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Life Course, Relationship, and Situational Contexts of Teen Dating Violence:

A Final Summary Overview

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Abstract:

Objectives: Intimate partner violence (IPV) necessarily occurs within the context of dyadic relationships, but knowledge of the character and dynamics of teen and young adult violent relationships is limited. Building on the earlier Toledo Adolescent Relationships Study (TARS) (N=1,305), this research added quantitative and qualitative assessments of IPV with a focus on (a) developmental progressions, (b) relationship dynamics; and (c) situational factors associated with persistence/desistance in IPV across this with a subset of male and female respondents (N=102) who varied in their levels of IPV experience.

Results:

Developmental progressions. Life course trajectories of perpetration and victimization were examined along with early risk factors and contemporaneous circumstances. Results indicated that IPV peaks during young adulthood, and suggested a somewhat later age peak for young women who participate in the study. Findings indicate further that these trajectories are linked to traditional risk factors such as coercive parenting and parent-child relationship quality, but also to characteristics of the intimate relationships within which they occur, as indexed by reports of such dynamics as frequency of disagreements, feelings of jealousy and mistrust, and perceptions of a lack of partner validation.

Relationship and situational risk factors. A more focused analysis relying on the wave 5 data documented that concerns about time spent with friends, finances, and sexual exclusivity were ‘contested domains’ that strongly related to IPV reports within this young adult sample. In addition, negative forms of communication appeared to amplify conflict and both partner and respondent use of these ‘verbal amplifiers’ contributed to the odds of violence within a focal relationship. These findings suggest specific areas that partners may be attempting to control or change, and indicate that risk is particularly elevated in relationships characterized by high levels of male and female partner control attempts. Relationship dynamics are also implicated in the process of moving away from violence or desisting. Results of analyses of narratives of ‘desisters’ indicate that changes in the form and content of communications, as well as in behaviors that had proven to be a source of continuing conflict (e.g., infidelity) were central adjustments that respondents associated with the cessation of physical violence. Although individual differences matter for understanding variability in IPV perpetration, the results of this longitudinal project
suggest considerable variability in the experience of IPV across different relationships and the entire study period. Thus, few respondents experienced IPV in all of their relationships, and among respondents with some experience, most reported just one relationship that was characterized by IPV. Further, while anger is a reliable correlate of IPV, results pointed to some limitations of conceptualizing anger only as a stable personality trait. Findings indicated that both a traditional anger measure and a relationship-specific measure of negative emotions contributed significantly to the odds of perpetration, and the variability observed across different relationships suggest some limitations of the stable trait perspective.

Implications of study: These findings suggest the utility of a dyadic or ‘relational’ perspective on IPV, recognizing that these dynamics are potentially more malleable than either the features of personality or other elements of risk such as poverty and family history. Within the realm of relationship dynamics, focusing more specifically on what partners are attempting to control, and what makes young people angry within the context of their relationships may resonate more with adolescent and young adult audiences than relatively abstract concepts and overarching themes regarding men’s goals of achieving dominance within their relationships. This focus on contested domains such as infidelity also provides a basis for understanding women’s feelings of anger, attempts to control their partners around these issues, and resort to violence in certain circumstances. Results do not support the idea of gender symmetry in IPV, but do suggest that conflicts involve a dyadic element that needs to be taken into account in future research and programming efforts serving the long-term goal of ameliorating this significant public health problem.

Purpose:
This research (Grants 2009-IJ-CX-0503 and 2010-MU-MU-0031) builds on the earlier Toledo Adolescent Relationship Study (TARS) (N=1,305) by adding quantitative and qualitative assessments of intimate partner violence (IPV). The goal of the new data collection and analysis was to produce a comprehensive age-graded portrait of intimate partner violence among teens and young adults. Of particular interest was to specify the universal and uniquely gendered aspects of intimate partner violence as men and women transition from early adolescence to young adulthood. We focus on the a) life course, b) relationship, and c) situational contexts associated with intimate partner violence. The research aims included the
following:

1) To describe the demographic patterning of perpetration and victimization of physical dating abuse, psychological abuse, and sexual coercion. Developmental progressions in the experience of IPV are examined along with early risk factors (e.g., parent’s use of violence, neighborhood characteristics, peer normative climates, formative dating experiences) and contemporaneous circumstances associated with life course trajectories of perpetration and victimization.

2) To explore similarities and differences in the nature, qualities and dynamics within violent and non-violent relationships. Prior work rarely considers the specific relationship context and our approach highlights the ways relationships are both objectively and subjectively experienced.

