Typologies of Teen Dating Violence:
Implications for Treatment, Prevention, and Future Research

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Abstract

Scholars of intimate partner violence (IPV) have called for the exploration of the existence of typologies within partner violence. Distinct types of IPV may (a) account for contentious differences between existing theories of IPV, (b) be associated with different risk and protective factors, and (c) dictate varied prevention and intervention strategies. There is a relative dearth of research on IPV typologies among adults, but even less among adolescents who might be most amenable to change. Data were analyzed from Project DATE, a longitudinal study of teen dating violence (TDV) among low-income, service receiving teens, to examine the following questions: (1) Within this sample, are there meaningful typologies of dating violence aside from just "victim" or "perpetrator?" (2) How stable are typologies across relationships? (3) What variables are associated with different typologies? Across two relationships, seven unique clusters of participants emerged: *Low Conflict, Monitored, High Monitoring, Yellers, Victims, Perpetrators,* and *High Conflict.* Four of those clusters were present in both relationships and most reflected bidirectional violence. Several participants changed groups from Relationship 1 to Relationship 2, but the majority of participants stayed in the *Low Conflict* group for both relationships. Those in a more violent cluster in Relationship 1 were most likely to remain in their original group or to move to another violent cluster. In one or both relationships, the clusters significantly differed in reported drug use, offending, peer delinquency, depression, academic self concept, number of support persons, acceptance of TDV, witnessed parental domestic violence, maternal neglect and abuse, and paternal emotional abuse. The results of this study suggest that (a) teen dating violence may look

very different depending on the couple, and (b) programs need to address less severe,

bidirectional violence in addition to intimate terrorism.

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Typologies of Teen Dating Violence: Implications for Treatment,

Prevention, and Future Research

Teen dating violence (TDV) is a serious health concern in the United States. The

Centers for Disease Control and Prevention estimate that approximately 10% of students

in grades 9-12 across the U.S. have experienced physical dating violence in the past 12

months, with those estimates nearing 19% in some localities (Eaton et al., 2010). When

verbal or emotional abuse is included, nearly one in four adolescents report having

experienced dating violence, and 8% reported experiencing sexual dating violence

(Foshee et al., 1996). Though there may be gendered nuances to the experience of TDV,

both boys and girls report being victims and perpetrators (Foshee, 1996; Foshee et al.,

1996), and racial and ethnic minority groups tend to experience higher rates of both

victimization and perpetration than Caucasians (Eaton et al., 2010; Foshee et al., 1996).

Among at-risk samples of low-income, service-receiving youth, we would expect these

rates to be even higher. Indeed, 62.6% of the participants in Wave I of our study reported

being a victim of physical abuse by their partner in at least one relationship, and 17.2% of

those who had been in three relationships reported physical abuse in all three. Rates for

perpetration were similar, with 57.6% reporting perpetrating physical abuse in at least

one relationship, and 17.2% who had been in three relationships reporting perpetration

across all three.

Consequences of Involvement in Teen Dating Violence

Experiencing dating violence is related to a host of problems aside from the

immediate physical, sexual, or emotional abuse. Teens who experience dating violence

are more likely to suffer from depressed mood, eating disorders, suicidal thoughts, and

drug use, and to experience negative academic outcomes such as poor grades or failure to

graduate (Ackard, Eisenberg, & Neumark-Sztainer, 2007; Banyard & Cross, 2008; Ackard & Neumark-Sztainer, 2002). Youth who experience violence within the context of their romantic relationships may also be more likely to experience intimate partner violence (IPV) as adults (Gomez, 2011; Smith, White, & Holland, 2003). Many studies cite the link between witnessing violence in the home, including IPV, and engaging in TDV (e.g., Foshee, Bauman, & Linder, 1999; Foshee et al., 2005; Laporte, Jiang, Pepler, & Chamberland, 2009). These findings suggest a generational transmission of violence, the consequences of which extend beyond the couple in the abusive relationship. Thus, TDV may be a part of a cycle of violence that, if not broken, can have a serious, negative impact on future children. Finally, TDV has been linked with a host of concerning sexual behaviors, such as earlier sexual debut, unwanted or less wanted sex, and unprotected sex (Alleyne, Victoria, Crown, Gibbons, & Vines, 2011; Manlove, Ryan, & Franzetta, 2004; Walton et al., 2010). Clearly, TDV is a cause for concern, especially among youth who are already at-risk of facing additional barriers to their health and wellbeing. However, little research has been conducted with a focus on understanding and preventing TDV among these most at-risk youth (Ball, Kerig, & Rosenbluth, 2009).

Competing Paradigms of Intimate Partner Violence[1]

Since the 1970s, two major social science perspectives on IPV have emerged, coming into stark (and at times contentious) contrast with one another. Though there is some room for overlapping theory between these two paradigms, they tend to fundamentally differ in their interpretation of IPV data, their belief in the underlying causes of IPV, and, to some extent, their methodologies. These two perspectives,

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[1] Note: Although this paper focuses on *teen* dating violence, I will use the more general term "IPV" unless referring to something specifically about teens.

originally derived from research with married, heterosexual couples, have generally been extended to all (heterosexual) intimate dyadic relationships, including teen dating situations. While I do not suggest that TDV is qualitatively identical to IPV between married adults, there are certainly important similarities. Furthermore, the reality is that current programs to prevent TDV are operating under the assumptions outlined by these two paradigms, which is why they deserve mention here.

The Family Violence Perspective. One paradigm, which is often referred to as the Family Violence Perspective (Kurz, 1989), originated largely from the work of Straus and his colleagues and the data they have collected using the Conflict Tactics Scale (CTS; Straus, 1979). Using the CTS, which asks about the frequency of specific violent acts, Straus concluded that husbands and wives abuse one another approximately equally (Straus, 1980). These results have been replicated with adults multiple times and teen dating violence shows similar patterns, with girls often being *more* violent than their male partners (e.g. Foshee, 1996). The theoretical conclusions which are drawn from this apparent equivalency of violence stand in contrast to the battered wives movement that originally spawned such studies and subsequent feminist theories. For instance, the Family Violence Perspective sees other types of family violence as roughly analogous to IPV in terms of causality. Social problems such as poverty, family stressors, and the generational transmission of violence (through corporal punishment and/or child abuse) are considered likely candidates for the use of violence with all family members (Straus, 1980).

Gender differences and the aspects of power and control are not entirely missing from this perspective. For instance, family violence researchers acknowledge that, due to

physical differences, women may be more frequently or seriously injured by IPV than men (Straus, 1980; Straus, 2011). The use of violence to assert power or control over others is also acknowledged, but family violence researchers are more likely to assume that (a) men and women are equally likely to be in the position of power, and (b) that they use violence for roughly the same reasons (Kurz, 1989; Straus, 1980).

The Feminist Perspective. Feminist researchers dispute the equivalency of violence among men and women, citing numerous flaws with the CTS, chief among which is the fact that it cannot determine (a) who initiated violence in the first place, (b) what circumstances led up to the violent act, and (c) the motivation and intention behind the act (Dobash, Dobash, Wilson, & Daly, 1992). Without this information, a woman who shot her husband in self defense after years of abuse would look no different than a woman who shot her husband in cold blood after years of abusing *him* based on their CTS scores. Feminist researchers rely more heavily on the historical records and data collected from hospitals and criminal justice agencies to assert that IPV is not a "human issue" as some family violence researchers have asserted (e.g. McNeely & Robinson-Simpson, 1987), but overwhelmingly an issue of men abusing women (among heterosexual couples; Dobash & Dobash, 1979).

While family violence researchers may pay lip service to the role of sexism, the Feminist Perspective views it as central to the cause of IPV and sees partner abuse as distinct from other forms of family violence (Dobash & Dobash, 1979). IPV is not limited to individual acts of violence (as can be measured using the CTS), but is rather a pattern of violent and coercive behaviors designed to keep one partner (most often the man) in a position of power and control while keeping the other partner (the woman)

fearful and subservient. This repertoire of behaviors is exemplified by the Duluth

Model's Power and Control Wheel (See Figure 1; Domestic Abuse Intervention

Programs, 2011; Pence & Paymar, 1993).

Figure 1. The Duluth Model's power and control wheel.

While these two paradigms of IPV are not completely mutually exclusive, they do

necessarily suggest different treatment and prevention strategies. They also reflect a gap

between research and practice. Arguably, most domestic violence agencies, and the programs they offer, operate *explicitly* under the guidance of the Feminist Perspective on partner violence. For example, prevention programs provided by these agencies often focus on gender stereotypes and patterns of power and control (Weisz & Black, 2009). By contrast, most empirical research on IPV favors the Family Violence Perspective. Though the use of the Family Violence Perspective may not be explicit among researchers, it is evident by the heavy reliance on the CTS (or other IPV "acts scales") and the focus on social and individual-pathological risk factors. Interestingly, empirical studies, despite their acceptance of violent equivalency between genders, still tend to categorize individuals as either perpetrators or victims.

Typologies of Partner Violence

Both feminist and family violence researchers tend to treat partner violence as though there were only one phenomenon or *type* of violence happening. Another significant barrier to progress in understanding TDV in particular (and IPV in general) is the tendency to categorize adolescent relationships as either abusive or not, or, at best, to differentiate the abusive relationships by the seriousness or frequency of the abuse. And despite the influence of the Family Violence Perspective, much of the literature on TDV also treats the data as though there is one perpetrator and one victim in all abusive relationships and that any instance of physical violence is traumatic and damaging to the victim. Though much of the IPV/TDV data is analyzed in this way, many of these same researchers have documented that violence often appears reciprocal and it may be very difficult to determine if there is a clearly dichotomous perpetrator/victim relationship (e.g., Foshee, 1996, Straus, 1980). It seems as though the Feminist and Family Violence

Perspectives are simultaneously at odds with one another, but often methodologically tangled. Johnson (1995, 2008) has offered one simple solution to this issue: the existence of typologies of intimate partner violence.

Intimate terrorism vs. common couple violence. Johnson (1995) tried to bridge the gap between the competing IPV paradigms by suggesting that both camps were right, they were just studying different things. He suggested that there are actually two distinct types of IPV, which he termed *intimate terrorism* and *common couple violence.* Intimate terrorism is categorized by one partner's attempts to achieve power and control over the other through a combination of physical, emotional, psychological, and sexual violence (Johnson, 1995; Johnson & Farraro, 2000). This type of violence is typically perpetrated by males and may stem in part from traditional patriarchal and/or sexist values, though women may engage in intimate terrorism as well (Hines & Douglas, 2010). He argues that this type of violence commonly presents itself in women's shelters, tends to escalate, and results in more serious injuries than common couple violence (Johnson, 1995; Johnson & Ferraro, 2000). Common couple violence, on the other hand, is violence that springs up between partners in the course of a disagreement, should be equally likely to be perpetrated by men and women, and is *not* part of a pattern of coercion (Johnson, 1995; Johnson & Ferraro, 2000). Common couple violence can occur in egalitarian relationships, doesn't tend to escalate, and tends to result in less serious injury (Johnson, 1995; Johnson & Ferraro, 2000). While there is evidence to suggest that intimate terrorism *does* occur among adolescent populations (e.g., Foshee, Bauman, Linder, Rice, & Wilcher, 2007; Próspero, 2011), anecdotal evidence from our Project DATE interviews and data collected by other Family Violence researchers (e.g. Foshee, 1996; Foshee et al.,

2007) suggest that many, if not the *majority* of youth involved in TDV experience common couple violence rather than the dominating, hierarchical abuse typical of intimate terrorism.

Johnson later went on to add two more typologies to his theory: violent resistance and mutual violent control (Johnson & Ferraro, 2000; Johnson 2008). Violent resistance may be thought of as self-defense, typically against a partner engaging in intimate terrorism. Mutual violent control would involve two partners both engaging in intimate terrorism against the other. Johnson and colleagues note that this latter category is extremely rare and not well understood (Johnson & Ferraro, 2000; Johnson, 2008). Though Johnson's typologies are not the only ways to distinguish types of IPV, his work has been incredibly useful in (a) providing a way to bridge the theoretical gaps between the two major IPV paradigms, (b) highlighting implications for treatment and prevention given that there are different types of violence, and (c) suggesting that the way to move forward with this research is by "bringing together and extending the research on types of violence and types of perpetrators" (Johnson & Ferraro, 2000, p. 950).

Other typologies of dating violence. Despite Johnson and colleagues' call to examine IPV in the context of various typologies, there has been surprisingly little research in this area, especially with teens. Other attempts to classify types of abuse (or types of perpetrators) have examined differences in physiological arousal during fights (Gottman et al., 1998) and attachment styles (Babcock, Jacobson, Gottman, & Yerington, 2000). Both of these studies assessed only adult male perpetrators who seemed to be engaged in intimate terrorism (Johnson & Ferraro, 2000). Holtzworth-Munroe and Stuart (1994) used a more comprehensive system to assess batterer types, clustering perpetrators

in terms of generality of violence, severity of violence, and the presence of psychopathology. They arrived at three typologies: family only, dysphoric/borderline, and generally violent/antisocial. Family only batterers tend to be low in terms of the severity of violence and the use of psychological and sexual violence, their violence does not generalize to extra-familial contexts and they don't exhibit high levels of psychopathology. Dysphoric/borderline batterers are moderate to high in their levels of violence and low to moderate in terms of extra-familial violent or criminal activities. They are moderate to high in various psychopathologies including personality disorders, which are most often borderline or schizoidal. Finally, generally violent/antisocial batterers tend to be moderate to high in terms of severity, are frequently involved in violent or criminal acts outside the home, and deal with alcohol or drug problems, antisocial personality disorder, and/or psychopathy. These initial typologies came from a review of various articles studying only clinical samples of men (i.e. those who were in a batterers program or whose wives were in women's shelters), though a follow-up study with a community sample yielded similar conclusions (Hultzworth-Munroe, Meehan, Herron, Rehman, & Stuart, 2000).

