

GENDER SYMMETRY IN PREVALENCE, SEVERITY, AND CHRONICITY OF PHYSICAL AGGRESSION AGAINST DATING PARTNERS BY UNIVERSITY STUDENTS IN MEXICO AND USA *

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* Paper presented at the XV World Meeting of the International Society For Research On Aggression, Montreal, Canada, 30 July 2002 and to appear in a forthcoming book edited by Steven Fine of Williams Collge, to be published by Erlbaum. For other publications on the Internatinal Dating Vioelnce Study and related issues, log into [HTTP://pubpages.unh.edu/~mas2](http://pubpages.unh.edu/~mas2). The work has been supported by National Institute of Mental Health grant T32MH15161 and by the University of New Hampshire.

Abstract

The paper reports results from analyses of the first four samples of the International Dating Violence Study: university students in Ciudad Juarez, Mexico, Mexican Americans and Non-Mexican Whites in El Paso and Lubbock Texas, and New Hampshire (N = 1,544). The percent reporting violence was high in all samples, but also differed significantly between samples. The lowest rate was in New Hampshire (29.7%), followed by Texas, Non-Mexican Whites (30.9%), Texas Mexican American (34.2%), and the highest rate was in Juarez (46.1%). When only severe assaults were compared, the differences between samples was similar, i.e., lowest in New Hampshire and highest in Juarez. In all four samples, there was no significant difference between males and females in either the overall prevalence of physical aggression or the prevalence of severe attacks. Among the 553 couples where one or both of the partners were violent, in almost three quarters of the cases (71.2%) there was gender symmetry in the sense that both partners engaged in this type of behavior. When only one partner was violent, this was twice as likely to be the female partner (19.0%) as the male partner (9.8%). Among the 205 couples where there was an act of severe aggression, symmetry was less prevalent (56.6%), but when only one partner was violent, it was again twice as likely to be the female partner (29.8% female only versus 13.7 male partner only). These results are consistent with the gender symmetry in IPV found by more than 100 previous studies. They extend those results by showing that gender symmetry prevails in four different cultural contexts. The presence of gender symmetry in these different cultural contexts, combined with studies showing that women are injured more often and more seriously by partner-assaults, and studies showing that women initiate IPV as often as men, suggests that programs and policies aimed at primary prevention of IPV by women are crucial to ending IPV and for reducing the victimization of women.

A controversial issue in research on intimate partner violence (IPV) is whether this type of assault is primarily a crime perpetrated by men. A previous paper on this issue (Straus 1999) shows that when the statistics are based on data from the police or from surveys on crime victimization from 70 to 95% of IPV perpetrators are men. On the other hand, the results of more than 100 studies based on data from surveys of family problems and conflicts show that "...women are as physically aggressive, or more aggressive, than men in their relationships... The aggregate sample size in the reviewed studies exceeds 58,000." (see also Archer 2000; Fiebert 1997, pp. 273). The reason police and crime survey data show IPV to be a crime by males and surveys of conflicts between partners in a couple relationship show that it is usually symmetrical or mutual were analyzed in a previous paper (Straus 1999) and will not be repeated here. Rather, this study is intended to move beyond tabulating the percent of men and women who had assaulted a partner during the time period covered by the study (typically the past year) by providing information on important additional aspects of IPV such as the severity and chronicity of the assaults. Specifically, the purposes are:

- To determine the degree to which gender symmetry in IPV is found in the diverse socio-cultural contexts represented by the first four samples in the International Dating Violence Study.
- To provide more detailed data on gender symmetry by:
 - * Classifying couples into three groups: Mutual Violence, Male Partner Only, and Female Partner Only.
 - * Providing data on the severity and the Chronicity of the attacks by each partner.
- To compare results based on data provided by male and female respondents.

METHODS

Samples.

The data for this paper come from the first four samples of the International Dating Violence Study for which data became available. A description of the study and a copy of the questionnaire used is available on the website <http://pubpages.unh.edu/~mas2>. The data were obtained by administering questionnaires to students in introductory sociology and psychology classes at the Universidad Autonoma de Ciudad Juarez, Mexico, University of Texas at El Paso, Texas Technological University, and the University of New Hampshire.

The data were gathered using procedures reviewed by and approved by the boards for protection of human subjects at each of these universities. The purpose of the study and the students right to not participate were explained orally as well as in printed form at the beginning of each session. Participants were told that the questionnaire asked about their attitudes, beliefs, and experiences they may have had, and that the questionnaire includes questions on sensitive issues, including sexual relationships. They were assured of anonymity and confidentiality. A debriefing form was given to each participant as they left. The form explained the study in more detail and provided names and telephone numbers of area mental health services and community resources such as services for battered women. Although 1,554 students completed the questionnaire, as in other surveys, not everyone answered every question. Indeed, to respect the privacy and the voluntary nature of participation the instructions emphasized that respondents were free to omit any question they did not wish to answer. One hundred and eight students (6.9%) did not answer all the questions on violence against a partner. The number of cases analyzed was 1,446 for most of the analyses. However, some analyses are based on as few as 159 cases because they were restricted to the relatively small proportion of respondents who severely assaulted a partner (see below).