3) To investigate the situational contexts of violence by analyzing the progression of abuse within particular relationships through detailed cognitive, emotional, behavioral and social factors that influence patterns of escalation and de-escalation. We specifically rely on qualitative “relationship history narratives” from youths reporting at least one experience with abuse (N = 102).

**Project subjects, design, and methods:**

NIJ supported a data collection of a fifth wave of the Toledo Adolescent Relationships Study (TARS). The original TARS was a 4-wave multi-method, longitudinal investigation of teen dating and sexual relationships, including information about physical violence, psychological abuse and sexual coercion (perpetration and victimization) gathered at each wave. The sampling universe encompassed 62 schools across 7 school districts, and the initial sample was derived from a total enumeration of all youths enrolled in grades 7, 9, and 11 in Lucas County, Ohio. Names and addresses were obtained under the Ohio Open Records Act, but respondents did not have to attend school to participate in the study. National Opinion Research Center (NORC) devised the stratified, random sample, which included over-samples of Black and Hispanic adolescents. Although the sample is regional, Lucas County shares similar sociodemographic characteristics as the nation in terms of race, family status, parents’ education and income. NORC also constructed the sample weights for each wave. During the first three waves, most respondents were adolescents (Wave 1 (2001/2) – 1,316 (100%), Wave 2 (2002/3) – 1,163 (99.1%), Wave 3 (2004/5) – 747 (67.1%)), and at the fourth wave (2006/7) respondents were, on average, age 20 (n=1,092 (83%)). At the fifth wave, respondents were young adults (2011/12) – 1,021 (77.6%), and the
interviews were conducted largely in person (72%) with the remaining interviews conducted on-line. Respondents entered all personal responses directly into the computer to ensure privacy. At the first wave, parents were also administered a questionnaire that elicited demographic information and items on relationship violence and characteristics of the teen’s family life. Attrition analyses across the waves indicated that wave 1 violence (whether assessing perpetration or victimization) was not significantly associated with odds of reinterview. The NIJ supported fifth wave of data collection provided extensive detail on IPV experiences, including contextual data about physical, psychological, and sexual violence. In addition, we conducted qualitative interviews with 102 respondents who reported a range of IPV experience including those whose Revised Conflict Tactics Scale (CTS2) (Straus & Gelles, 1990) scores indicated active involvement as well as a subset who reported earlier but no current IPV experience.

Although the TARS included five waves of data from the CTS2, in wave 5 we moved beyond traditional measures of controlling or psychologically damaging behaviors to index a range of positive, negative, and more conceptually neutral dynamics and characteristics, including communication processes, emotions, power and influence, relationship alternatives, trust, commitment, sexual exclusivity, as well as demographic, status and relational asymmetries. We included measures of respondent reports of partner attitudes and behaviors, including attitudes toward sexuality, prior sexual risk taking (including number of partners), juvenile and adult arrest history, drug/alcohol use, and sexual exclusivity. In addition to capturing these relationship dynamics and partner characteristics in detail, other sections of the protocol tap broader life-course circumstances (e.g., transition events, perceived financial difficulties), and situational factors (e.g., specific domains of conflict) hypothesized to influence IPV risk during this period of transition and change.

**Analytic plan:**
All statistical models were estimated in SAS 9.3. Analyses that supported our objectives focused on either perpetration or a combined index of any violence that also included the experience of victimization. Logistic regression models included traditional predictors of IPV (e.g., parental coercion, disadvantaged neighborhood, violent peers, early and current delinquency/criminal involvement and current partner’s criminal involvement), as well as controls for other relevant sociodemographic characteristics. Subsequently, models examined the focal relationship dynamics indicators (e.g., relationship-based anger,
controlling behaviors, presence of contested domains), net of these traditional correlates. Analyses focusing on emotional well-being also controlled for prior depressive symptoms, and assessed the association between IPV and depression, taking into account the presence of other negative relationship dynamics. Analyses that examine the association between various relationship types include the traditional covariates, and also measures indexing relationship commitment and constraints. This allowed an assessment of mechanisms underlying the observed pattern of IPV across relationship types. In all of the models, where perpetration was a focus, supplemental models were estimated to determine whether similar results were obtained relying on the index of ‘any violence,’ and this procedure was also followed where the primary interest was in variations in reports of ‘any violence.’