A few studies in recent years have addressed typologies of IPV in adolescent populations. Foshee and colleagues (2007) interviewed 116 participants age 17 or 18-years-old who had previously indicated IPV perpetration on an acts scale. Participants were asked to describe their "first" and "worst" times perpetrating the acts on their original survey and their narratives were analyzed in terms of relationship characteristics, precipitating events and emotions, motives, outcomes, and situational characteristics. The researchers identified four distinct perpetration typologies for girls and only one for boys

(Foshee et al., 2007). Violence perpetrated by girls was described, in order of frequency, as (a) patriarchal terrorism response, (b) anger response, (c) ethic reinforcement, or (d) first time aggressive response. The first of these, patriarchal terrorism response, was motivated by either self-defense or being "fed up" with their partner's abuse. Girls in this category had a history of abuse by their boyfriends and acted in response to immediate abuse. The girls in the anger response category had no history of partner abuse and were not reacting to immediate abuse. Instead, these girls explicitly stated that they lashed out in anger over something their boyfriend had done (e.g. cheating, teasing, "fussing" at them). Ethic reinforcement was similar to the anger response in that there was no history of abuse nor were the girls reacting to immediate abuse. These girls used violence to let their partner know he had done something wrong and that his behavior was unacceptable. Finally, girls in the first time response group perpetrated violence in self defense or in retaliation to immediate abuse, but, unlike the first group, had no previous history of being abused by their partner. For boys, 64.3% of their violent acts were classified as escalation prevention in which they did something (typically grabbing, shoving, or holding their partner to the floor) to restrain their violent partner, prevent her from using a weapon, or preempt an impending violent act. The rest of the male responses were too varied to create additional typologies.

Draucker et al. (2012) also used qualitative methods to interview 85 young adults (both male and female) about multiple aggressive relationships they had experienced as adolescents. Drauker and colleagues then classified these relationships in terms of the regularity and frequency of violence as well as the directionality (i.e. who initiated the violence) resulting in seven typologies: turbulent, maltreating, brawling, volatile,

bickering, deprecating, and intrusive. Turbulent relationships involved recurring and bidirectional aggression that often involved dramatic and violent altercations. Maltreating relationships are marked by recurring, primarily one-directional aggression that involved both physical and psychological abuse (Draucker et al., 2012). Brawling relationships were marked by sporadic, bidirectional aggression typically in the form of heated fights while volatile relationships involved sporadic abuse by only one partner that was usually explosive and physically violent in nature (Draucker et al., 2012). There were also three typologies involving routine (i.e. habitual or everyday) aggression. The first of these is the bidirectional bickering relationship marked by continuous arguments or scuffles between partners. The second, deprecating relationships, involves ongoing verbal and emotional abuse perpetrated by one partner toward the other. Finally, in intrusive relationships, one partner is disruptively needy, intrusive, or controlling (Draucker et al., 2012).

The exploration of unique typologies within IPV is an important step forward in understanding violent relationships (Johnson & Ferraro, 2000). By treating or attempting to prevent all IPV in the same way, practitioners may be failing to effectively help a significant portion of those in their care. For instance, using Johnson's typologies, if TDV prevention programs only describe dating violence in terms of intimate partner terrorism, adolescents involved in common couple violence may not perceive themselves to be in abusive relationships, may be less likely to seek help for their relationship, and may get little use out of such a program. Conversely, if victims of intimate partner terrorism are taught to deal with their violent relationships in ways that would be helpful for common couple violence (e.g. conflict resolution skills training etc.), they may actually be placed

at more risk or come to believe that they are to blame for their partner's abuse. Different types of IPV may be associated with different risk factors, may benefit from different protective factors, and may be amenable to very different types of treatment or prevention strategies. Therefore, exploring *meaningful* ways in which violent relationships differ is extremely important in alleviating this very serious social issue. Examining typologies through qualitative studies like the two mentioned above (Drauker at al., 2012; Foshee et al., 2007) is certainly the best way to look at the many facets of IPV and gain a deeper understanding of context. However, it may not be feasible to either (a) conduct very large scale studies in this manner, or (b) assess youth in a treatment or prevention setting according to such varied and in-depth facets of their dating relationships. This dissertation examines TDV using common acts scales, such as the CTS, to determine if meaningful typologies can be uncovered.

Risk and Protective Factors

There is already a great deal of research on risk and protective factors associated with IPV in general, and TDV in particular (e.g. Foshee, Bauman, & Linder, 1999; Foshee, Benefield, Ennet, Bauman, & Suchindran, 2004; Foshee, Ennet, Bauman, Benefield, & Suchindran, 2005; Laporte, Jian, Pepler, & Chamberland, 2009), and it seems reasonable to assume that many of these factors would also be associated with typologies of TDV. Behavioral influence can exist in spheres of varying proximity to the individual in question (Bronfenbrenner, 1979), but for this research the focus is on three very proximal sources of risk and protection: the individual, peers, and the family. Within the individual, factors such as substance use (Reingle, Staras, Jennings, Branchini, & Maldonado-Molina, 2012; Reyes, Foshee, Bauer, & Ennett, 2012; Swart, Seedat, Stevens,

& Ricardo, 2002; Temple & Freeman, 2011), attitudes towards dating violence (Lichter & McCloskey, 2004; Swart et al., 2002 Foshee et al., 1999), and educational factors (Foshee et al., 2010) have all been associated with TDV perpetration, victimization, or both.

Many studies cite the link between witnessing violence in the home, including IPV, and engaging in TDV (e.g., Foshee et al. 1999; Foshee et al., 2005; Lichter & McCloskey, 2004; McCloskey, 2011). Abuse during childhood, which may be more likely in a home where IPV is occurring, is also a commonly noted family-level risk factor (Foshee et al., 2005; Foshee et al., 1999; Gomez, 2011; Jouriles, Mueller, Rosenfield, McDonald, & Dodson, 2012; Laporte et al., 2009; Sunday et al., 2011; Tyler & Melander, 2012) while positive parenting behaviors like monitoring may be associated with less TDV for some youth (Miller, Gorman-Smith, Sullivan, Orpinas, & Simon, 2009). Peer influences also play a role in both perpetrating and being a victim of TDV. For instance, many studies have found a positive relationship between involvement in TDV and association with peers that have either (a) been involved in TDV themselves, or (b) are involved with delinquent behaviors in general (Foshee et al., 2011; Foshee, Linder, MacDougall, & Bangdiwala, 2001; Miller et al., 2009; Reyes et al., 2012; Vezina et al., 2011). In addition to examining the existence of different typologies, this study also addresses the ways in which common risk and protective factors are differentially related to those typologies.

Research Questions

     (1) Are there meaningful typologies of dating violence aside from just "victim" or "perpetrator?" Although the Conflict Tactics Scale (CTS) and other acts scales have been criticized for their inability to get at context, they still contain useful information in terms of (a) the types of violence or aggression being perpetrated, (b) the relative frequency of those acts, and (c) mutuality of violence. The current research explores whether or not there are distinctions among violent relationships based on the above three dimensions using acts-based TDV data from Project DATE.

     (2) How stable are typologies across relationships? While some of the existing research on IPV typologies has examined whether or not those typologies are present in different samples (e.**g.** Hultzworth-Munroe et al., 2000; Johnson, 2008), it has not examined whether typologies are consistent across relationships. There is a subtle distinction among IPV typology research in terms of categorizing either (a) the perpetrator or type of perpetration (e.g. Foshee et al., 2004; Holtzworth-Munroe and Stuart, 1994; Jacobson & Gottman, 1998; 2000; Johnson, 1995), or (b) the type of relationship (e.g. Drauker et al., 2012; Johnson & Ferraro, 2000). One might expect classifications of perpetrators to remain relatively stable across relationships, while classifications of relationships may be more variable. In either case, it would be beneficial to know if one person has a certain IPV profile during one relationship, whether the person is likely to have the same profile in other relationships. Or is it more commonly the case that every relationship is unique in the way the couple deals with conflict? I examine whether typologies determined in relationship one (a) are still present

in relationship two, and (b) how likely are individuals to move from one classification to another across relationships.

      (3) What variables are associated with different typologies? Factors such as exposure

to family violence, associating with violent peers, and drug use have all been linked to TDV (Foshee et al., 2011; Foshee et al., 1999; Laporte et al., 2009). It is unclear if different types of abusive relationships are related to different risk and protection profiles. Guided by ecological theory (Bronfenbrenner, 1979), I address potential risk and protective factors in various spheres of influence. On the individual level, I assess factors such as substance use, school engagement, acceptance of IPV, and delinquency. On the level of family and peers, I address parental monitoring and communication, witnessing partner violence between parents and peers, and general peer delinquency.

Method

Participants

      This sample consists of youth who participated in Project DATE, a longitudinal study of adolescent dating behavior. Participants ($n = 223$) were between the ages of 13 and 18 ($M=15.9$) at the time of their first interview in Wave-1 and were interviewed again approximately one year later for Wave-2. The majority of participants identified as either African American (61.4%) or Caucasian (21.5%) and there were slightly more female (57.8%) than male participants.

      In W-1, we recruited youth who (a) were identified as "at-risk" and (b) had been in at least one romantic relationship lasting one month or longer. For this project, "at-risk" was defined as being low-income, receiving community-based services targeting

"at-risk" youth (as defined by each service provider), or both. Analyses of this sample suggest that 66.2% could be classified as "high-risk," indicated by their involvement in foster care, the juvenile justice system, or local domestic violence services. Approximately 63% received school-based or after school services for at-risk youth (e.g., alternative schooling), and 86.1% received free or reduced lunch. See Table 1 for sample demographic characteristics.

To take part in W-1, participants also had to have been in at least one romantic relationship lasting one month or longer prior to their interview. Participants were allowed to define "romantic relationship," because what constitutes a relationship may vary widely among adolescents. For example, some participants had children with and/or were living with their partner, while others' relationships did not involve sexual activity at all and time spent together was mostly at school. The one month criterion for relationship length has been used in other dating studies (e.g., Woodward, Fergusson, & Horwood, 2003) and ensures that participants have spent a minimum amount of time interacting with one another in the context of a romantic relationship.

Table 1

Demographic Characteristics of the Full Sample Reported During the First Interview

	Total Sample N = 223		Boys N = 94		Girls N = 129	
	M (SD)	%	*M (SD)*	%	*M (SD)*	%
Age	15.91 (1.61)		15.72 (1.52)		16.05 (1.67)	
13 years old		9.0		8.5		9.3
14 years old		15.7		19.1		13.2
15 years old		12.6		11.7		13.2
16 years old		19.7		23.4		17.1
17 years old		23.8		25.5		22.5
18 years old		19.3		11.7		24.8
Ethnicity						
Caucasian		21.5		22.3		20.9
African American		61.4		58.5		63.6
Bi or multi-ethnic		13.5		18.1		10.1
Latino/Latina		2.5		0.0		3.9
Other		1.1		1.1		1.6
% ever had option of free lunch		86.1		87.2		85.3
Number of adults living with youth	1.86 (0.88)		1.84 (0.84)		1.88 (0.91)	
1 adult		36.6		36.4		36.8
2 adults		46.0		44.3		47.2
3 or more adults		16.9		18.1		16.0
Living Arrangement						
Both biological parents		12.1		14.9		10.1
Biological mother		30.9		27.7		33.3
Biological mother and her partner		15.2		16.0		14.7
Biological father		2.7		3.2		2.3
Biological father and his partner		3.1		3.2		3.1
Foster parents		9.4		8.5		10.1
Group home		4.5		6.4		3.1
Other (relatives, friends)		22.0		20.2		23.3
Interaction with Parents						
% biological mother considered mother figure		70.9		77.7		65.9
% talks to biological mother almost everyday		72.2		70.2		73.6
% biological father considered father figure		54.2		55.8		53.0
% talks to biological father almost everyday		26.7		29.0		25.0
Maltreatment History						
% self-reported neglect by adult caregivers		86.1		90.4		82.9
% self-reported physical abuse by adult caregivers		58.7		71.3		49.6

Procedure

Participants were originally recruited in collaboration with community agencies serving youth in foster care, the department of juvenile justice, low-income housing developments, and alternative schools. Adolescents who were interested in participating either called us (if they had learned of the study through a flier, a social worker, their school) or gave us their contact information (if they were recruited directly by a researcher at an event in their neighborhood). After determining their eligibility, we called their parents (if a minor) and explained the nature of the study. We then mailed two copies of the consent form to participants' parents or legal guardians with a letter encouraging them to call us if they had any questions or wanted to discuss the consent form on the phone. Less than 5% of interested adolescents were unable to participate due to lack of guardian consent.

After obtaining permission from the adolescent's legal guardian, we called the adolescent to schedule an in-person interview. Guardians either sent us their written consent forms prior to the interview or were present at the beginning of the interview to sign. Minor participants were given assent forms at the beginning of the interview. For participants who were 18-years-old or older, we scheduled directly with the participant and obtained written consent before beginning their interview. In all cases, the interviewer allowed the participant to read the consent/assent form, asked if the participant had any questions regarding the form, and additionally summarized the main points from the consent/assent form before beginning the interview. Interviewers were trained graduate students or advanced undergraduate students who always interviewed

participants of the same gender. W-1 data collection occurred over an approximately 17-month period from April 2010 to August 2011.

In W-2, participants were contacted approximately 11 months after their initial interview using contact information they had provided in W-1. Most participants were interviewed for W-2 between 12 and 13 months of their W-1 interview (88%). Interviews took place over the course of approximately 17 months from May 2011 to September 2012.

For both W-1 and W-2, each youth participated in a private, two-hour, in-person structured interview conducted either in the participant's home or another location of her or his choosing. The interview began with background and demographic questions followed by questions about peer delinquency, perceptions of dating violence, witnessing peer or parental violence, academics, neighborhood characteristics, depression and coping, and social support. The second half of the interview focused on the participant's dating relationships. We collected data on a maximum of three romantic relationships per wave. Participants answered questions about sexual behaviors, delinquency and drug use during the relationship, incidence of dating violence, and positive aspects of their relationships.

Measures

All publicly available measures can be found in the appendix.