The characteristics of the students in each of the samples are given in Table 1. A much larger percent of the students in the New Hampshire and Juarez samples were in their first year at the university and they are younger than either of the Texas sample. This could result in a spurious finding of higher rates of violence in New Hampshire and Juarez because IPV decreases sharply with age. Consequently, where possible, the analysis controlled for age of the respondent. This also served to control other differences in Table 1 that are correlated with age, such as the length of the relationship, a relationship involving sex, and cohabitation.

(Insert Table 1 about here)

Measures Of Physical Assault.

The revised Conflict Tactics Scales or CTS2 (Straus et al. 1996) was used to measure physical assault by the respondent. The CTS has been used in over a hundred studies of both married and dating partners in the past 25 years and there is extensive evidence of reliability and validity (Archer 1999; Straus 1990). The CTS2 has scales to measure Physical Assault, Injury, Sexual Coercion, Psychological Aggression, and Negotiation. The analyses in this paper used data from the Physical Assault scale. The following scores were computed:

Prevalence. Prevalence refers to the percent of respondents who carried out one or more of the physically 12 acts of physical assault in the CTS in the previous 12 months.

Severity. The CTS2 includes subscales for two levels of severity. The Minor Assault scale includes acts such as slapping or throwing something at the partner. The Severe Assault scale includes acts such as punching and choking. The difference between the minor and

severe subscales is analogous to the legal categories of simple assault and aggravated assault. See Straus et al (1996) for a complete list of the CTS questions and for data on validity and reliability.

Severity Level. A problem with the Minor Assault scale is that some of the respondents who reported minor assaults probably also carried out more severe attacks on a partner. In order to have a variable in which the two are mutually exclusive, respondents were classified into one of three categories: 1 = None, 2 = Minor Only, i.e. one or more acts of minor violence and no instance of severe violence, and 3 = Severe. The Severity Level variable is also used as an ordinal measure of the severity of violence.

Chronicity. The CTS asks respondents to indicate how many times in the previous year they have either perpetrated or been victim of each of the acts in the scale. Chronicity was calculated only for respondents who reported at least one instance of physical assault. Chronicity therefore indicates the number of times that subjects who were physically aggressive to a partner carried out acts of physical aggression. The rationale of the chronicity measure is given in Straus (Straus 2000).

Symmetry Types. Three types were identified: *Male-only* refers to couples in which violence in the relationship was perpetrated only by the male partner. *Female-only* violence refers to couples where the only violence in the relationship was perpetrated by the female partner. *Both* refers to couples in which both the male and female partner committed at least one of the acts of physical assault in the previous 12 months. The CTS makes this classification possible because respondents are asked to indicate how often they did each of the act in the CTS and how often their partner did.

Social Desirability Response Bias Scale. Criminological research that uses self-report data needs to take into account defensiveness or minimization of socially undesirable behavior. We did this by using the Social Desirability scale of the PRP (Straus, Hamby, Boney-McCoy, and Sugarman 1999; Straus and Mouradian 1999). This is a 13 item version of the widely used Crown-Marlow social desirability scale developed by Reynolds (Reynolds 1982). The scale measures the degree to which respondents tend to avoid disclosing socially undesirable behavior such partner-assault and other crime.

Socioeconomic Status Scale. This scale was created by summing the scores for the education of the respondent's father and mother (each with a possible score of 1-7) and family income (with possible scores of 1-9). The theoretical range of the resulting scale is 2-23 and this was also the observed range. For each sample, the items were first transformed to Z scores and then summed to create the scale, and the sum was then transformed to a Z score. Thus, in each sample, the score of a respondent indicates the number of standard deviations above or below the mean of respondents in that sample.

Data Analysis.

Chi-square was used to test hypotheses concerning the Symmetry Types because these are nominal categories. Analysis of covariance was used to test hypotheses concerning severity level and Chronicity. The ANCOVA controlled for scores on the age of the respondent, social desirability scale score, and socioeconomic status scale score.

RESULTS

Prevalence Of Assaulting A Dating Partner.

Combined Samples. A third of the students (33.7%) reported an act of physical aggression against a dating partner in the previous 12 months. This is consistent with many other studies of violence by university students against a dating partner (Sugarman and Hotaling 1989). Recent examples are the rates for two samples of students at Washington State University (Katz, Washington Kuffel, and Coblentz 2002). The rate for the first sample (N = 283) was 47%. The rate for the second sample (N = 123) was 33%.