**Key findings:**

**Life course.** Results of our analyses are consistent with those based on prior community studies, which have indicated that the majority of young adults (56%) report IPV experience. The longitudinal framework of the TARS study contributes beyond prior research on the patterning of IPV as: a) data were collected from the same respondents as they had transitioned from adolescence into young adulthood, and b) the protocols included measures of both perpetration and victimization. Findings indicate that IPV peaks during young adulthood, and the trajectories of both IPV perpetration and victimization are nonlinear over time. Results indicate further that these trajectories are linked to traditional behavioral and psychological risk factors such as coercive parenting and parent-child relationship quality, but also to characteristics of the intimate relationships within which they occur, as indexed by reports of such dynamics as frequency of disagreements, feelings of jealousy and mistrust, and perceptions of a lack of partner validation. Recognizing gender differences in meaning/severity of perpetration, a potentially important finding is that young women self-report higher levels of perpetration at all waves of the study. The trajectory is higher, and results suggest a somewhat later age peak for young women. Another analysis examining within-individual changes in depression across the study period suggests that while young women generally report higher levels of depression, IPV victimization is similarly linked to variability in men’s and women’s self-reports of depressive symptoms. Thus, dyadic aspects of IPV need to be taken into account in developing a comprehensive portrait of this serious public health problem.
Other analyses of continuity and change provide clear evidence that adolescent IPV experiences influence subsequent IPV in young adulthood. Further, adolescents who experienced IPV reported a higher total mean of IPV episodes compared to those whose IPV experiences were limited to adulthood (undoubtedly reflecting the accumulation of experiences). Yet it is interesting to note that if we focus only on adult IPV reports, adult onset is associated with a higher mean level relative to adolescent-onset respondents. This pattern appears somewhat distinct from traditional findings within the criminological literature linking early onset of criminal involvement to later seriousness of offending (Delisi & Piquero, 2011). Thus, while early exposure is an important risk factor for experiencing IPV in adulthood, additional consideration should be given to other mechanisms that may explain the higher rates of IPV in adulthood among those who experience onset of IPV post-adolescence. Further, results indicate that few respondents (1.3% of men and 2.4% of women) experienced IPV in all of their relationships, with most just reporting one relationship with IPV. Thus, while inevitable progression is often emphasized (once an abuser...), these data document considerable change over time in exposure/perpetration of IPV.

Individuals navigating the period of young adulthood vary considerably in their relationship experiences, including the numbers of sexual partnerships, experience of cohabitation, and for some, becoming a parent. These experiences in turn are associated with variability in the nature of intimate
relationships. For example, young adult parents who have had children with more than one partner experience higher levels of distrust and sexual non-exclusivity, which in turn are related to IPV reports. Our findings challenge some traditional risk perspectives as adolescents’ number of dating, but not casual, sexual partners were associated with greater odds of IPV in young adulthood. Results indicate that a pattern of relationship churning (breaking up/getting back together) and sexual non-exclusivity during young adulthood mediated the influence of adolescents’ dating sexual partnerships on IPV. The relationship between dating sexual partnerships and IPV was stronger for women compared with men. Prior research has also provided some indications that cohabitation is a risk factor for IPV. Even though over half of young adults now experience cohabitation, results of analyses of the TARS data suggest that cohabitation, relative to dating and marriage, is a risk factor for IPV. About one-third (31%) of young adults in cohabiting relationships, 23% in marriages, and 18% in dating relationships experienced some violence in their most recent relationship. Young adults in dating and marital relationships experience statistically similar levels of IPV. The higher levels of partner violence in cohabiting unions are observed among both men and women. Investigating further the dynamics within these relationships, the combination of low commitment and high constraints, which was experienced by 19% of marrieds, 29% of cohabiters, and 19% of daters, may create particular vulnerabilities within this relationship context.

Relative to physical and psychological victimization, sexual victimization within relationships has received relatively less scholarly attention. While nearly one-fourth of women reported that their intimate partner at times insisted that they have sex, significantly fewer reported that their partner used threats (2.45%) or force (2.72%) to have sex. Regarding sexual manipulation, 20% of both women and men reported that partners made them feel obligated to have sex. Significantly more men (24%) than women (10%) reported that partners insisted on sex without a condom.