Dating violence. We used the Conflict Tactics Scale -2 (CTS-2) to measure physical abuse (toward partner alpha = 0.86, by partner alpha = 0.86) and negotiation (toward partner alpha = 0.80, by partner alpha = 0.77; Strauss, 1979; Straus, Hamby, Boney-McCoy, & Sugarman, 1996). Participants were asked how many times they had

engaged in a specific act with their partner on a scale of zero (never), one (one to three times), two (four to nine times) to three (10 or more times). Examples of physical abuse include kicking, burning, twisting their partners arm or hair. Negotiation refers to nonviolent attempts to deal with conflict such as compromising or trying a solution the partner suggested. The CTS-2 asks each question in regard to both the participant and his/her partner in order to get at both perpetration and victimization. To measure emotional or psychological abuse, I used eleven items from the Safe Dates Psychological Abuse Scale (toward partner alpha = 0.85, by partner alpha = 0.87; Foshee, 1996). These items were administered and scored in exactly the same way as the other CTS-2 questions, but asked about acts such as threatening to hurt one' partner, insulting him/her in front of others, or doing things to make him/her jealous. Monitoring was measured using three items that comprised the Monitoring subscale of the Safe Dates Psychological Abuse Scale (toward partner alpha = 0.64, by partner alpha = 0.65). These behaviors involved constantly checking up on one's partner and limiting extra-couple social interactions such as talking to someone of the opposite sex.

      Individual-level risk and protective factors. Individual-level factors that may be related to TDV typology include: drug use, depression, agency, school engagement, acceptance of TDV, and general delinquency. To measure substance use, we used the Structured Substance Abuse Interview for DSM-IV-TR (Spitzer, Williams, & Gibbon, 1987; alpha = 0.68). This scale asks how often the participant was using various substances on a scale of zero (never), one (one or two days a month), two (two to ten days per month), or three (10 or more days per month). Academic engagement was measured using Skinner, Kindermann, & Furrer's (2009) behavioral engagement (alpha =

0.72) and disaffection subscales (alpha =0.78). Items on these subscales ask about effort, attention, and participation in class on a four-point Likert scale (not at all true – very true). We measured acceptance of TDV using a scale created for this study that used items, measured on a six-point scale (1- Strongly disagree to 6 – Strongly agree), such as *yelling is a common part of romantic relationships for most people* and *it's not a big deal to push or shove your partner during a fight.* General delinquency was measured using the Self Report of Offending (SRO; Elliott & Huizinga, 1989; Jolliffe et al., 2003; alpha = 0.76). SRO items include acts such as skipping class in school, selling drugs, and shoplifting, and are scored dichotomously (yes or no). Depression was measured using the HANDS Depression Inventory (Baer et al., 2000; alpha = 0.84) and the ability to identify routes to goal attainment was measured using the agency subscale of the Dispositional Hope Scale (HOPE; Snyder et al., 1991; alpha = 0.75). In addition to individual psychological and behavioral risk factors, I also included measures of situational risk such as the number of residential placements a child had experienced, amount of contact with biological parents, and the number of people the participant could count on for support.

Family and peer-level risk and protective factors. Family and peer-level factors that might be related to different IPV typologies include parental monitoring, abuse and neglect, positive communication with parents, witnessing partner violence between parents and peers, and general peer delinquency. Parental monitoring is measured on a scale of one (almost never or never) to five (almost always or always) and asks how frequently the participant's parent or guardian knows where they are, asks about their whereabouts, and knows who they spend time with (alpha = 0.87; Small &

Kerns, 1993). Abuse and neglect, as well as positive parenting practices, are measured via the Family Background Questionnaire (FBQ; McGee, Wolfe, & Wilson, 1997). The FBQ asked how often certain things had happened on a scale of zero (never happened) to three (happened often or very often) and included items such as offering comfort and reassurance (positive parenting), hitting (physical abuse), insulting (emotional abuse), and providing proper supervision (neglect). Alphas for the respective maternal and paternal scores on the FBQ subscales are as follows: positive parenting = 0.82 and 0.88, neglect = 0.60 and 0.80, emotional abuse = 0.82 and 0.85, and physical abuse = 0.69 and 0.80. Parental communication was measured with the Parent Communication Subscale of the Inventory of Parent and Peer Attachment (IPPA), which contains items such as *I can't depend on my parent to help me solve a* problem and *my parent supports me to talk about my worries* (alpha = .91; Armsden & Greenberg, 1987; Gullone & Robinson, 2005). Witnessing parental IPV was measured by asking participants how many times they had seen their mother or father figures hit, shoved, insulted, or got hit etc. by, their romantic partner. To assess peer IPV, we asked how many of the their friends had hit or shoved (or *been* hit or shoved) by a romantic partner on a four-point scale of "none" to "all." Finally, general peer delinquency was measured using the Denver Youth Study – Revised (DYS – R), which asked how many of the participant's friends on a four-point scale of "none" to "all" engaged in various acts (e.g. fighting, drug dealing, shoplifting) over the past 12 months (alpha = 0.89; Dahlberg, Toal, Swahn, & Behrens, 2005).

Plan of Analysis

      Question one. In order to determine whether there were meaningful typologies of violence, hierarchical cluster analyses were conducted using eight constructs reflecting

conflict style, namely participants' self-reports of physical abuse *by* partner, physical

abuse *toward* partner, emotional abuse *by* partner, emotional abuse *toward* partner,

monitoring *by* partner, monitoring *toward* partner, negotiation *by* partner, and negotiation

toward partner. Since all of these were measured using the same scale, no

transformations were necessary. Clustering was done separately for two different

relationships (Relationship 1 and Relationship 2). In 91% of the cases Relationship 2

refers to the participant's most recent relationship reported on in W-2, and Relationship 1

refers to his or her most recent relationship in W-1. In a few cases ($n = 18$), participants

had no new relationships in W-2, but reported on multiple relationships in W-1. In these

cases Relationship 2 reflected their most recent relationship in W-1, and Relationship 1

was the second most recent relationship reported on in W-1. In all cases, Relationship 2

chronologically followed Relationship 1. If participants reported on only one relationship

across both waves they were removed from this analysis ($n = 19$). Those who were

dropped from the analysis did not significantly differ from the full sample in terms of

SES (measured by free or reduced lunch), $\chi^2 = 0.05$, $p = 0.82$; racial or ethnic

background, $\chi^2 = 1.70$, $p = 0.79$; age, $t(221) = -1.30$, $p = 0.20$; physical abuse by or

toward partner, $t(221) = 0.58$, $p = 0.57$ and $t(221) = 0.28$, $p = 0.78$, respectively; or

emotional abuse by or toward partner, $t(221) = 1.36$, $p = 0.18$ and $t(221) = 1.06$, $p = 0.29$,

respectively. However, there were more girls than expected among the participants who

were removed, $\chi^2 = 3.29$, $p = 0.05$.

Data-driven methods of cluster selection do exist (see Mooi & Sarstedt, 2011) and

may yield the most parsimonious solution, but may also fail to capture group differences

that are meaningful for theory and practice, especially if some clusters are relatively

small. As such, selecting an appropriate number of clusters is largely a subjective endeavor informed more by theory than statistics (Henry, Tolan, & Gorman-Smith, 2005; Mooi & Sarstedt, 2011). As the purpose of this study was to identify unique subgroups of relationships that might suggest targeted intervention strategies or that simply warrant further investigation, and since one would expect that certain types of relationships (e.g. extremely violent ones) might be relatively rare, I selected a cluster solution for each relationship that retained as many unique and theoretically meaningful subgroups as possible. I considered a cluster solution as being saturated (i.e. requiring no further clusters) when an additional cluster merely split one group into two of varying degrees. For example, there is probably not a meaningful distinction between a low conflict group and a *lower* conflict group making it unnecessary to have a cluster for each, but we *would* want to retain enough clusters to differentiate between a group that is low in all kinds of abuse and one that is low in all but emotional abuse.

Question two. Question two addresses the stability of any typologies that are uncovered after analyzing question one and was analyzed in three steps. In step one, hierarchical cluster analysis was again used, but this time with dating violence data from Relationship 2 to determine whether these classes are replicable (i.e. stable) across different relationships. In step two, I assessed within-person stability using a chi square analysis to examine the relationship between class membership in Relationship 1 and class membership Relationship 2. Finally, conditional probabilities were calculated for each class in Relationship 2 given Relationship 1 membership to examine how likely it is for someone in "Class A" in their first relationship, to have moved to "Class B" versus

remaining in "Class A" for their second, etc. (For an example of this basic method see Connolly, Craig, Goldberg, & Pepler, 2004).

Question three. Standard techniques for between-group comparison, such as ANOVA, were then used to test whether different TDV classes vary in terms of the previously identified individual, family, and peer level risk and protective factors.

<div align="center">

Results

</div>

Question One

In order to answer question one, a hierarchical cluster analysis was conducted with dating violence information from Relationship 1. Preliminary analyses revealed two outliers with unique profiles and they were removed from the final analysis. With a four-cluster solution, a distinct group of perpetrators was lost, but the addition of a seventh solution only added a variant of an already existing cluster. Both a five- and a six-cluster solution emerged as presenting potentially meaningful groups, and it was difficult to determine the value of keeping one over the other. In the six-cluster solution (see Figure 1) there are two groups distinguished by high levels of monitoring (*Monitored* and *High Monitors.)* The five-cluster solution collapses those groups into one high monitoring group, which is a much more appealing solution in terms of the ease of explanation. However, when that group is parsed apart in the six-cluster solution the emerging *Monitored* group has significantly lower levels of monitoring *toward* partner than the *High Monitors* in which monitoring appears to be bidirectional. This distinction coupled with preliminary analyses suggesting that these groups may differ in terms of risk factors led me to proceed with the six-cluster solution.
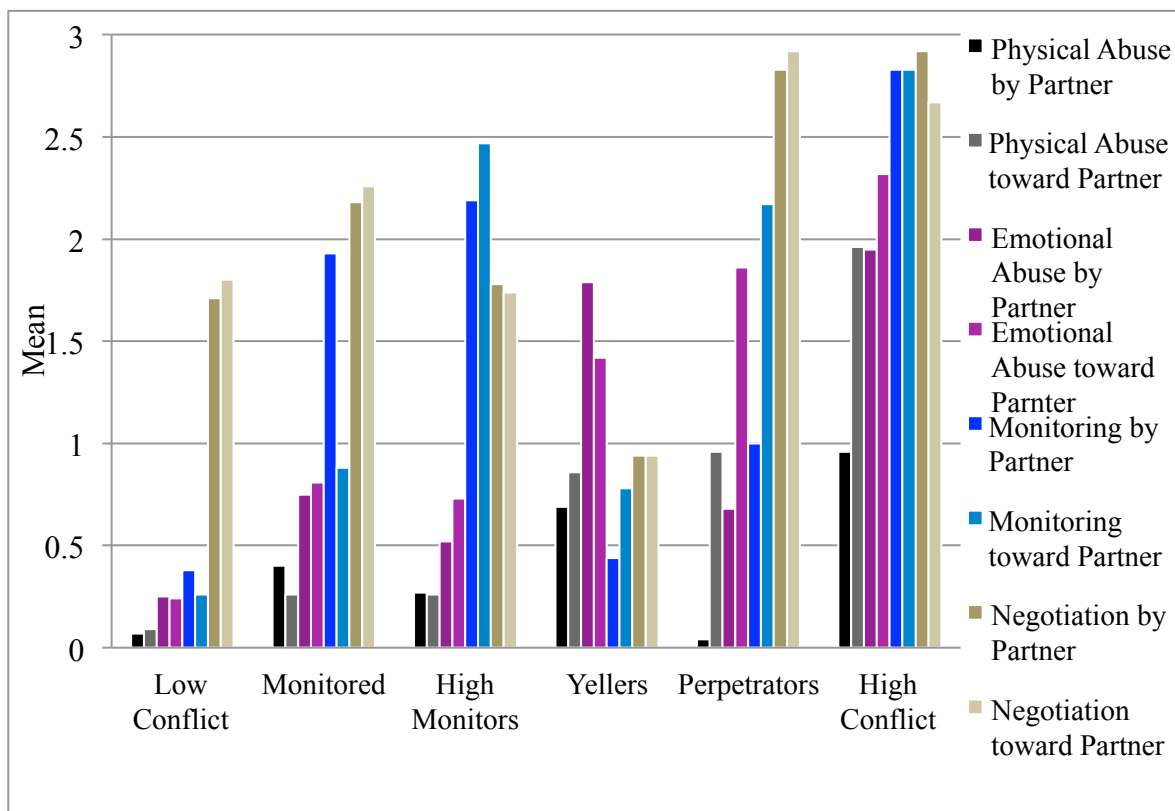
Figure 1. Six-cluster solution for patterns of dating violence

One-way ANOVAs demonstrated that the groups significantly differed in terms of the eight clustering variables: physical abuse *by* partner $F(5, 196) = 18.26, p < .001$; physical abuse *toward* partner $F(5, 196) = 34.48, p < .001$; emotional abuse *by* partner $F(5, 196) = 29.72, p < .001$; emotional abuse *toward* partner $F(5, 196) = 42.24, p < .001$; monitoring *by* partner $F(5, 196) = 91.77, p < .001$; monitoring *toward* partner $F(5, 196) = 75.51, p < .001$; negotiation *by* partner $F(5, 196) = 4.95, p < .001$; and negotiation *toward* partner $F(5, 196) = 4.86, p < .001$. See Table 2 for means.

What made each cluster salient, however, was not overall differences *between* groups on a particular clustering variable, but rather the pattern of conflict tactics *within* a given cluster. *Low conflict (n = 153, females = 86)* youth reported very low levels of

physical abuse, emotional abuse, and monitoring, and relatively high levels of negotiation; *Perpetrators (n =2,* females = 2) reported that they, but not their partners, engaged in high levels of abuse and monitoring; *Monitored* (n =30, females = 13) youth engaged in low levels of physical and emotional abuse, but had partners relatively high in monitoring; *High Monitors* (n = 12, females = 7) reported low levels of physical and emotional abuse, but high levels of mutual monitoring; *Yellers* (n =3, females = 2) reported high levels of emotional abuse paired with notably low levels of monitoring and negotiation; and *High Conflict* youth (n = 2, females = 2) reported much higher levels of abuse and monitoring for both partners.

Table 2.