Sample Differences. The percent reporting violence was high in all four samples, but also differed significantly between samples (Chi-square (df = 6, N = 1446) = 29.258, $p < .001$). The lowest rate was in New Hampshire (29.7%), followed by Texas, Non-Mexican Whites (30.9%), Texas Mexican American (34.2), and the highest rate was in Juarez (46.1).

(Insert Table 2 about here)

Gender Differences. Although there were significant differences between samples, within each of the four samples, the row in Table 2 for Overall Violence, Prevalence shows that the rates for males and females were similar and not statistically significant (see). Thus, the four samples analyzed in this paper, like the more than a hundred couple conflict studies mentioned in the introduction, had similar rates of partner-assault by men and women.

Severity Of Assaults.

The similar rates of assault a partner by men and women could be misleading because the overall rate combines minor acts such as slapping and throwing things with more severe assaults involving punching, kicking, choking, etc. It is possible that the overall rate could be equal, but at the same time a larger proportion of the assaults by men could be in the form of attacks that are more likely to result in an injury. This possibility was investigated by examining severe assaults separately.

Combined Samples. More than one out of ten students (11.4%) reported severely attacking a partner (acts such as punching, kicking, or choking).

Sample Differences. The samples differed significantly in the rate of severe violence. The differences were similar to the difference for the overall violence rate, i.e., lowest in New Hampshire and highest in Juarez (Chi square (df = 3, N = 1449) = 8.365, $p .039$).

Gender Differences. The row for Severe Violence, Prevalence in Table 2 shows that the rates are almost identical for men and women and that what little differences there is, is in the form of slightly higher rates of severe assault by women. Thus, the similarity between men and women in the overall rate of violence against a partner also applies to severe attacks.

(Insert Figure 1 about here)

Figure 1 provides another way of examining gender differences in severity. It was created by computing the mean score on the Severity Level variable for men and women. This score ranges from 0 for No-Violence in the previous 12 months, to 1 for Minor Only, and 2 for Severe Violence. Figure 1 shows that although there are differences between samples, within each of the four samples, there is little difference between males and females in severity level.

The analysis of covariance statistics in Figure 1 indicate that there is a significant difference between sites but not between men and women.

Gender Symmetry In Assaults.

Combined Samples. Among the 553 couples where one or both of the partners were violent, in almost three quarters of the cases (71.2%%) there was gender symmetry in the sense that both partners engaged in this type of behavior. When only one partner was violent, this was more than twice as likely to be the female partner (19.0%) as the male partner (9.8%). Among the 205 couples where there was an act of severe aggression, symmetry was less prevalent (56.6%), but when only one partner was violent, it was again twice as likely to be the female partner (29.8% female only versus 13.7 male partner only)

(Insert Figure 2 about here)

The tendency in these four samples of women to more often be the only violent partner differs from the results of studies of married and cohabiting couples in the general population. General population studies tend to show that, when there is violence by only one partner, it is as likely to be the male partner as the female partner. Data for the nationally representative sample of couples in Figure 2 shows almost identical rates of partner assault by males and females, except for the youngest couples. At ages 18-19, the rate for women is 47% greater than the rate for men. At age 20-24 women exceed men by 18%, and by age 25-29 women have only a five percent higher rate. From there through age 70 and over, the rate of assaulting a partner is almost identical for men and women. A meta analysis by Archer in Chapter ?? comparing results from 37 studies of college students with 27 studies of community samples, found that the rate of IPV by women exceeded the male rate only very slightly, i.e., there was symmetry. However, among the students, the female rate was greater than the rate of IPV by males. It seems that the younger the partner, the more the female rate of assaulting a partner exceeds the rate for males. If that generalization is correct, the tendency in this sample of students for women to more often be the only violent partner probably reflects the youthfulness of the sample.

(Insert Figures 3 and 4 about here)

Sample Differences. Comparing the samples in respect to gender symmetry in the overall assault rate, Figure 3 shows some differences, but they are not large enough to be statistically dependable. Consequently, the pattern of predominantly mutual violence described above was found to apply in all four samples. However, Figure 4 shows significant differences between samples for severe assaults. The most important difference is that students in the New Hampshire sample had by far the lowest percentage in the Both category, and the highest percentage in the Female Only category. The high percentage in the Female Only category in New Hampshire could reflect the operation of two principles.

One principle is the “convergence theory” of crime by women. This theory holds that that as women become equal in other spheres of life, they will also tend to become more equal in respect to committing crime (Adler 1975; Steffensmeier and Allan 1996). The data for New Hampshire fits the convergence theory because New Hampshire has the highest degree of equality between women and men of the four samples (Sugarman and Straus 1988).