**Relationship dynamics.** We examine relationship dynamics associated with IPV relying on traditional measures (e.g., controlling behaviors) as well as unique concerns/dynamics within relationships during the young adult period. Results from fixed-effects, random-effects and growth-curve analyses indicate that as jealousy and control, infidelity, verbal aggression, arguments, and partner mistrust increase in frequency or severity, so too does the likelihood of both IPV perpetration and victimization. A more focused analysis relying on the wave 5 data documented that concerns about time spent with friends,
finances, and sexual exclusivity were ‘contested domains’ that strongly related to IPV reports within this young adult sample. These results fit well with another analysis documenting that respondent control attempts (measured by a series of questions assessing how often the respondent engaged in behaviors such as “trying to control” their partner, monitoring partner’s time, or making their partner “account for his/her whereabouts”) and partner control were both significantly related to IPV. Thus, such findings provide a window on what areas young people may be attempting to control when they engage in “control attempts” or develop resentments about the partner’s attempts to control aspects of their lives and behaviors. The finding that relationships characterized by high levels of male and female controlling behaviors were particularly risky also is consistent with a dyadic perspective on these relationship dynamics. In addition, specific communication strategies (e.g., ridiculing the partner) appeared to ‘amplify’ conflict and both partner and respondent use of these “verbal amplifiers” contributed to the odds of violence within a focal relationship. The qualitative data corroborated these results, as respondents with violence experience often focused on issues of infidelity as a central source of conflict, and described provocative communications that they linked to the unfolding of violence in a given relationship.

Research on the consequences of IPV highlights further the need for a relationship focus. We considered the association between IPV and well-being by demonstrating that a range of indicators of poor quality relationships affect depression, and under some conditions these dynamics exacerbate the effect of IPV on depression. The associations between victimization and depressive symptoms did not differ by gender. These findings underscore that IPV does not occur in isolation, and may unfold as a package or constellation of negative relationship dynamics that influence depressive symptoms, and in turn potentially interfere with individuals’ abilities to function well in subsequent intimate settings.

In other analyses we examined relationship dynamics associated with odds of sexual victimization. Results indicate that arguing, a poor quality sexual relationship, and partners’ controlling behaviors were associated with sexual victimization within a focal relationship, net of traditional predictors. Additionally, physical victimization, but not sexual manipulation, sexual coercion, or partner resisting the use of condoms, increased the odds of HIV testing within the context of the current or most recent intimate relationship.

Relationship dynamics are also implicated in the process of moving away from violence. Results
indicate that ‘desistance’ or cessation of IPV occurred within relationships, as well as across partnerships. In examining both types of change, the qualitative data in particular indicated that these relationship experiences were often the basis for a ‘learning curve’ associated with heightened awareness of the negative meanings and consequences of the use of violence within intimate relationships. These experiences, as well as reactions of partners and significant others were catalysts for making relationship changes and adjustments. Factors respondents linked to violence escalation often figured into relationship-based changes as well. For example, given the strong role of infidelity in escalating many conflicts, a number of individuals who were successful in their desistance efforts focused not only on the need to avoid hitting the partner or being a victim, but on the sequences of actions that were implicated in the most heated conflicts (i.e., they recognized the need to be faithful to the partner). Similarly, successful desisters frequently referenced changes in the way they communicated with partners as a way of managing stress and disagreements.

Relationships outside the intimate dyad are associated with IPV. We find that both parental violence and parent-child relationship quality are significant and independent predictors of IPV reports, but appear to be more predictive of male than female respondents’ experiences. Findings from multiple regression analyses, controlling for other known correlates of intimate partner violence, show that peers’ intimate partner violence behaviors and attitudes, and peers’ deviance are significantly related to an increase in intimate partner violence in young adulthood. These findings contribute beyond prior work in documenting that peer norms and behaviors contribute to variations in young adult and not just adolescent IPV.

Situational factors. Some researchers have stressed that IPV is not about anger, but about control, as a way of emphasizing the strategic nature of IPV within relationships. Although this has been a useful conceptualization, considerable research has shown that anger is a significant correlate of IPV. Anger itself has been conceptualized in different ways within the scholarly literature, but results of analyses of the TARS data indicate that both an anger identity measure and a relationship-specific measure of negative emotions contributed significantly to the odds of reporting perpetration, net of traditional relationship and risk predictors. These results suggest that a character or personality-trait perspective does not adequately capture the variability in negative emotions within and across relationships—that is, the
notion that anger situated within the relationship has a significant influence on IPV.

The role of economic disadvantage has been explored in prior analyses of the patterning of IPV. Although prior work has shown that neighborhood quality and other indices of poverty are related to IPV risk, recent analyses of the TARS data highlight that net of indices of poverty and adult status characteristics, conflict due to finances and financial resentments were associated with heightened risk of IPV. These findings suggest variability in the ways in which difficult or financial circumstances are managed at the couple level, and in turn that these stress points within relationships are significantly linked to IPV.