Group Means on Clustering Variables in Relationship 1

Clustering Variable	Low Conflict M	(SD)	Monitored M	(SD)	High Monitors M	(SD)	Yellers M	(SD)	Perpetrators M	(SD)	High Conflict M	(SD)
Physical Abuse												
By partner	0.07[a]	0.15	0.40[b]	0.47	0.27[bd]	0.33	0.69[c]	0.25	0.04[ad]	0.06	0.96[c]	0.29
Toward partner	0.09[a]	0.22	0.26[b]	0.27	0.26[b]	0.43	0.86[c]	0.17	0.96[c]	0.65	1.96[d]	0.29
Emotional Abuse												
By partner	0.24[a]	0.29	0.75[b]	0.54	0.52[b]	0.42	1.79[c]	0.62	0.68[ab]	0.06	1.95[c]	0.06
Toward partner	0.24[a]	0.30	0.81[b]	0.46	0.73[b]	0.48	1.42[c]	0.19	1.86[cd]	0.58	2.32[d]	0.06
Monitoring												
By partner	0.37[a]	0.43	1.93[b]	0.51	2.19[bc]	0.69	0.44[a]	0.51	1.00[a]	0.47	2.83[c]	0.24
Toward partner	0.26[a]	0.42	0.88[b]	0.59	2.47[c]	0.44	0.78[b]	0.69	2.17[c]	0.24	2.83[c]	0.24
Negotiation												
By partner	1.70[a]	0.77	2.18[bc]	0.48	1.78[ab]	0.43	0.94[a]	0.48	2.83[bc]	0.24	2.92[c]	0.12
Toward partner	1.79[a]	0.73	2.26[b]	0.60	1.74[ac]	0.40	0.94[c]	0.25	2.92[b]	0.12	2.67[ab]	0.47

Note. Across rows, numbers with different superscripts differ significantly (*p* < .05) in LSD contrasts.

Question Two

  Step one. In order to assess the stability of these clusters, I first reran the hierarchical cluster analysis using data from Relationship 2 to determine whether the same clusters were present in both relationships. This time a five-cluster solution emerged as sufficiently saturated: Low Conflict (n = 165, females = 92); High Monitors (n = 17, females = 10); Victims (n = 5, females = 1); Yellers (n = 10, females = 4); and High Conflict (n = 5, females = 5). The five-cluster solution is depicted in Figure 2.
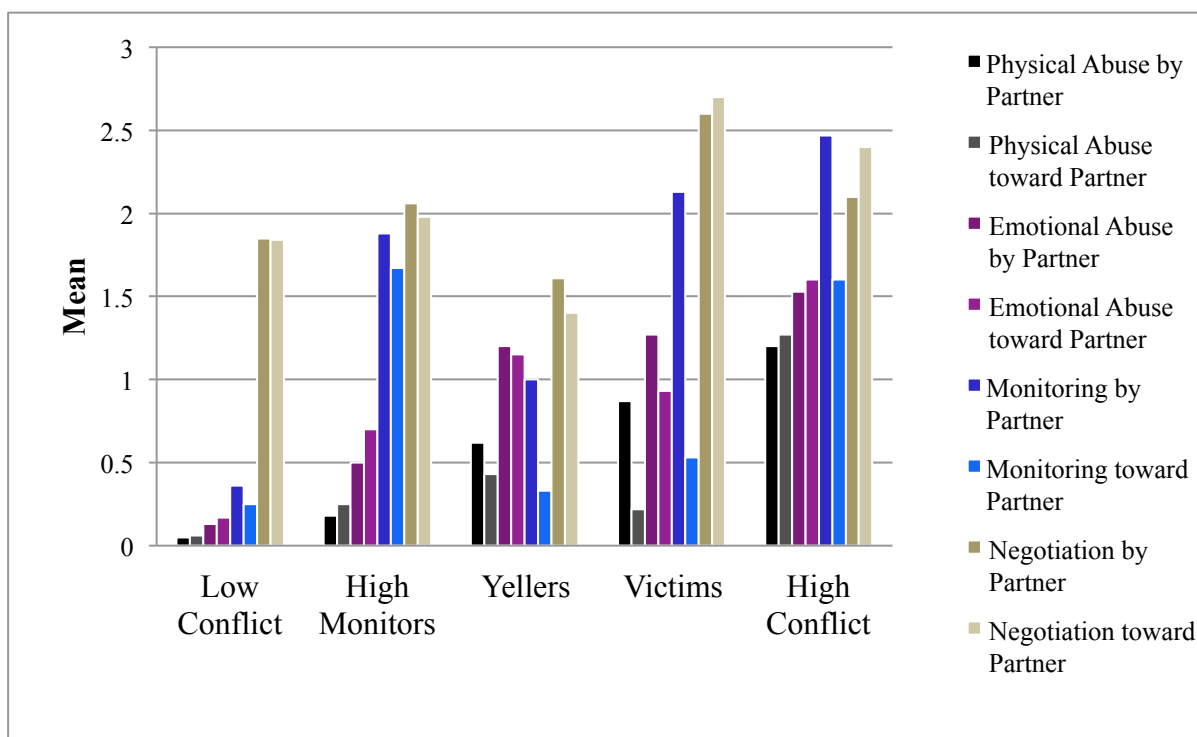
Figure 2. Five-cluster solution for patterns of dating violence in Relationship 2

  Unlike in Relationship 1, a *Perpetrator* and *Monitored* group did not emerge for Relationship 2, and a *Victim* group appeared. However, four of the groups in Relationship 2 looked remarkably similar to groups in Relationship 1. The *Low Conflict, Yellers, and*

High Conflict groups from each relationship are presented side by side in Figure 3 for

comparison.
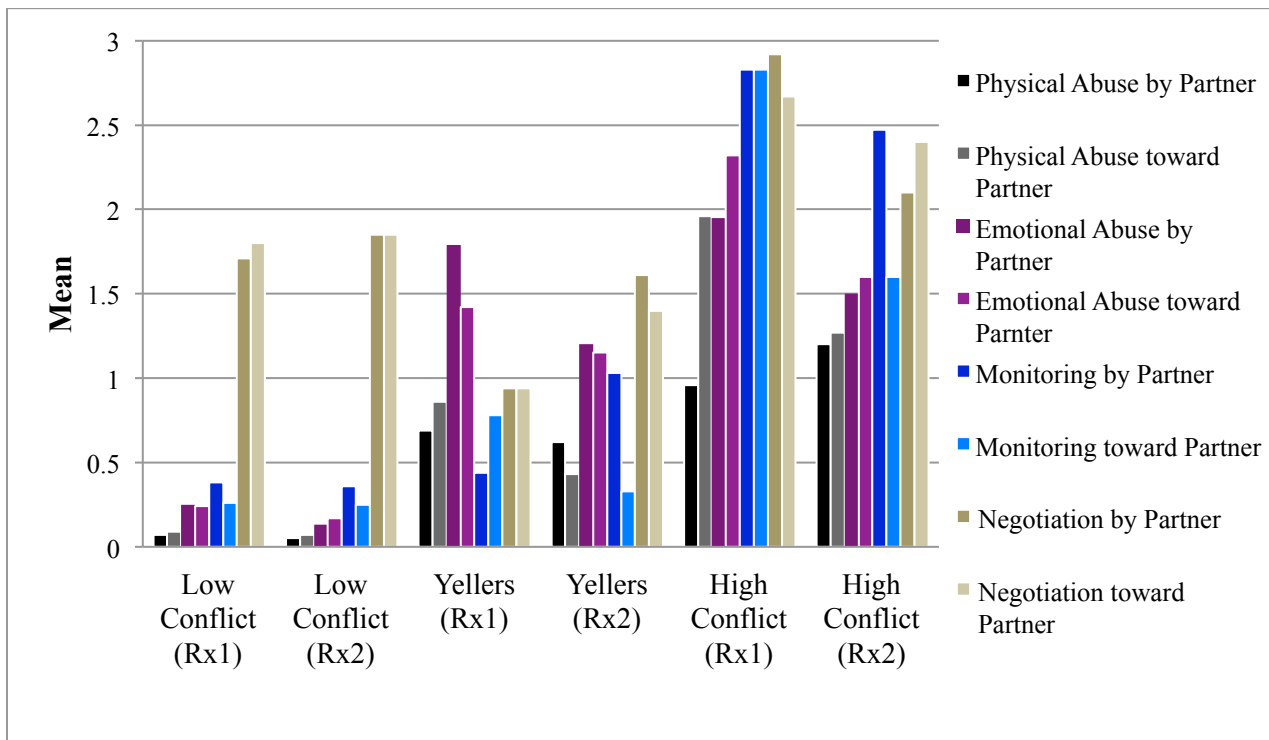
Figure 3. Comparison of the *Low Conflict*, *Yellers,* and *High Conflict* groups from
Relationship 1 and 2.

    High Monitors in Relationship 2 shared characteristics with both the *Monitored*

and *High Monitors* clusters from Relationship 1. As it lacked the sharp distinction

between monitoring *by* and *toward* partner found in the *Monitored* cluster, I felt it was

more closely aligned with the *High Monitors* group that emerged in Relationship 1. These

three groups are presented together in Figure 4.
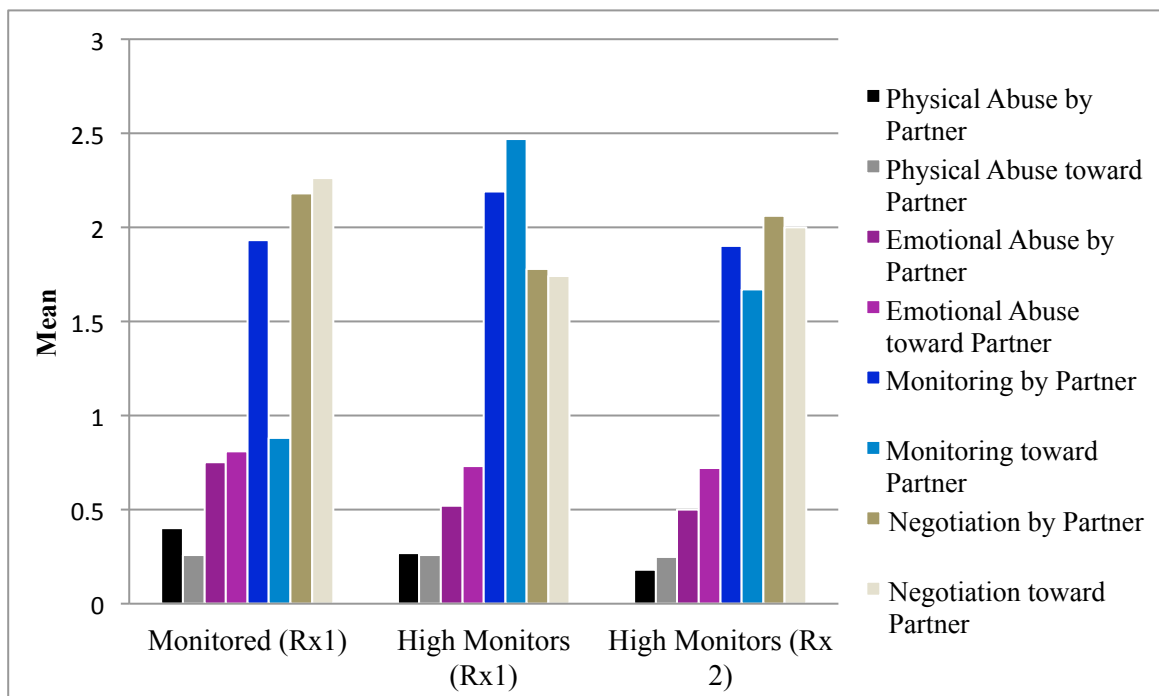
Figure 4. Comparison between *Monitored* and *High Monitors* groups in Relationship 1 and *High Monitored* group in Relationship 2.

As with Relationship 1, one-way ANOVAs confirmed that the groups significantly differed in terms of the clustering variables, physical abuse by partner $F(4, 197) = 109.47$, $p < .001$; physical abuse toward partner $F(4, 197) = 79.04$, $p < .001$; emotional abuse by partner $F(4, 197) = 106.28$, $p < .001$; emotional abuse toward partner $F(4, 197) = 93.60$, $p < .001$; monitoring by partner $F(4, 197) = 83.73$, $p < .001$; monitoring toward partner $F(4, 197) = 58.99$, $p < .001$; negotiation by partner $F(4, 197) = 3.20$, $p < .05$; and negotiation toward partner $F(4, 197) = 5.18$, $p = .001$. See Table 3 for means.

Table 3

Group Means on Clustering Variables in Relationship 2

Clustering Variable	Low Conflict		High Monitors		Yellers		Victims		High Conflict	
	M	(SD)	M	(SD)	M	(SD)	M	(SD)	M	(SD)
Physical Abuse										
By partner	0.05[a]	0.11	0.18[b]	0.23	0.62[c]	0.38	0.87[d]	0.54	1.20[e]	0.19
Toward partner	0.06[a]	0.14	0.25[b]	0.20	0.43[c]	0.26	0.22[b]	0.29	1.27[d]	0.30
Emotional Abuse										
By partner	0.13[a]	0.18	0.51[b]	0.47	1.21[c]	0.43	1.27[cd]	0.37	1.53[d]	0.44
Toward partner	0.17[a]	0.22	0.72[b]	0.40	1.15[c]	0.20	0.93[bc]	0.34	1.60[d]	0.60
Monitoring										
By partner	0.36[a]	0.46	1.88[b]	0.31	1.03[c]	0.48	2.13[bd]	0.61	2.47[d]	0.51
Toward partner	0.25[a]	0.39	1.67[b]	0.44	0.33[a]	0.42	0.53[a]	0.51	1.60[b]	0.43
Negotiation										
By partner	1.85[a]	0.63	2.06[ab]	0.45	1.61[a]	0.29	2.63[bc]	0.36	2.10[ac]	0.43
Toward partner	1.84[a]	0.61	1.98[ad]	0.66	1.40[b]	0.57	2.70[c]	0.30	2.43[cd]	0.28

Note. Across rows, numbers with different superscripts differ significantly ($p < .05$) in LSD contrasts.

      Step two. In order to examine within-person stability of group membership, I ran a chi-square analysis to determine whether there was a significant association between group membership in Relationship 1 and Relationship 2. Preliminary analyses revealed that the expected count of several cells were less than five, which is problematic when using a traditional Pearson's chi-square test (Field, 2009). Therefore Fisher's exact test was used to obtain the chi-square statistics. There was a significant, moderate association between group membership in Relationship 1 and group membership in Relationship 2, $\chi^2 = 61.69$, $p = .000$, Cramer's V = .34, $p = .001$. Large standardized residuals indicate which cells significantly contributed to the overall chi-square statistic. See Table 4.