A second principle is the cost-benefit theory formulated by John Archer in Chapter ?? of this book, namely that “...sex differences in partner aggression follow the perceived costs and benefits of physically aggressing in that social setting.” In patriarchal social settings, violation

of the male dominance principle in any form, and specifically by hitting a male partner, is likely to elicit severe physical retaliation (Figueredo, Corral-Verdugo, Frias-Armenta, Bachar, White, McNeill, Kirsner, and Castell-Ruiz 2001; Smuts 1992). However, the social context in New Hampshire is almost the opposite. Women at the University of New Hampshire, women tend to come from high education and high income families (see Table 1). Because of the small size of the state, many students live at home and even those living on campus are usually less than an hour from their home. They are thus in relatively protected positions. Perhaps most important, women in New Hampshire have a relatively high degree of equality with men (Sugarman and Straus 1988) and physical violence against female partners is relatively low compared to other states of the USA (Straus 1994). These characteristics may lower the costs women perceive of hitting a partner, and thus alter the cost-benefit ratio enough to produce a higher rate of violence by women than in the other samples.

Although the large percent of “Female Only” couples in New Hampshire may seem to fit the convergence and cost-benefit theories of gender differences in IPV, the statistics for the other three samples and the data on the chronicity of severe violence by women presented below do not follow this pattern. This chapter is based on only the first four of the more than 30 countries that will ultimately be included in International Dating Violence Study. When data from more countries becomes available, these two theories will be examined in depth.

Chronicity Of Assaults.

Combined Samples. The results from these four samples, show that, among the couples where there was violence, it was not usually a one-time occurrence. Students who were physically aggressive to a partner carried out a mean of 14.7 acts of physical aggression in the previous 12 months. However, the mean overstates the typical pattern because of a relatively few cases in which violence occurred once a week or more, including a few where it was almost daily. Therefore, the median of four times in the previous year gives a better picture of the typical pattern of violence between dating couples.

A surprising finding was that average number of severe assaults (15.6) and the median number of severe assaults (4) was just about the same as for the total assault scale. This means that when there was severe violence, it also tended to be more severe in the sense of more chronic.

Gender Differences. There was no significant difference between males and females in the chronicity of physical aggression overall. However, when severe assaults were considered separately, men hit their partner more than twice as frequently as women (mean of 21.9 times versus 9.3 times). The median for severe violence by men was 4 times in the previous year and for women three times. The large difference between the mean and the median indicates that for both men and women, but especially for men, the high mean score reflects a large influence of a relatively few extremely violent individuals. Regardless of whether the mean or median is used, men who severely attacked their partner during the 12 month period covered by this study tended to do so more often than did the women who engaged in severe assaults.

(Insert Figure 5 about here)

Sample Differences. Figure 5 shows that, in all four samples, men who were severely violent did so much more often than women who were severely violent. The difference between men and women is very large in New Hampshire because in that sample, women who engaged in severe assaults on a partner did it much less frequently than severely violent women in the other samples. Given the small number of severe assault cases, this result could be an example of random fluctuation in rare events based on relatively small samples.

Methodological Issues.

The measure of gender symmetry was based on the questionnaire completed by one partner reporting on both their own behavior and the behavior of the partner. This procedure is open to the possibility that what seems to be symmetry could really be the result of men underreporting their violent behavior. To examine this possibility the Gender Symmetry measure was cross-tabulated by the sex of the respondent. Figure 6 shows no significant difference in gender symmetry based on reports by male and female partners.

(Insert Figure 6 about here)

Another possible source of error is the tendency for some respondents to be more forthcoming than others. This could result in finding relationships that are spurious because the scores reflect individual-to-individual differences in reluctance to reveal unflattering information. There may also be confounding with socioeconomic status. To control for these two sources of error, these variables were included as covariates in an analysis of covariance. The results showed that although the self-reported physical aggression is correlated with score on a social desirability response bias scale, the differences between males and females and between sites reported above remain after controlling for social desirability and for the socioeconomic status of the students parents.

DISCUSSION

The results of this study provide strong evidence of gender symmetry in respect to violence against a dating partner. First, the results were similar in four different samples with large difference in the socio-cultural setting. Second, the results showing gender symmetry and differences between samples remained after controlling for the age of the respondent, the severity and chronicity of violence, and controlling for socioeconomic status and for social desirability response bias. An important exception to the pattern of gender symmetry was that, among the subgroup of respondents who committed one or more acts of severe violence, men in all four samples did it significantly more often than women. Finally, there is agreement between results based on data provided by males and females.

These results have important implications for the methodology of research on IPV, and for primary prevention of IPV. In respect to methodology, the results show that male or female respondents provide equivalent results. This suggest that either partner can be the source of the data in research on IPV in non-clinical populations. The parallel results in each of the four cultural settings suggests that the Conflict Tactics Scales is appropriate for use in cross-cultural research.

The robustness of the results indicted above, and the consistency of the results with many previous studies showing gender symmetry in IPV, adds urgency to the need for steps to extend efforts at primary and secondary prevention of IPV to women offenders. Also relevant are the studies showing that women initiate IPV as often as men (Archer 2000; Straus 1999)k and the studies showing that women are injured more often and more seriously than men. Consequently, programs and policies aimed at primary prevention of IPV by women are crucial for reducing the victimization of women.