Prior research in the IPV area has shown that general acceptability of this form of behavior is relatively low. However, recent analyses examined normative beliefs regarding the use of violence in specific circumstances (e.g., if a partner hits first, if a partner is unfaithful), and results show that high levels of endorsement (reflecting a greater number of circumstances in which violence is seen as “understandable in light of the circumstances”) were significantly related to IPV. In addition, exposure to family violence and prior relationship experiences also emerged as significant predictors of variations in these normative beliefs. Moreover, women, relative to similarly situated men, are more accepting of violence across a range of different contexts or conditions. Consistent with prior research, women’s scores reflected low overall acceptability, yet they scored higher than their male counterparts on all of the specific circumstances assessed.

**Implications for criminal justice policy and practice in the United States:**

Teen dating violence (TDV) is a critical public health problem and a precursor of IPV in adult relationships. Interrupting these negative relationship dynamics early will directly affect the criminal justice system across multiple levels, since incidents involving adult intimate partner violence are a routine, difficult and costly drain on police, court, jail and prison resources. Although many system contacts involve married couples in their 30s and 40s, the problem dynamics linked to IPV may begin much earlier, and official reports of victimization and perpetration indicate an exponential increase between the period of adolescence and young adulthood (Catalano et al., 2009). Our study documented developmental trends in the experience of violence and sexual coercion within intimate relationships, and highlighted risk factors associated with more serious trajectories that extended to the young adult period.
Recognizing the important role of factors such as violence within the family of origin, we increased knowledge about potentially malleable social and contextual factors that can be emphasized in programmatic efforts targeting younger age groups. In addition, our study is unique in focusing heavily on relationship and life course changes in the experience of IPV, recognizing that knowledge about naturally occurring desistance processes will prove useful in the design of more effective interventions.

As many of the analyses in support of this project focused on relationship dynamics linked to IPV, these are potentially malleable factors that can be included in the design of more effective intervention messages and programs. For example, while many program materials focus on male controlling behaviors, the results of this research highlight that female control attempts are also elevated in violent relationships, reflecting a reciprocal pattern of negative relationship dynamics. Further, a frequently repeated phrase is that IPV is “not about anger, but about control.” Yet this research clearly documents a strong association between anger and IPV, both as a relatively stable feature of identity, and as an emotion that unfolds within the context of the relationship itself. In addition, the connection between women’s reports about feelings of anger and their self-reports of IPV perpetration reflect that while the consequences of IPV are often gendered, some of the same etiological processes figure into women’s as well as men’s use of violence.

The research findings on contested domains could also potentially be incorporated into future prevention/intervention program emphases. While the power-control wheel has been a frequently relied upon visual aid and learning tool stressing that violence serves the goal of dominance within the relationship (Pence & Paymar, 2006), these analyses provide a more concrete or localized view of intimate partner conflicts. This focus on what partners are attempting to control, and what it is that makes young people angry within the context of their relationships may resonate more with adolescent and young adult audiences than relatively abstract concepts and overarching themes regarding men’s goals of achieving dominance within their relationships. This focus on contested domains such as infidelity also provides a basis for understanding women’s feelings of anger, attempts to control their partners around these issues, and resort to violence in certain circumstances. Given the significant relationship between infidelity and IPV documented in several studies, (and consistent with our study of naturally occurring desistance processes), cautions about these relationship behaviors may be helpful alongside messages focusing more narrowly on the negative implications of the violence itself.
The research on desistance has implications for understanding longitudinal patterns of IPV. First, these analyses highlight that continued violence is not inevitable, even within the context of an ongoing relationship. The analyses focusing on persistence documents specific attitudes and world views that serve as cognitive underpinnings of the continuation of this behavior pattern; conversely our analyses develop a portrait of “real world” change as it has occurred within the context of a young adult sample, and specific shifts in attitudes and linked behaviors that provide the basis for making relationship and behavioral changes. Our view is that knowledge about ‘naturally’ occurring desistance processes can potentially inform efforts focused on the design of more effective programming to interrupt or hasten these naturally occurring processes as well as speak to areas of resistance (as reflected in attitudes of persisters).
References:


Appendix: Scholarly products produced or in process

* denotes use of NIJ funded wave 5 data


*Minter, M.D. (2014). The influence of peers' attitudes and behaviors on young adults' intimate partner violence. MA thesis, Department of Sociology, BGSU, Bowling Green, OH.

*Schondelmyer, E. (2014). Young adults' sexual non-exclusivity. MA thesis, Department of Sociology, BGSU, Bowling Green, OH.