Table 4

Crosstabulation of Group Membership in Relationships 1 and 2

Relationship 1		Relationship 2					Total
		Low Conflict	High Monitors	Yellers	Victims	High Conflict	
Low Conflict	Count	137	8	6	2	0	153
	Expected Count	125.0	12.9	7.6	3.8	3.8	153.0
	% Within Rx 1	89.5	5.2	3.9	1.3	0	100
	% Within Rx 2	83.0	47.1	60.0	40.0	0	75.7
	% Total	67.8	4.0	3.0	1.0	0	75.7
	Std. Residual	1.1	-1.4	-0.6	-0.9	-1.9	
Monitored	Count	19	5	3	2	1	30
	Expected Count	24.5	2.5	1.5	0.7	0.7	30.0
	% Within Rx 1	63.3	16.7	10.0	6.7	3.3	100
	% Within Rx 2	11.5	29.4	30.0	40.0	20.0	14.9
	% Total	9.4	2.5	1.5	1.0	0.5	14.9
	Std. Residual	-1.1	1.6	1.2	1.5	0.3	
High Monitors	Count	7	3	0	0	2	12
	Expected Count	9.8	1.0	0.6	0.3	0.3	12.0
	% Within Rx 1	58.3	25.0	0	0	16.7	100
	% Within Rx 2	4.2	17.6	0	0	40.0	5.9
	% Total	3.5	1.5	0	0	1.0	5.9
	Std. Residual	-0.9	2.0*	-0.8	-0.5	3.1**	
Yellers	Count	1	0	1	0	1	3
	Expected Count	2.5	0.3	0.1	0.1	0.1	3.0
	% Within Rx 1	33.3	0	33.3	0	33.3	100
	% Within Rx 2	0.6	0	10.0	0	20.0	1.5
	% Total	0.5	0	0.5	0	0.5	1.5
	Std. Residual	-0.9	-0.5	2.2*	-0.3	3.4***	
Perpetrators	Count	0	1	0	1	0	2
	Expected Count	1.6	0.2	0.1	0.0	0	2
	% Within Rx 1	0	50.0	0	50.0	0	100
	% Within Rx 2	0	5.9	0	20.0	0	1.0
	% Total	0	0.5	0	0.5	0	1.0
	Std. Residual	-1.3	2.0*	-0.3	4.3***	-0.2	
High Conflict	Count	1	0	0	0	1	2
	Expected Count	1.6	0.2	0.1	0.0	0.0	2.0
	% Within Rx 1	50.0	0	0	0	50.0	100
	% Within Rx 2	0.6	0	0	0	20.0	1.0
	% Total	0.5	0	0	0	0.5	1.0
	Std. Residual	-0.5	-0.4	-0.3	-0.2	4.3***	
Total	Count	165	17	10	5	5	202
	Expected Count	165.0	17.0	10.0	5.0	5.0	202.0
	% Within Rx 1	81.7	8.4	5.0	2.5	2.5	100
	% Within Rx 2	100	100	100	100	100.0	100
	% Total	81.7	8.4	5.0	2.5	2.5	100

Note. Rx 1 = Relationship 1, Rx 2 = Relationship 2.
* $p < .05$, *** $p < .001$

Step three. Finally, I calculated the probabilities of being in a particular cluster in Relationship 2, *conditional upon* group membership in Relationship 1. As Table 5 illustrates, those originally in the *Low Conflict* group were most likely to remain there in Relationship 2. Those in the two monitoring groups in Relationship 1 were also most likely to move into the *Low Conflict* group, but a large proportion was also in the *High Monitors* cluster at Relationship 2. Some of the members of the three most negative relationship clusters moved into the *Low Conflict* group in Relationship 2, but overall they were more likely to either stay in their group or move to another unhealthy cluster.

Table 5

Conditional Probabilities of Being in a Particular Relationship 2 Cluster Given Cluster Membership in Relationship 1

Relationship 1	Relationship 2				
	Low Conflict (N = 165)	High Monitors (N = 17)	Yellers (N = 10)	Victims (N = 5)	High Conflict (N = 5)
Low Conflict (N = 153)	0.90	0.05	0.04	0.01	0.00
Monitored (N = 30)	0.63	0.17	0.10	0.07	0.03
High Monitors (N = 12)	0.58	0.25	0.00	0.00	0.17
Yellers (N = 3)	0.33	0.00	0.33	0.00	0.33
Perpetrators (N = 2)	0.00	0.50	0.00	0.50	0.00
High Conflict (N = 2)	0.50	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.50

Question Three

Question three addressed whether or not clusters differed in terms of various risk or protective factors. One-way ANOVAs assessed differences in situational factors (e.g. the number of placements a participant had been in), parent and peer factors (e.g. peer offending and parent communication), and individual factors (e.g. drug use and depression) for both Relationship 1 and Relationship 2 clusters.

Relationship 1. In Relationship 1, none of the clusters differed in terms of situational factors, i.e. number of different residential placements $F(5, 196) = 0.43$, $p = 0.83$, frequency of contact with biological mother, $F(5, 196) = 0.81$, $p = 0.55$; frequency of contact with biological father, $F(5, 194) = 0.94$, $p = 0.46$; or the number of people they could count on for help, $F(5, 193) = 1.27$, $p = 0.28$. The following parent and peer factors were also not significantly different between clusters: parent communication, $F(5, 195) = 0.20$, $p = 0.96$; parental monitoring, $F(5, 196) = 1.85$, $p = 0.11$; witnessing parental violence, $F(5, 183) = 1.76$, $p = 0.12$; peer TDV, $F(5, 190) = 1.91$, $p = 0.10$; positive childrearing practices by mother or father, $F(5, 196) = 0.61$, $p = 0.70$ and $F(5, 181) = 0.47$, $p = 0.80$, respectively; or child neglect by father, $F(5, 180) = 0.80$, $p = 0.55$. Several parent and peer factors *were* significantly different among clusters, however: peer delinquency $F(5, 196) = 4.46$, $p = 0.001$; child neglect by mother, $F(5, 196) = 2.42$, $p = 0.04$; emotional abuse by mother $F(5, 196) = 3.28$, $p < 0.01$; and physical abuse by mother and father, $F(5, 196) = 3.73$, $p < 0.01$ and $F(5, 182) = 3.09$, $p = 0.01$, respectively. Emotional abuse by father came close to reaching significant levels, $F(5, 182) = 2.22$, $p = 0.06$. Additionally, the following individual factors did not differ between clusters: academic self concept, $F(5, 190) = 1.01$, $p = 0.41$; agency, $F(5, 190) = 0.44$, $p = 0.82$;

perceived success in handling problems, $F(5, 190) = 1.03$, $p = 0.40$; or even acceptance

of dating violence, $F(5, 190) = 1.23$, $p = 0.30$. However, groups did significantly differ in

terms of self-reported offending, $F(5, 196) = 5.39$, $p < 0.001$, drug use, $F(5, 194) = 2.74$,

$p < 0.05$, and depression, $F(5, 190) = 2.22$, $p = 0.05$. Least-significant difference (LSD)

posthoc analyses were performed for factors with significant ANOVAs to determine

between which groups the differences lay. The group means of these factors can be seen

in Table 6.

Table 6

Group Means for Relationship 1

Dependent Variable	Low Conflict		Monitored		High Monitors		Yellers		Perpetrators		High Conflict	
	M	(SD)	M	(SD)	M	(SD)	M	(SD)	M	(SD)	M	(SD)
Substance Use	0.33[ac]	0.55	0.66[b]	0.70	0.19[c]	0.30	0.67[abc]	0.63	0.38[abc]	0.53	1.13[ab]	1.59
Self-Reported Offending	1.18[a]	1.42	2.73[b]	2.10	2.33[b]	2.46	1.67[ab]	1.53	1.50[ab]	0.71	2.00[ab]	1.41
Depression	2.51[a]	3.04	3.14[a]	3.02	3.67[a]	4.50	8.00[b]	6.08	1.00[a]	1.41	2.00[a]	2.83
Peer Delinquency	1.92[a]	0.57	2.30[b]	0.57	1.96[ab]	0.61	2.29[abc]	0.62	2.07[ab]	0.71	3.29[c]	0.00
Neglect by Mother	0.27[a]	0.43	0.28[a]	0.34	0.71[b]	0.92	0.25[ab]	0.43	0.00[a]	0.00	0.63[ab]	0.88
Emotional Abuse by Mother	0.64[a]	0.61	0.73[a]	0.60	0.92[a]	0.70	0.92[a]	0.31	0.88[a]	0.71	2.25[b]	0.35
Physical Abuse by Mother	0.39[a]	0.61	0.32[a]	0.45	0.50[a]	0.61	0.44[a]	0.51	0.50[a]	0.71	2.17[b]	1.18
Physical Abuse by Father	0.33[a]	0.63	0.29[a]	0.56	0.39[a]	0.89	0.89[ab]	0.77	0.33[a]	0.47	2.00[b]	1.41

Note. Across rows, numbers with different superscripts differ significantly ($p < .05$) in LSD contrasts.

Relationship 2. As in Relationship 1, Relationship 2 clusters did not differ across the following variables: number of different residential placements $F(4, 197) = 0.74$, $p = 0.56$, frequency of contact with their biological mother, $F(4, 197) = 0.61$, $p = 0.66$; frequency of contact with their biological father, $F(4, 195) = 0.25$, $p = 0.91$; parent communication, $F(4, 196) = 1.38$, $p = 0.24$; parental monitoring, $F(4, 197) = 0.69$, $p = 0.20$; positive childrearing practices by mother or father, $F(4, 197) = 0.48$, $p = 0.75$ and $F(4, 182) = 1.22$, $p = 0.30$, respectively; or child neglect by father, $F(4, 181) = 0.31$, $p = 0.87$; emotional abuse by father, $F(4, 183) = 0.43$, $p = 0.79$; agency, $F(54\ 191) = 0.10$, $p = 0.98$; or perceived success in handling problems, $F(4, 191) = 1.36$, $p = 0.25$. Relationship 2 clusters also did not vary across several factors that were significant in Relationship 1: substance use, $F(4, 196) = 1.13$, $p = 0.34$; neglect by mother, $F(4, 197) = 1.31$, $p = 0.27$; and physical abuse by mother and father, $F(4, 197) = 1.43$, $p = 0.23$, $F(4, 183) = 0.70$, $p = 0.59$, respectively.

There were significant differences among clusters in both relationships for the following variables: self-reported offending, $F(4, 197) = 5.31$, $p < 0.001$; depression, $F(4, 191) = 4.82$, $p = 0.001$; peer delinquency, $F(4, 197) = 2.42$, $p = 0.05$; and emotional abuse by mother, $F(4, 197) = 3.5$, $p = 0.01$. Additionally, Relationship 2 clusters differed significantly in terms of acceptance of TDV, $F(4, 191) = 4.41$, $p < 0.01$; number of support persons , $F(4, 194) = 2.81$, $p = 0.03$; parental domestic violence, $F(4, 184) = 7.28$, $p < 0.001$; peer TDV, $F(4, 191) = 5.61$, $p < 0.001$; and, marginally, for academic self concept, $F(4, 191) = 2.07$, $p < 0.10$. Means and posthoc analyses are reported in Table 7.

Table 7

Group Means for Relationship 2

Dependent Variable	Low Conflict		High Monitors		Yellers		Victims		High Conflict	
	M	(SD)	M	(SD)	M	(SD)	M	(SD)	M	(SD)
Self-Reported Offending	1.08^a	1.42	1.47^{ab}	1.12	2.20^{bc}	1.69	3.60^c	3.65	2.20^{ac}	1.10
Academic Self Concept	4.71^a	0.84	4.91^a	0.56	4.61^{ab}	0.64	4.30^{ab}	0.86	3.80^b	0.60
Depression	2.50^a	2.97	1.88^a	1.62	4.56^{ab}	4.45	6.00^b	3.81	6.80^b	6.87
Peer Delinquency	1.96^a	0.60	2.03^a	0.50	2.06^a	0.43	2.77^b	0.44	2.14^{ab}	0.80
Acceptance of TDV	2.45^a	0.72	2.91^b	0.75	2.97^b	0.76	2.60^{ab}	0.40	3.42^b	3.42
Support Persons	4.98^{ac}	2.94	4.69^{abc}	2.82	3.20^{ac}	1.69	6.60^b	3.58	1.80^c	0.45
Peer TDV	3.05^a	1.32	3.76^b	1.39	3.67^{ab}	1.12	3.80^{ab}	1.79	5.60^c	1.42
Parental DV	17.95^a	6.45	19.31^a	7.98	19.33^a	6.71	20.80^a	3.03	35.75^b	11.03
Emotional Abuse by Mother	0.63^a	0.61	0.71^{ab}	0.51	0.95^{abc}	0.73	1.23^{bc}	0.75	1.43^c	0.72

Note. Across rows, numbers with different superscripts differ significantly ($p < .05$) in LSD contrasts. "Support Persons" is the number of people they could count on for help. DV = domestic violence.

Discussion

Simply knowing that an individual has experienced dating violence or abuse does not tell us a great deal about the nature of their relationship or how to improve it. The media, our educational backgrounds, and our own dating experiences may shape perceptions of what a typical abusive relationship looks like. For some, dating violence connotes a situation in which a male perpetrator beats, stalks, and shames his female

partner into submission. Others may envision a couple engrossed in bouts of heated, and often violent, disagreements where both are victims of their own dismal conflict resolution skills. As Johnson first suggested in 1995, intimate partner violence is not a single phenomenon, but rather a cluster of phenomena that may differ in their etiology and outcomes. First and foremost, the current study demonstrates that, even among youth at-risk for dating violence, there is a great deal of variability in their relationships. Perhaps contrary to expectation, the majority of these youth reported relationships characterized by low-levels of abuse and relatively high levels of mutual negotiation and compromise. It is important to note, however, that "low levels of abuse" is not synonymous with *no* abuse. Though the mean abuse scores for the *Low Conflict* group were very low, they were not zero and it would be possible, for example, to report slapping your partner 10 or more times and still arrive at an overall mean of less than one. There were also a handful of youth who reported very high levels of abuse by partners, toward partners, or both. Consistent with Family Violence researchers, reported levels of abuse by and toward partner tended to be similar, suggesting a predominance of common couple violence. However, the presence of the *Monitored* and *Perpetrators* groups in Relationship 1, and the *Victims* group in Relationship 2 clearly demonstrate that there are also cases of one-way abuse that may be more in line with Feminist conceptions of abusive relationships. Finally, with the exception of the *Yellers*, even the most violent groups reported high levels of positive, non-violent ways of negotiating disagreement *in addition to* more abusive conflict tactics.