The current situation is the opposite. Almost all primary and secondary prevention efforts are based on the assumption that IPV is perpetrated primarily by men. There are several reasons for this false assumption. First, programs to end IPV were initiated by and continue to be a major effort of the women's movement. Another reason is that women are much more likely to be physically, psychologically, and economically injured (Stets and Straus 1990) than

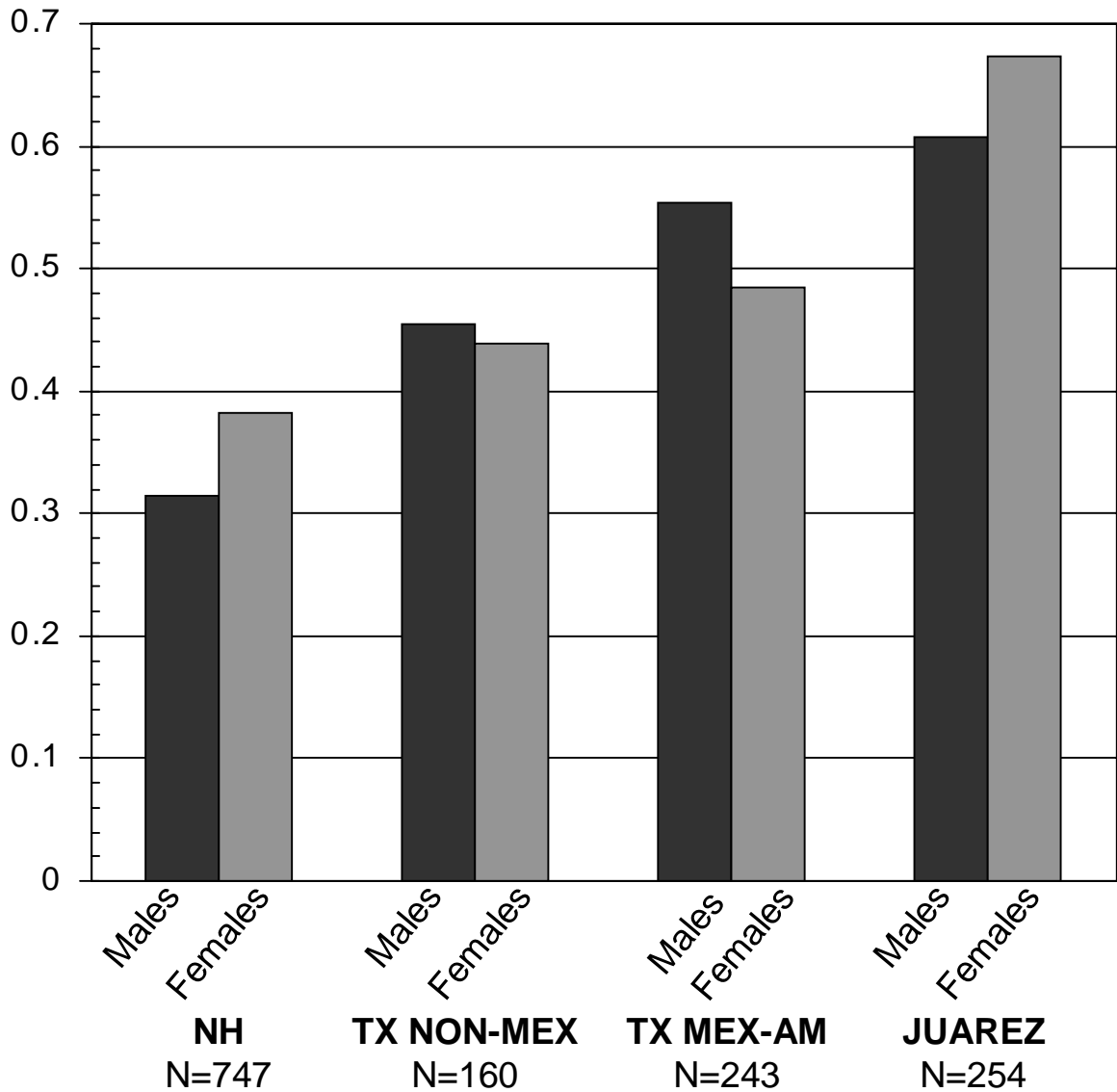
men. Finally, about 90% of assaults and murders outside the family are perpetrated by men and it is easy to assume that this must also apply to IPV.

IPV by men, but not by women has been decreasing since the mid 1970's but assaults by women on male partners have stayed about the same (Smithey and Straus In Press, 2003, Figures 1 to 4). The failure of prevention and treatment programs to address IPV by women may partly explain why IPV by men has decreased, but IPV by women has remained constant [Smithey, In Press, 2003 #5500].

