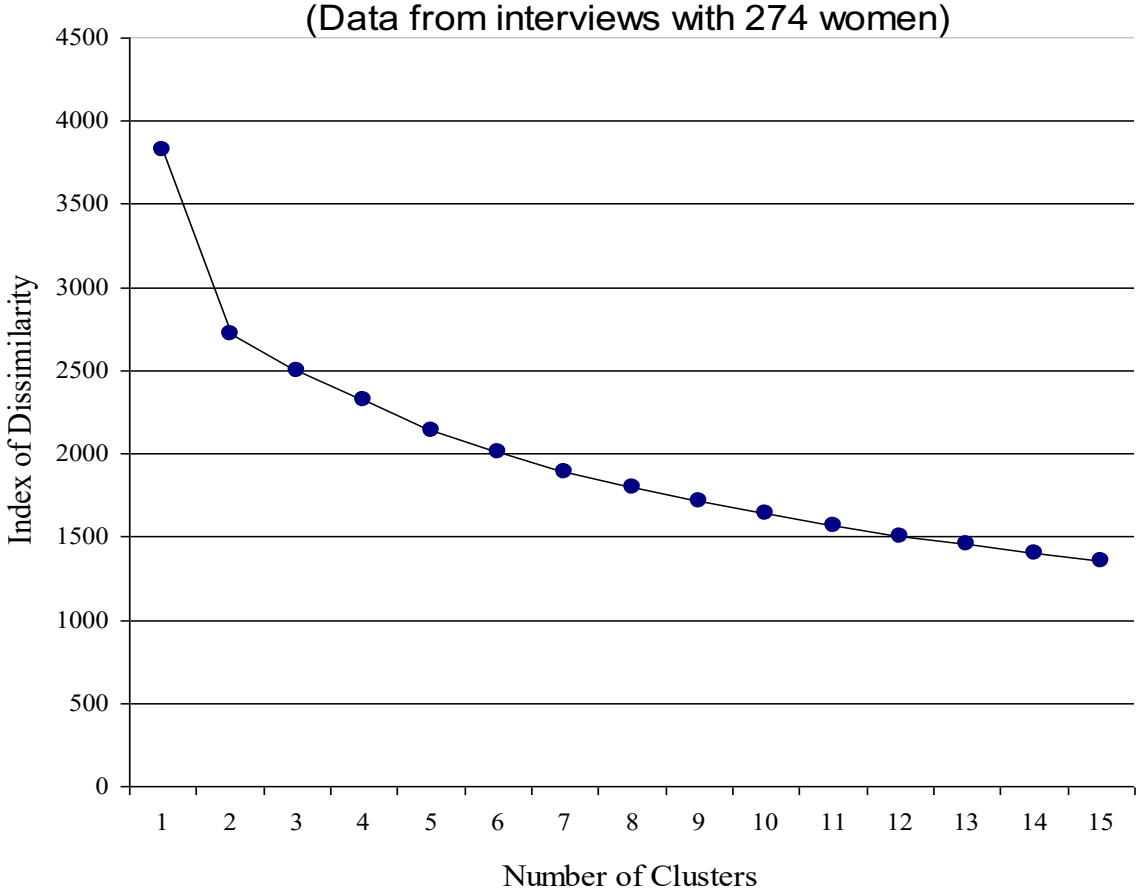

Table 1: Control Tactics by Cluster

(Reports on both men and women from wives, n = 274)

		Control Tactics						
		Threats	Economic Control	Use of Privilege	Using Children	Isolation	Emotional Abuse	Sexual Control
High Control (n=109)	Mean	3.95	1.61	2.73	1.41	3.82	1.48	1.48
	(Z)	(1.19)	(.97)	(1.04)	(.96)	(.95)	(1.07)	(1.29)
Low Control (n=439)	Mean	1.96	1.19	1.79	1.09	2.77	1.09	1.03
	(Z)	(-.29)	(-.26)	(-.26)	(-.27)	(-.24)	(-.28)	(-.32)
	Eta	.59	.49	.52	.49	.48	.53	.65

Table 2: Violence by Control Type*

(Data on both husbands and wives reported by wives, n = 274)

	Nonviolent	Violent	N
High Control	1% (2)	32% (107)	109
Low Control	99% (210)	68% (224)	434
N	212	331	543

*Keep in mind that many of the high control cases are men from "shelter samples," selected for their violence.

Table 3: Type of Violence by Gender

(Data on both husbands and wives reported by wives, n = 271)

	Husbands	Wives	N
Total Violence	55.5% (183)	44.5% (147)	330
Common Couple Violence	55.5% (81)	44.5% (65)	146
Patriarchal Terrorism	96.9% (94)	3.1% (3)	97
Violent Resistance	3.9% (3)	96.1% (74)	77
Mutual Violent Control	50.0% (5)	50.0% (5)	10

Table 4: Level of Escalation by Type of Violence

(Male violence only, n=170)

	De-escalated	No Change	Escalated	N
Patriarchal Terrorism	12.8% (12)	11.7% (11)	75.5% (71)	94
Common Couple Violence	53.9% (41)	18.4% (14)	27.6% (21)	76
N	53	25	92	170

Table 5: Severity of Male Violence by Type of Violence

(Male violence only, n=183)

	Worst Injury to Wife						
	Force No Hurt	No Physical Injury	Simple Injury	Severe No Trauma	Severe Some Trauma	Permanent Injury	N
Patriarchal Terrorism	5.3% (5)	1.1% (1)	18.1% (17)	46.8% (44)	18.1% (17)	10.6% (10)	94
Common Couple Violence	28.8% (23)	(15.0% (12)	28.8% (23)	16.3% (13)	10.0% (8)	1.3% (1)	80
N	28	13	40	57	25	11	174

Table 6: Mutuality of Violence by Type of Male Violence

(Couples with violent men, n=175)

	Mutuality of Violence		
	Husband Only	**Both**	**N**
Patriarchal Terrorism	21.3% (20)	78.7% (74)	94
Common Couple Violence	30.9% (25)	69.1% (56)	81
N	45	130	175

Table 7: Difference in Frequency of Violence by Type of Male Violence

(Couples with violent husbands and violent wives, n = 123)

	Husband's Frequency Minus Wife's Frequency							
	-49 to –20	**-19 to –5**	**-4 to +4**	**5 to 19**	**20 to 49**	**50 to 99**	**100 or more**	**N**
Patriarchal Terrorism	0% (0)	0% (0)	29.0% (20)	30.4% (21)	14.5% (10)	12.0% (8)	14.5% (10)	69
Common Couple Violence	1.9% (1)	5.6% (3)	61.1% (33)	18.5% (10)	5.6% (3)	3.7% (2)	3.7% (2)	54
N	1	6	56	32	13	10	13	123

Table 8: Type of Violence by Sampling Strategy and Gender
(Survey Sample and Shelter Sample Only, n = 189)

	Survey Sample		**Shelter Sample**	
	Husbands (n = 110)	**Wives (n = 110)**	**Husbands (n = 78)**	**Wives (n = 78)**
Total Violence	35.5% (n=37)	28.2% (n =29)	98.7% (n = 77)	79.5% (n = 62)
Patriarchal Terrorism	10.8% (4)	0% (0)	74.0% (57)	1.6% (1)
Violent Resistance	0% (0)	10.3% (3)	1.3% (1)	72.6% (45)
Common Couple Violence	89.2% (33)	89.7% (26)	23.4% (18)	24.2% (15)
Mutual Violent Control	0% (0)	0% (0)	1.3% (1)	1.6% (1)

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