Though some researchers have assessed the stability of IPV typologies in more than one sample (Hultzworth-Munroe & Stuart, 1994; Hultzworth-Munroe et al., 2000), I

am unaware of any studies that assess the stability of typologies across relationships using the same sample. This method illuminates not only the stability, or instability, of the groups themselves, but the propensity of individuals to remain within a certain cluster or to move. The groups themselves appear to be relatively stable across relationships. With the exception of *Pertpetrators* and *Victims,* typologies with the same defining characteristics emerged in both relationships. It may come as no surprise that there would be a low conflict and a high conflict group, but the *Yellers* and the two high monitoring groups emerged as much more specific and unique typologies. The fact that cluster analyses revealed these groups in two different relationships gives us some confidence that they are more than just a spurious effect of the data. The absence of a *Perpetrator* group in Relationship 2 and a *Victims* group in Relationship 1, on the other hand, does not suggest that they are not "real" or meaningful groups. There is plenty of evidence that these types of one-sided violent relationships do occur and may be among the most dangerous (e.g. Johnson, 2008). Furthermore, these two clusters really represent the same type of relationship with the only difference between the two being which partner is reporting on the behavior. That both of these were not represented in each relationship is not entirely surprising given that (a) they were such small clusters to begin with, and (b) individuals did not always stay in the same type of relationship. Finally, though there were groups characterized by high levels of monitoring, relative to other types of abuse, in both relationships they did not look quite identical from Relationship 1 to Relationship 2. Specifically, in Relationship 1 there appeared to be a group that reported high monitoring only for their partners, compared with a group that reported high levels of mutual monitoring. In Relationship 2, however, the *High Monitors* resembled a hybrid of

the two Relationship 1 groups. More research is definitely needed to see if the *Monitored* and *High Monitor* groups from Relationship 1 are truly meaningfully different, but what does seem clear from these data is that a sizeable group of these adolescents is engaging in or falling victim to rather high levels of controlling behaviors in more than one relationship.

In addition to assessing the presence, or stability, of typologies across relationships, this study also examined the stability of individuals within a given type of relationship. Participants who were in the *Low Conflict* group in Relationship 1 were much more likely to remain in a low conflict relationship than to move to one of the more violent relationships. Those who did move were most likely to end up in either the *High Monitor* group or *Yellers*, which, while less healthy, are still characterized by very low levels of physical violence. Very few joined the *Victims* group and no one moved to the *High Conflict* group suggesting that those in the lowest risk relationships are likely to stay that way. Those in the *Monitored* and *High Monitors* groups in Relationship 1 were also most likely to be in the *Low Conflict* group in Relationship 2. However, many of them ended up in the *High Monitors* group, and they were more likely than those in the *Low Conflict* group to move into one of the more negative relationships (i.e. *Yellers, Victims,* and, *High Conflict*). The last three groups from Relationship 1, *Yellers, Perpetrators,* and *High Conflict* were all so small that it is difficult to truly comment on the stability of their members. However, I would categorize these as the three least healthy groups in Relationship 1, and of the seven individuals who comprised these groups, only two moved into the *Low Conflict* cluster in Relationship 2. The remaining five either stayed in their original group or moved into another unhealthy cluster. So

while the pattern of abuse may change from relationship to relationship, the overall

negative valence may be largely the same. This supports other findings in the literature

that suggest involvement in one violent relationship may put youth at risk for future

violent relationships (Gomez, 2011; Smith et al., 2003).

It is important to note that this study does not make any claims in terms of

causation and what I refer to as a risk factor may actually be an outcome or something

else that is co-occurring with TDV. Some factors, such as parental abuse, are surely not

caused *by* TDV, but depression and drug use, for example, might be either a cause or an

effect. For the sake of ease, however, I am referring to all of them as risk factors. For the

most part, these groups differed in expected ways, with the most violence clusters

reporting the worst scores in terms of risk factors. In particular, youth in the *High*

Conflict, Yellers, and *Victims* groups reported higher levels of risk and/or poor outcomes.

The groups characterized by high monitoring seemed to fall somewhere in the middle in

terms of their associated risk. In Relationship 1 they did differ from the *Low Conflict*

group on various measures including drug use, offending, peer delinquency, and, for the

High Monitors, parental abuse as well. In Relationship 2 they only differed in terms of

acceptance of TDV. These groups certainly appear to be higher risk than the *Low Conflict*

group, but are not as high as the more physically or verbally abusive groups.

Similarities to Existing Typologies

Common couple and bidirectional violence. Common couple violence, also

called situational couple violence, is characterized by relatively infrequent and/or

relatively mild violence (Johnson, 2008; Johnson 1995). Additionally, it is gender-

symmetric and bidirectional. That is, both boys and girls are equally likely to be

perpetrators, among the general population, and partners are likely to be both perpetrators and victims within the relationship (Johnson, 2008). Community-based, non-clinical studies of IPV tend to capture predominantly cases of common couple violence (Johnson, 1995; Strauss, 1980; Strauss 2011), which appears to be true even among this at-risk sample. The *Low Conflict* clusters typify these low-levels of mutual violence, paired with relatively high levels of negotiation. Importantly, the participants that comprise the *Low Conflict* clusters also report low levels of monitoring. A key element of common couple violence, as opposed to intimate terrorism, is the absence of coercive control.

The label of common couple violence, while providing some descriptive information, is still a relatively nebulous term and doesn't distinguish between propensities to use different conflict tactics. In this sample, *Yellers*, *High Monitors,* and even the *High Conflict* group may also reflect subgroups of this type of violence. For example, Drauker and colleagues (2012) identified three types of bidirectional adolescent aggressive relationships in their retrospective study of 85 young adults. "Bickering" relationships, marked by habitual verbal aggression and low levels of physical violence (Drauker et al., 2012) may be the kind of scenario experienced by the *Yellers* in this sample who are high on emotional abuse, relatively low on negotiation, but also low on other types of abuse. Drauker et al. (2012) also described "brawling" and "turbulent" relationships, which are also bidirectional, but marked by much more physical violence. It is possible that the *High Conflict* groups in this sample reflect those types of relationships.

Intimate terrorism or one-way violence. Feminist theories of IPV focus on one-way violence, that is violence in which there is one clear perpetrator and one victim, or

what Johnson (1995, 2008) refers to as intimate terrorism. There was clear evidence for such relationships among this sample in the *Perpetrators* and *Victims* groups. In contrast to what the traditional Feminist framework would predict, however, all of the *Perpetrators* were girls, and four out of five of the *Victims* were boys. Ironically, the same patriarchal culture that leads some men to believe they can abuse their wives, may be contributing to the number of adolescent male victims. In a qualitative study of older teens who had previously reported IPV perpetration, Foshee and colleagues identified four types of perpetration described by the girls in their sample, and only one for boys (Foshee et al., 2007). The majority of boys classified their perpetration as escalation prevention (e.g. restraining a violent girlfriend) and many of those cited cultural injunctions against hitting women (Foshee et al., 2007). A more recent study revealed that, among a sample of over 600 adolescents, one-third indicated some support of female to male dating violence while only one-sixth felt the same way about male to female violence (Reeves & Orpinas, 2012). It may be this gendered imbalance in the social mores surrounding dating abuse that explains why most of the participants in the present study's *Victims* group are male.

In terms of female perpetration, Foshee and colleagues identified one type in response to chronic intimate terrorism (girls were either "fed up" or defending themselves), and one type in response to a one-time violent attack by their partner. Neither of those typologies seem to fit with the *Perpetrator* group, in which girls reported a much higher frequency of violence for themselves than for their partners, but may well reflect the one girl in the *Victims* group. The other two types of female perpetration that Foshee and colleagues described both involved girls, with no history of victimization in

their current relationship, lashing out at their partners for real or perceived misbehavior (e.g. cheating, "fussing"; 2007). While none of the girls in that particular study described perpetrating what could be considered intimate terrorism, a few of the boys reported defending themselves against habitual abuse on the part of their girlfriends (Foshee et al., 2007).

While there was only one girl who fell into the *Victims* category, I am hesitant to conclude that she is the only female in this sample who may have been experiencing intimate terrorism. One common criticism of acts scales, such as those used in this study, is that they cannot capture important contextual details such as who initiated the fight, who is the most frightened or vulnerable, and whether violence was perpetrated in self-defense or in retaliation against an abusive partner (e.g., Dobash et al., 1992; Foshee, 2007). The *High Conflict* groups from Relationships 1 and 2 may actually reflect cases of intimate terrorism. In both relationships, the *High Conflict* group is entirely comprised of girls. In Relationship 1, these girls reported more perpetration than their partners, but in Relationship 2, violence levels were similar and girls reported higher levels of monitoring *by* their partners. It is the monitoring, controlling behaviors that Johnson suggests sets intimate terrorism apart from common couple violence. So while these relationships may be what Drauker and colleagues (2012) referred to as turbulent or brawling, bidirectionally violent relationships, they may also be cases of intimate terrorism in which the girls' reported acts of violence are actually in response to her abusive and controlling boyfriend. In either case, the *High Conflict* groups are clearly the most concerning relationships.

Finally, the *Monitored* group in Relationship 1 reported their partners engaging in much higher monitoring behaviors than themselves. Several things may be happening within this group. First, these may be relatively healthy relationships in which the disparate monitoring scores are more a reflection of the participants' beliefs or expectations than they are grounded in real behaviors. Unlike the physical abuse items, for example, where it should be relatively clear whether you had been hit or not, items on the monitoring scale are somewhat more open for interpretation. For example, if your partner had expressed displeasure with you calling your ex-boyfriend, you might be inclined to give him a high score on the item asking how often he prevented you from talking to someone of the opposite sex, when in reality he only addressed the issue once. It is possible for this scale that participants are reporting on a perception of their partner's attitudes and not on the number of times their partner actively tried to control their behavior. A second possibility is that some or all of these adolescents are involved in what Drauker and colleagues (2012) labeled intrusive relationships, in which one partner is disruptively needy or controlling. Werner and colleagues (Werner, Green, Greenberg, & Browne, 2001) distinguish between two dimensions of couple enmeshment; closeness-caregiving and intrusiveness. The latter of these is a "pathological enmeshment" in which appropriate boundaries are violated or there is a lack of self/other differentiation (Werner et al.), and it may manifest itself in the form of excessive monitoring or otherwise controlling behaviors (Lavy, Mikulincer, & Shaver, 2010). These types of relationships are unhealthy in their own right, but excessive monitoring may also be a first step in isolating one's partner, thus (a) making them more vulnerable to other types of abuse, and (b) making it difficult for them to reach out for help (Pence & Paymar, 1993).

Implications for Treatment, Prevention, and Future Research

This study adds to a growing body of research suggesting that, especially among adolescents, IPV is, more often than not, bidirectional in nature (e.g. Foshee, 1996; Mulford & Giordano, 2008). If this is the case, then prevention and treatment programs that emphasize traditional Feminist theories of IPV, to the exclusion of others, are missing the mark in terms of what the majority of youth experience. If only a few programs operated under the assumption that abuse is one-direction and male-perpetrated, it might be less of an issue, but there is some evidence to suggest that this is the case in many, if not most, TDV programs in the United States (e.g. Weisz & Black, 2009). For example, Weisz and Black (2009) found that 30% of the agencies they interviewed explicitly identified Feminist theories as the basis of their TDV programs. Though I have not systematically examined this myself, my own experience with a variety of different IPV and sexual assault agencies supports this trend. When applying for my first job in a domestic violence shelter, I was coached by a former staff member to define IPV in my interview as a pattern of abusive behaviors designed to control one's partner rooted in a patriarchal society that devalues women. This was not only the working definition for this particular agency, but for the statewide network of shelters. More recently, and in a different state, while helping a local agency evaluate the success of their TDV prevention program I found that they had explicitly told students that bidirectional violence didn't "count" as abuse.

It is not at all my intent to vilify women's shelters or similar agencies. On the contrary, I believe they provide invaluable services to countless women, children, and even men. Nor do I believe that they are willfully ignorant to the plights of young men

and women who are involved in common couple violence. Mulford and Giordano (2008) noted that, at a recent, national workshop on TDV, most of the practitioners in attendance reported primarily dealing with female victims and hearing that males were the primary perpetrators. It is not surprising that these agencies are focused on male to female violence given that most of their clients are, in fact women, and there are several probable reasons for this. One, these agencies largely originated in response to patriarchal intimate terrorism. This has undoubtedly shaped their views on IPV as well as shaped the public's view on who is welcome to use their services. Many may view these agencies as exclusively for women, thus drastically limiting the number of male clients they might see. Names like SHE (Shelter for Help in Emergency), SARA (Sexual Assault Resource Agency), Aiding Women in Abuse and Rape Emergencies (AWARE), or the catch all "women's shelter," probably perpetuate that image despite the fact that these agencies will also provide services to men. And there's no doubt that the kind of severe violence that may lead a woman to an IPV agency, either through her own accord or on the recommendation of another professional, is largely male-perpetrated. Even though there may be gender symmetry in IPV perpetration among the general public, women disproportionately experience negative physical and psychological outcomes to abuse (Kar & O'Leary, 2010; Molidor & Tolman, 1998; Strauss, 2011). With very little exposure to male clients and lots of exposure to female victims of male abuse, it is no wonder, then, that the prevailing theories upon which these agencies operate, involve disparities in gender. And, in terms of treatment for adult female victims, it is probably the most appropriate way to think about IPV.