Rather than ignoring assaults by female partners, primary prevention of IPV requires strong efforts to end assaults by women. A fundamental reason is the intrinsic moral wrong of assaulting a spouse, as expressed in the fact that such assaults are criminal acts, even when no injury occurs. A second reason is the unintended validation by women of the traditional cultural norms tolerating a certain level of violence between spouses. A third reason is the danger of escalation when wives engage in "harmless" minor violence. Feld and Straus (1989) found that if both partners were violent, it increased the probability that assaults are likely to persist or escalate in severity over the two year period of their study; whereas if only one partner engaged in physical attacks, the probability of a subsequent violence decreased. Finally, when a woman assaults her partner, it "models" violence for the children and therefore contributes to IPV in the next generation. The modeling effect is as strong for assaults by women as is assaults by men (Jaffe, Wolfe, and Wilson 1990; Straus 1983; Straus, Gelles, and Steinmetz 1980; Straus and Yodanis 1996).

Although it is essential that primary and secondary prevention of IPV include a major focus on violence by women as well as men, the needed change must be made with extreme care for a number of reasons. First, it must be done in ways that simultaneously refute the idea that violence by women justifies or excuses violence by their partners. Second, although women may assault partners at approximately the same rate as men, assaults by men usually inflict greater physical, financial, and emotional injury. This means that male violence against women is typically results in more severe victimization. Thus, a focus on protecting and assisting female victims must remain a priority. Finally, in many societies women lack full economic, social, political, and human rights. In such cultural contexts, equality for women needs to be given priority as an even more fundamental aspect of primary prevention of IPV. Otherwise focusing on IPV by women can further exacerbate the oppression of women in those societies.

Figure 1. Mean Severity Of Assault
by Males and Females in Four Samples



Controlling for Age, SES and Social Desirability.

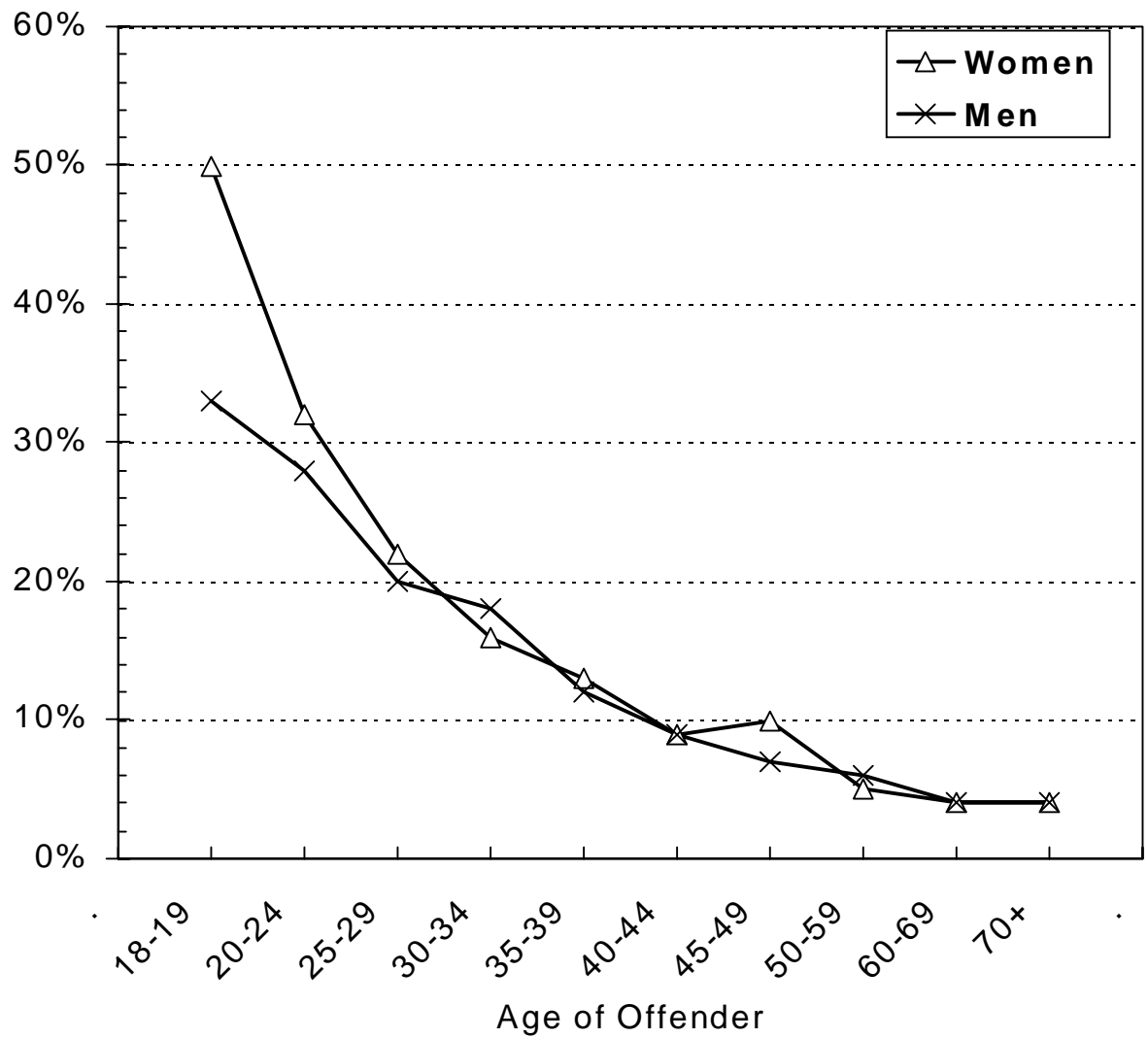
$F(\text{Gender}) = 0.073, p .778$; $F(\text{Sample}) = 8.111, p .001$;