A focus on these gender disparities in adolescent prevention programs however, is problematic not because one-directional, male-perpetrated violence doesn't exist or constitute a very serious problem, but because it doesn't do an adequate job describing the violent relationships experienced by *most* teens, *most* of the time. It is also based on an adult model of abuse that may not be appropriate for adolescents. For example, Mulford and Giordano (2008) note that teenage boys and girls are much more likely to be on equal footing than, for example, a couple in which the woman has to care for children and must rely on her male partner to financially provide for her. In a study of over 1,300 adolescents, Giordano (as cited in Mulford & Giordano, 2008) found that, while most boys and girls reported having an "equal say" in their relationship, when there was a power imbalance it tended to favor the girls. A failure to address bidirectional or girl-perpetrated violence, therefore, may leave many teens feeling that the violence in their relationships isn't dangerous or problematic, which in turn may decrease the likelihood that they would seek help for such relationships or try to change their behavior. Furthermore, perpetrating violence puts one at increased risk of victimization (Harned, 2002). So even for agencies primarily concerned with preventing violence against girls and women, reducing their perpetration is an important way to help protect them. As Strauss (2009) notes, when girls are violent it may evoke retaliation or serve to legitimize future abuse in the eyes of their partners.

I also want to emphasize that it is not only severe (i.e. injury-causing) bidirectional violence that needs to be addressed in adolescent prevention programs, but also the minor or infrequent abuse found in the majority of relationships in the present study. The label of common couple violence may connote a false sense of insignificance.

While these couples may be less likely to engage in the more extreme types of violence, even situational violence has the potential to escalate to frightening, and even deadly, levels (Johnson, 2008; Strauss, 2011). This may be especially true of adolescents who, as a class, are still continuing to develop and who very much lag behind adults in terms of psychosocial maturity (Steinberg, 2004; Steinberg, Cauffman, Woolard, Graham, & Banich, 2009). Adolescents are more likely to react impulsively, be swayed by peer influence, and discount the potential negative outcomes associated with their behaviors, especially in emotional situations (Steinberg, 2004; Steinberg et al., 2009). It's hard to imagine a much more emotionally charged situation than a fight with one's significant other. Hence, even in these lower conflict relationships, adolescents may be at a particular risk for escalation.

Even if the majority of these relationships do not involve an escalation of abuse, minor abuse is still worthy of prevention and intervention. Upon seeing that such a high risk sample is primarily engaged in "only" low-level aggression, one's initial reaction might be to breathe a sigh of relief and wonder what all the fuss is about. But to tacitly accept more minor forms of violence, which is what we do if we fail to address them, is to do a great disservice to our youth. I would be extremely concerned if my daughter were in a relationship in which she was shoved, hit, or belittled "only" once or twice. If this isn't good enough for our own children, then it isn't good enough for any child. Instead of solely focusing on a deficits or risk-management approach to TDV, our youth might greatly benefit from a positive youth development (PYD) approach to dating relationships (see Lerner, Almerigi, Theokas, & Lerner, 2005). It may be inevitable that youth from less privileged backgrounds, such as those in this study, will always be at a

higher risk of experiencing some violence in their relationships, but these youth are often in the best position to receive targeted interventions as well. For example, adolescents who are involved in the juvenile justice system or in foster care may be at especially high risk for TDV due to child abuse, witnessed parental violence, or delinquent peers. As wards of the state, though, they are essentially captive audiences to whatever programing the state wishes them to have. High quality programs that *promote* healthy romantic relationships, in addition to preventing TDV, may be especially effective among this population.

In terms of specific programmatic implications, the results of this study highlight a few behaviors that may be particularly important to address. First, aside from the *Yellers* group, even those in the most violent relationships reported high levels of negotiation. This suggests that, on some level, these adolescents know how to negotiate conflict in nonviolent, respectful, and egalitarian ways, and that they are attempting to do so at least some of the time. The question, then, is why do they end up resorting to violence? One possibility that merits more research is a deficit in executive functioning. Executive functioning (which is functionally synonymous with effortful control, self-control, and self-regulation) involves the ability to deliberately inhibit a dominant response, such as reacting violently to a disagreement, and replace it with a subdominant response (Kim, Nordling, Yoon, Boldt, & Kochanska, 2012; Zhou, Chen, & Main, 2012). More and more research is showing an inverse relationship between executive functioning and behavioral problems, and children from low socio-economic backgrounds tend to score lowest on measures of self-control (Kim et al., 2012; Moffit et al., 2010). Skills training in conflict negotiation is undoubtedly an important part of

TDV prevention and treatment, but learning to effectively inhibit a preprogrammed response may be equally important. Research coming out in this area suggests that mindfulness training can be an effective way to improve executive function (Tang, Posner, & Rothbart, 2013), but more research is needed to determine (a) the link between executive function and TDV, and (b) how treatment and prevention programs can best address adolescents' self-regulation.

The presence of groups marked by high levels of monitoring in both relationships also suggests that this is an important issue for treatment and prevention programs to address. Even if these groups are not engaged in more nefarious forms of monitoring, such as stalking or attempting to isolate their partner as a precursor to further abuse, it seems problematic that one or both partners feels the need to constantly check up on or limit the social engagements of the other. This may be due to unrealistic expectations that romantic partners should only want to do things as a couple or should cease spending time with members of the opposite sex (in the case of heterosexual couples). Attachment theorists studying adult romantic relationships have also found that attachment anxiety is related to more intrusive behavior, while avoidance is linked to perceptions that a partner is being too intrusive (Lavy et al., 2010). These monitoring behaviors may also be in response to real or perceived infidelity – for example, many participants in Wave 2 of this study mentioned their partners "talking to," kissing, or even having sex with another person while they were dating the participant. More research is needed to explain the causes and consequences of excessive enmeshment or intrusiveness in adolescent relationships. It seems reasonable, though, that programs aimed at promoting positive

romantic relationships should address healthy boundaries and how to communicate

frankly and openly about individual preferences and expectations regarding exclusivity.

The specific program implications revealed in this study may not hold for other

populations, but what this study suggests is that the CTS or other acts scales can be used

to identify meaningful patterns of behavior in many populations. The same clustering

procedure can be applied to individual schools or communities before any TDV programs

are implemented to gauge what the specific needs of the group may be. Theoretically, it

could also be used to identify students who are in need of a targeted intervention and help

inform what type of intervention is most appropriate. For example, the *Yellers* were the

lowest on the use of negotiation relative to other conflict tactics. That may suggest that

this group particularly needs skills training, while another group may benefit more from

activities that enhance self-control.

Strengths and Limitations

This dissertation adds to the limited body of research on IPV typologies. Most

research of this kind has been done using adult, male-only, clinical samples (e.g. Gottman

et al., 1998; Hultzworth-Munroe et al., 2000). The research that does exist in adolescent

samples has exclusively relied on qualitative methods that may be difficult to replicate in

larger samples (Drauker et al., 2012; Foshee et al., 2007). Additionally, this study

addresses TDV among a sample of at-risk youth. Much of the research on TDV has been

conducted with general community samples and less attention has been paid to those

youth most at risk for engaging in interpersonal violence. Finally, while some research on

IPV typologies has attempted to replicate findings across samples, I am unaware of any

studies that address the stability of typologies within the same individuals across relationships.

There are, of course, limitations to this project, which must be considered when drawing conclusions from these data. First, the use of self report data in determining dating violence behaviors always some concern because participants may underreport socially undesirable behaviors. In their meta-analysis, Sugarman and Hotaling (1997) note a low to moderate effect of social desirability on IPV reporting. This relationship may exist, however, because those who are concerned with social desirability are *actually* less likely to abuse their partner (Sugarman & Hotaling,1997). Additionally, self-report data measuring violent or criminal behaviors have been shown to be as accurate as other measures in predicting important outcome variables such as recidivism (e.g. Kroner & Loza, 2001). Finally, unlike criminal behaviors, which can often be measured using criminal records in addition to self report, IPV is something that usually occurs in privacy and, at least among teens, is rarely dealt with by law enforcement (Zosky, 2010). Thus, though not perfect, there may not be a better way to measure IPV.

In addition to reporting on their own violent behavior, the participants are reporting on their partners' behavior, which raises concerns over the degree to which their partners would agree with their recollection of the relationship. For example, the partner's violence might be inflated to downplay their own. However, other studies that have used the CTS with *both* partners found high levels of agreement (70 – 80%) when using the aggregate of individual items (i.e. the subscales; Moffit & Caspi, 1999).

Many have levied criticism against the CTS and other acts scales (e.g. Dobash et al., 1992) for their inability to capture important contextual factors such as who initiated

the violence andwho was the most fearful. Those same criticisms necessarily apply to this study as well. Ideally, we would be able to follow up with a subsample of participants to determine the extent to which many of these relationships truly reflect bidirectional violence. While I and my colleagues who conducted these interviews feel that most of the cases are in fact variations of common couple violence, we did not document this in any systematic way. It may well be that many relationships, especially some of the more violent ones, are really more one-sided than their TDV scores would suggest. Ideally, this study would be replicated including more qualitative questions or even follow-up interviews to calibrate the findings from the CTS scores.

Finally, our relatively small sample and the particular population from which it is drawn may limit generalizability to other groups of adolescents. However, the lack of existing research on TDV in at-risk youth and the potential knowledge to be gained from studying these adolescents makes the benefits of using this sample outweigh the negatives. Nevertheless, it is important to emphasize that these findings may not generalize to more "normative" community samples. Moreover, the very small number of participants in each of the more violent clusters makes it difficult to draw firm conclusions about those groups in particular. Clearly, more research is needed to extend this type of research to larger and more diverse samples. However, even if these particular clusters do not replicate in other samples, this study demonstrates that the CTS can be used as a group diagnostic tool to gauge the unique patterns of violence in a specific population.

Conclusion

Knowing that someone has experienced TDV tells us very little about the nature of his or her relationship. This study one of the first to demonstrate that, by using an acts scale, it is possible to identify a great deal of variability in the types of aggressive relationships youth are experiencing. Across two different relationships, seven distinct clusters of violent relationships were identified that varied both in terms of patterns of violence and associated risk factors. These differences highlight (a) factors that may be helpful in targeting youth for TDV programs, and (b) types of abuse that may indicate varied treatment or prevention plans. While many youth did report high levels and/or one-directional abuse, the vast majority reported less severe, bidirectional violence. This suggests that universal, school-based TDV prevention programs would address the experiences of more people if they focused on common couple violence. By ignoring lower levels of aggression, society tacitly approves of this behavior, which may leave our youth believing that some level of violence is normal or expected in a relationship. Instead of settling for "good enough," researchers and practitioners should work together to develop programming that moves beyond basic risk prevention toward the promotion of happy and healthy relationships, especially for our least privileged youth.

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Appendix

General Delinquency (Self Report of Offending)

Instructions: I'm going to ask whether you or your partner ever participated in certain behaviors. Remember, all of your answers are confidential, that means they are just between you and I, **unless you tell me that you are going to hurt yourself or someone else**. Also, I don't want to know any details about the activities that I am asking you about, just whether you have done any of these things– OK?	

When you were dating _____ [insert partner 1's initials]:		

	Did your partner ever: _p	Did you ever: _s
SRO_r1_1) Run away from home?	❑ No (0) ❑ Yes (1)	❑ No (0) ❑ Yes (1)
SRO_r1_2) Skip class in school?	❑ No (0) ❑ Yes (1)	❑ No (0) ❑ Yes (1)
SRO_r1_3) Sell Marijuana, pot or reefer?	❑ No (0) ❑ Yes (1)	❑ No (0) ❑ Yes (1)
SRO_r1_4) Sell hard drugs other than pot, such as heroin, cocaine, ecstasy or others?	❑ No (0) ❑ Yes (1)	❑ No (0) ❑ Yes (1)
SRO_r1_5) Shoplift or take something from a store without paying for it?	❑ No (0) ❑ Yes (1)	❑ No (0) ❑ Yes (1)
SRO_r1_6) Steal something from a car?	❑ No (0) ❑ Yes (1)	❑ No (0) ❑ Yes (1)
SRO_r1_7) Steal or try to steal a car or a motorcycle to keep or sell?	❑ No (0) ❑ Yes (1)	❑ No (0) ❑ Yes (1)
SRO_r1_8) Carry a gun?	❑ No (0) ❑ Yes (1)	❑ No (0) ❑ Yes (1)
SRO_r1_9) Use a weapon to get money	❑ No (0)	❑ No (0)

or things from people?	☐ Yes (1)	☐ Yes (1)	
SRO_r1_10) Use a weapon (stick, knife, gun, rocks) while fighting with another person?	☐ No (0) ☐ Yes (1)	☐ No (0) ☐ Yes (1)	
SRO_r1_11) Participate in gang activity?	☐ No (0) ☐ Yes (1)	☐ No (0) ☐ Yes (1)	
SRO_r1_12) Get into a fistfight? *NOTE: With anyone except romantic partner.*	☐ No (0) ☐ Yes (1)	☐ No (0) ☐ Yes (1)	

Acceptance of TDV

	Statement	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Somewhat Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
NQ_1	Most couples push or shove each other sometimes. (F, P)	1	2	3	4	5	6
NQ_2	Sometimes, even the person you love deserves to be slapped. (M, P)	1	2	3	4	5	6
NQ_3	Most couples don't experience violence in their relationships. (F, P)	1	2	3	4	5	6
NQ_4	It is ok to say mean things about your partner when he/she makes you mad. (M, V)	1	2	3	4	5	6
NQ_5	Yelling is a common part of romantic relationships for most people. (F, V)	1	2	3	4	5	6
NQ_6	It's not a big deal to push or shove your partner during a fight. (M, P)	1	2	3	4	5	6
NQ_7	Most couples rarely say anything mean about each other. (F, V)	1	2	3	4	5	6
NQ_8	There are times when it is acceptable to use physical force in a relationship. (M, P)	1	2	3	4	5	6
NQ_9	Pushing and shoving is rare for most couples. (F, P)	1	2	3	4	5	6

	Statement	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Somewhat Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
NQ_10	Some hitting or slapping is a common part of romantic conflicts for most couples. *(F, P)*	1	2	3	4	5	6
NQ_11	Some people are just asking to be hit or slapped by their partner. *(M, P)*	1	2	3	4	5	6
NQ_12	Everyone deserves a relationship free from violence. *(M, P)*	1	2	3	4	5	6
NQ_13	It is never ok for someone to make their partner feel bad about themselves. *(M, V)*	1	2	3	4	5	6
NQ_14	It is wrong to do anything to hurt your partner. *(M)*	1	2	3	4	5	6
NQ_15	Everyone says hurtful things to their partner sometimes. *(F, V)*	1	2	3	4	5	6
NQ_16	Most couples never do anything to hurt each other physically. *(F, P)*	1	2	3	4	5	6

Substance Use (DSM –IV)

	Never (0)	1 – 2 days / month (1)	2 – 10 days / month (2)	10 + days / month (3)
[Interviewer Note: If participant or his/her partner were using drugs off and on throughout the relationship, we are interested in how often they were using <u>when they were using the most.</u>]				
Was there EVER a time during this relationship when:	Never (0)	1 – 2 days / month (1)	2 – 10 days / month (2)	10 + days / month (3)
SU_r1_1) **You** were smoking **cigarettes**? If so, how often were you smoking?	0	1	2	3
SU_r1_2) **Your partner** was smoking **cigarettes?** If so, how much was she smoking?	0	1	2	3
SU_r1_3) **You** were drinking **alcohol?** If so, how often were you drinking?	0	1	2	3
SU_r1_4) **Your partner** was drinking **alcohol?** If so,	0	1	2	3

[Interviewer Note: If participant or his/her partner were using drugs off and on throughout the relationship, we are interested in how often they were using when they were using the most.]				
Was there EVER a time during this relationship when:	Never (0)	**1 – 2 days /** month (1)	**2 – 10 days /** month (2)	**10 + days /** month (3)
how often was he/she drinking?				
SU_r1_5) **You** were smoking **weed?** If so, how often were you smoking weed?	0	1	2	3
SU_r1_6) **Your partner** was smoking **weed?** If so, how often was he/she smoking weed?	0	1	2	3
SU_r1_7) **You** were using **other drugs, like cocaine, heroin or ecstasy?** If so, how often were you using these drugs?	0	1	2	3
SU_r1_8) **Your partner** was using **other drugs, like cocaine, heroin or ecstasy?** If so, how often was he/she using these drugs?	0	1	2	3

School Engagement (Behavioral Engagement and Disaffection)

Item	Question	Not at All True	Not Very True	Sort of True	Very True
BE_1	I try hard to do well in school.	1	2	3	4
BD_1	When I'm in class, I just act like I'm working.	1	2	3	4
BD_3	In class, I do just enough to get by.	1	2	3	4
BE_4	I pay attention in class	1	2	3	4
BE_2	In class, I work as hard as I can.	1	2	3	4
BD_4	When I'm in class, I think about other things.	1	2	3	4
BE_3	When I'm in class, I participate in class discussions.	1	2	3	4
BD_5	When I'm in class, my mind wanders.	1	2	3	4
BD_2	I don't try very hard at	1	2	3	4

	school.				
BE_5	When I'm in class, I listen very carefully.	1	2	3	4

Peer Delinquency & Witnessing Peer IPV (Denver Youth Study – Revised)

Instructions. Next, I'm going to ask you some questions about your friends.

In the past **12 months** (1 year):	None	Few	Some	All
Dys_0. How many of your friends have shoplifted or taken something that did not belong to them?	1	2	3	4
Dys_1. How many of your friends purposely damaged or destroyed property that did not belong to them?	1	2	3	4
Dys_2. How many of your friends have hit or threatened someone?	1	2	3	4
Dys_3. How many of your friends have sold drugs?	1	2	3	4
Dys_4. How many of your friends have carried a weapon, like a knife, gun, or brass knuckles?	1	2	3	4
Dys_5. How many of your friends have been in a physical fight?	1	2	3	4
Dys_6. How many of your friends have been hurt in a fight?	1	2	3	4
Wfv_1. How many of your friends have hit or shoved a romantic partner?	1	2	3	4
Wfv_2. How many of your friends have been hit or shoved by a romantic partner?	1	2	3	4

Parent Communication Subscale of the Inventory of Parent and Peer Attachment

Code	Item	Never True	Sometimes True	Almost Always True
IPPA_1	I can't depend on my parents to help me solve a problem.	0	1	2
IPPA_2	I like to get my parents' view on things I'm worried about.	0	1	2
IPPA_3	It does not help to show my feelings when I am upset.	0	1	2

IPPA_4	My parents can tell when I'm upset about something.	0	1	2
IPPA_5	My parents have their own problems, so I don't bother them with mine.	0	1	2
IPPA_6	My parents help me to understand myself better.	0	1	2
IPPA_7	I tell my parents about my problems and troubles.	0	1	2
IPPA_8	My parents support me to talk about my worries.	0	1	2
IPPA_9	I can count on my parents when I need to talk about a problem.	0	1	2
IPPA_1	If my parents know that I am upset about something, they ask me about it.	0	1	2

Parental Monitoring Scale

NOTE: **Ask about parent *and/or* guardian over the past 5 years.**	Almost Never or Never	Once in a While	Sometimes	A lot of the time	Almost Always or Always
PM_1. My parent(s) (legal guardian) usually know what I'm doing after school.	1	2	3	4	5
PM_2. My parent(s) (legal guardian) know how I spend my money.	1	2	3	4	5
PM_3. My parent(s) (legal guardian) know the parents of my friends.	1	2	3	4	5
PM_4. My parent(s) (legal guardian) know who my friends are.	1	2	3	4	5
PM_5. My parent(s) (legal guardian) know	1	2	3	4	5

NOTE: **Ask about parent *and/or* guardian over the past 5 years.**	Almost Never or Never	Once in a While	Sometimes	A lot of the time	Almost Always or Always
where I am after school.					
PM_6. If I'm going to be home late, I'm expected to call my parent(s) (guardian) to let them know.	1	2	3	4	5
PM_7. I tell my parent(s) (legal guardian) whom I'm going to be with before I go out.	1	2	3	4	5
PM_8. When I go out at night, my parent(s) (legal guardian) know where I am.	1	2	3	4	5
PM_9. I talk to my parent(s) (legal guardian) about the plans I have with friends.	1	2	3	4	5
PM_10. When I go out, my parent(s) (legal guardian) ask me where I'm going.	1	2	3	4	5

Parental Abuse or Neglect (Family Background Questionnaire)

Please answer how often your mother, father, and another adult did these things to you:	"0" **never happened.** "1" **happened a few times.** "2" **happened sometimes.** "3" **happened often or very often.**
FBQ_1. Showed you affection (for example, hugged you, said "I love you"). (PC)	Mother: 0 1 2 3 Father: 0 1 2 3

Please answer how often your mother, father, and another adult did these things to you:	"0" never happened. "1" happened a few times. "2" happened sometimes. "3" happened often or very often.
	Other adult: 0 1 2 3
FBQ_2. Kept your home clean. (CN)	Mother: 0 1 2 3 Father: 0 1 2 3 Other adult: 0 1 2 3
FBQ_3. Threatened to stop loving you. (PA/TA)	Mother: 0 1 2 3 Father: 0 1 2 3 Other adult: 0 1 2 3
FBQ_4. Spent time with you in recreational or fun activities. (PC)	Mother: 0 1 2 3 Father: 0 1 2 3 Other adult: 0 1 2 3
FBQ_5. Spanked you very strongly. (CPA)	Mother: 0 1 2 3 Father: 0 1 2 3 Other adult: 0 1 2 3
FBQ_6. Told you that you were a burden, were unwanted (for example, said "I wish you were never born"). (PA)	Mother: 0 1 2 3 Father: 0 1 2 3 Other adult: 0 1 2 3
FBQ_7. Offered comfort and reassurance to you when you were upset.(PC)	Mother: 0 1 2 3 Father: 0 1 2 3 Other adult: 0 1 2 3
FBQ_8. Provided proper supervision for you when he/she was absent (for example, got a babysitter) (CN)	Mother: 0 1 2 3 Father: 0 1 2 3 Other adult: 0 1 2 3
FBQ_9. Made sure you got proper medical attention (for example, took you to the doctor when you were sick, gave you medicine when you needed it, etc.). (CN)	Mother: 0 1 2 3 Father: 0 1 2 3 Other adult: 0 1 2 3
FBQ_11. Encouraged or helped you to do things with other kids your age (e.g., let you play with them, let you join clubs or sports teams). (PC)	Mother: 0 1 2 3 Father: 0 1 2 3 Other adult: 0 1 2 3
FBQ_12. Exposed you to criminal activities or things that were "wrong" (for example, taking drugs, breaking into houses). (V/D)	Mother: 0 1 2 3 Father: 0 1 2 3 Other adult: 0 1 2 3

Please answer how often your mother, father, and another adult did these things to you:	"0" never happened. "1" happened a few times. "2" happened sometimes. "3" happened often or very often.
FBQ_13. Fed you properly (e.g., well balanced meals, enough to eat, etc.) (CN)	Mother: 0 1 2 3 Father: 0 1 2 3 Other adult: 0 1 2 3
FBQ_14. Spoke to you in a very hostile, critical, or sarcastic tone of voice. (PA)	Mother: 0 1 2 3 Father: 0 1 2 3 Other adult: 0 1 2 3
FBQ_15. Was unpredictable in the way they punished you, in such a way that you didn't know why or when you would be punished. (PA)	Mother: 0 1 2 3 Father: 0 1 2 3 Other adult: 0 1 2 3
FBQ_16. Hit, punched or kicked you. (CPA)	Mother: 0 1 2 3 Father: 0 1 2 3 Other adult: 0 1 2 3
FBQ_17. Generally paid attention to you (for example, listened when you said something). (PC)	Mother: 0 1 2 3 Father: 0 1 2 3 Other adult: 0 1 2 3
FBQ_18. Put down or said bad or insulting things about someone you cared about (for example, your other parent or your friends, etc.) (PA)	Mother: 0 1 2 3 Father: 0 1 2 3 Other adult: 0 1 2 3
FBQ_19. Had regular household routines (e.g., a set time for dinner, curfew, etc.) (PC)	Mother: 0 1 2 3 Father: 0 1 2 3 Other adult: 0 1 2 3
FBQ_20. Threw you against something. (V/D, CPA)	Mother: 0 1 2 3 Father: 0 1 2 3 Other adult: 0 1 2 3
FBQ_21. Threatened to abandon you or have you taken away. (PA)	Mother: 0 1 2 3 Father: 0 1 2 3 Other adult: 0 1 2 3
FBQ_22. Insulted you, put you down (for example, called you stupid, lazy, worthless) or called you names (for example, slut or bastard). (PA)	Mother: 0 1 2 3 Father: 0 1 2 3 Other adult: 0 1 2 3

Please answer how often your mother, father, and another adult did these things to you:	"0" never happened. "1" happened a few times. "2" happened sometimes. "3" happened often or very often.
FBQ_23. Helped you with things that were important to you (for example, homework, sports, etc.) (PC)	Mother: 0 1 2 3 Father: 0 1 2 3 Other adult: 0 1 2 3
FBQ_24. Destroyed or threatened to destroy something you valued. (V/D)	Mother: 0 1 2 3 Father: 0 1 2 3 Other adult: 0 1 2 3
FBQ_25. Sexually assaulted you or made you be involved in unwanted sexual experiences.	Mother: 0 1 2 3 Father: 0 1 2 3 Other adult: 0 1 2 3

Witnessing Parental Violence

Instructions: Sometimes your family may do things that are helpful, but sometimes they may do things that are hurtful too. This questionnaire asks how often these things may have happened to you. Some of these questions might make you feel uncomfortable or remind you of unpleasant things, but please be as honest as you can. Remember, we can skip any question that you don't feel comfortable answering.

		Never	1-3 times	4-9 times	10+ times
wpv_Tm)	How many times have you seen your **mother** (or any mother-figure) get **hit by** her romantic partner?	1	2	3	4
wpv_Bm)	How many times have you seen your **mother** (or any mother-figure) **hit** her romantic partner?	1	2	3	4
wpv2_5)	How often has your **mother** (or any mother-figure) been **insulted or sworn** at by a romantic partner?	1	2	3	4
wpv2_6)	How often has your **mother** (or any mother-figure) **insulted or sworn at** her romantic partner?	1	2	3	4
wpv2_7)	How often has your **mother** (or any mother-figure) been **pushed or shoved** by a romantic partner?	1	2	3	4
		Never	1-3 times	4-9 times	10+ times
wpv2_8)	How often has your **mother** (or any mother-figure) **pushed or shoved** a romantic partner?	1	2	3	4

wpv_Tf)	How many times have you seen your **father** (or any father-figure) get **hit by** his romantic partner?	1	2	3	4
wpv_Bf)	How many times have you seen your **father** (or any father-figure) **hit** his romantic partner?	1	2	3	4
wpv2_9)	How often has your **father** (or any father-figure) been **insulted or sworn** at by his romantic partner?	1	2	3	4
wpv2_10)	How often has your **father** (or any father-figure) **insulted or sworn** at his romantic partner?	1	2	3	4
wpv2_11)	How often has your **father** (or any father-figure) been **pushed or shoved** by a romantic partner?	1	2	3	4
wpv2_12)	How often has your **father** (or any father-figure) **pushed or shoved** a romantic partner?	1	2	3	4

Frequency of Contact with Biological Parents

How often do you see or talk to your **biological** ("real", "natural") mother?

Never	Once a year or less	About once a month or every few months	A few times per month	Several times a week	Almost everyday
1	2	3	4	5	6

How often do you see or talk to your **biological** ("real", "natural") father?

Never	Once a year or less	About once a month or every few months	A few times per month	Several times a week	Almost everyday
1	2	3	4	5	6

Hands Depression Scale

	Over the past 2 weeks, how often have you:	**Never** or **Little** of the time	**Some** of the time	**Most** of the time	**All** of the time
D1	Been feeling low in energy, slowed down?	0	1	2	3
D2	Been blaming yourself for things?	0	1	2	3
D3	Had poor appetite?	0	1	2	3
D4	Had difficulty falling asleep, or	0	1	2	3

	staying asleep?				
D5	Been feeling hopeless about the future?	0	1	2	3
D6	Been feeling blue?	0	1	2	3
D7	Been feeling no interest in things?	0	1	2	3
D8	Had feelings of worthlessness?	0	1	2	3
D9	Had difficulty concentrating or making decisions?	0	1	2	3

Agency subscale of the HOPE scale

Now I'm going to read you some statements. Using the scale shown here, please select the number that best describes YOU.		Definitely False	Mostly False	Mostly True	Definitely True
HOPE_2	I energetically pursue my goals.	1	2	3	4
HOPE_4	I can think of many ways to get the things in life that are most important to me.	1	2	3	4
HOPE_6	My past experiences have prepared me well for my future.	1	2	3	4
HOPE_8	I meet the goals that I set for myself.	1	2	3	4