$F(\text{interaction}) = 0.697, p .554$

N for Males = 447 (NH=240, TX Non-Mex=68, TX Mex-Am=94, Juarez=45)

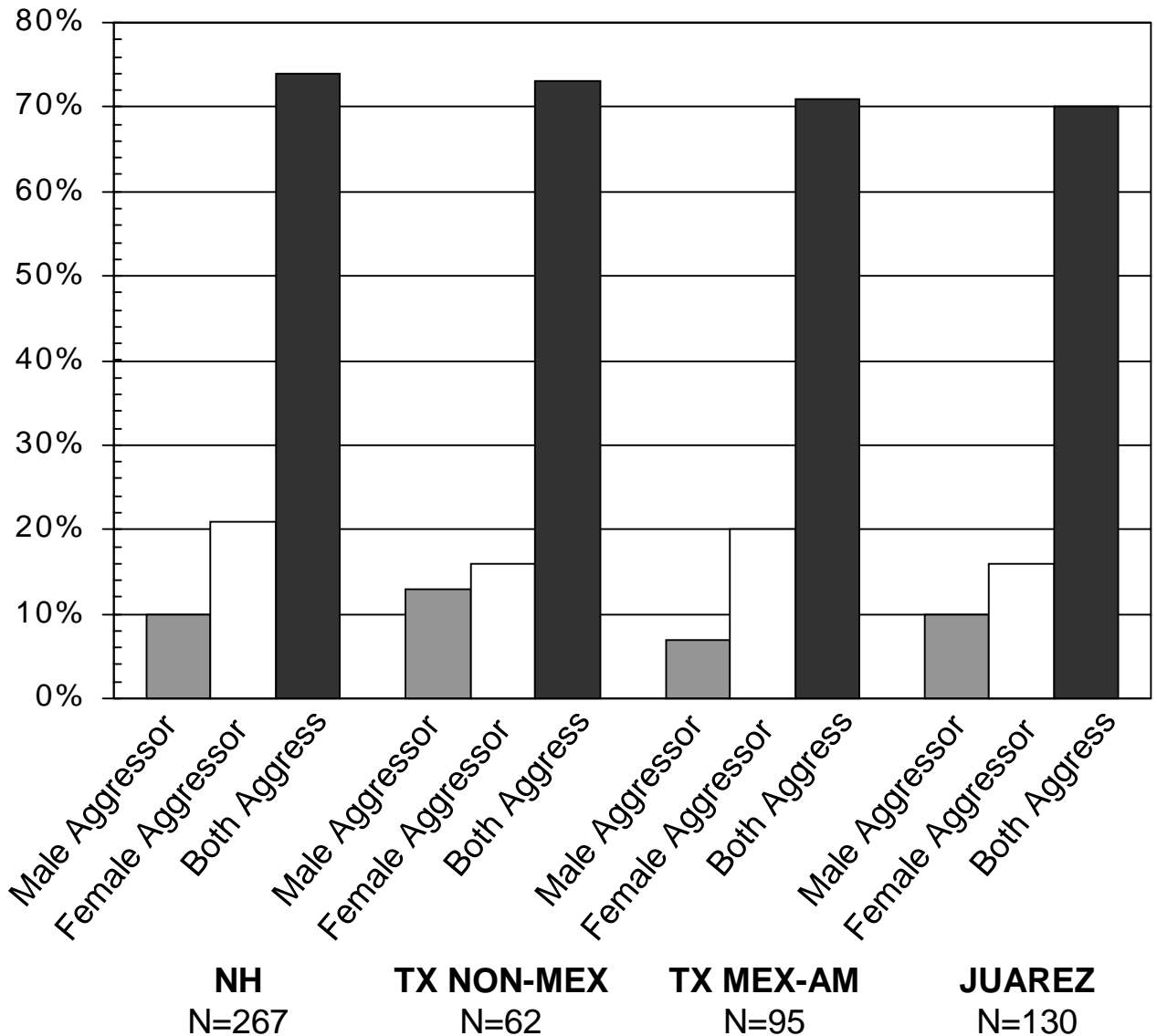
N for Females = 957 (NH=507, TX Non-Mex=92, TX Mex-Am=149, Juarez=209)

Fig. 2. Partner Assault Rates By Age and Sex of Offender



National Family Violence Survey, 1985. N = 5,229.

Fig. 3. Couple Type By Sample (All Assaults)



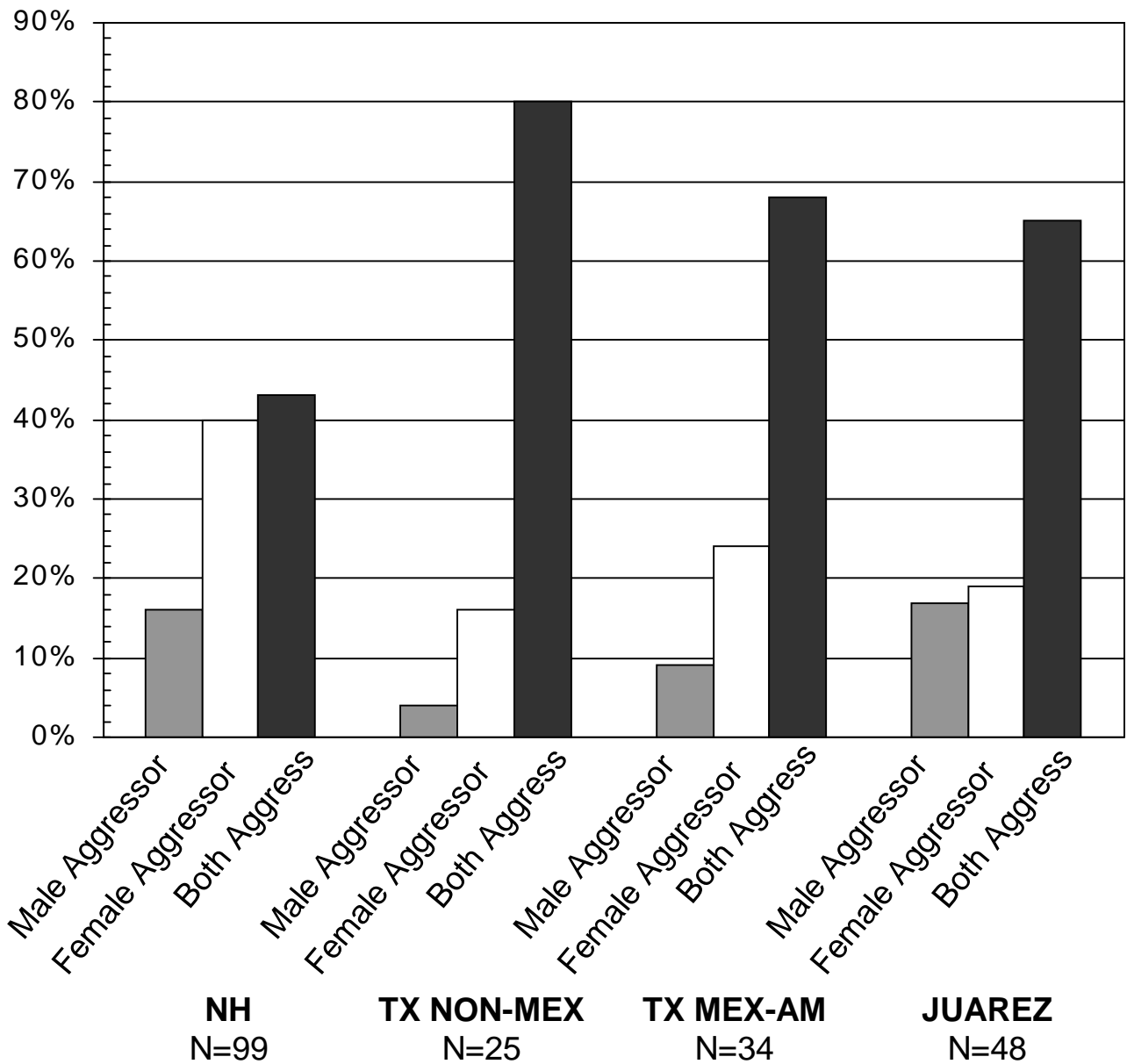
Chi-squared = 2.672, p .849

N for Male Aggressors = 54 (NH=26, TX Non-Mex=8, TX Mex-Am=7, Juarez=13)

N for Female Aggressors = 105 (NH=55, TX Non-Mex=10, TX Mex-Am=19, Juarez=21)

N for Both = 395 (NH=186, TX Non-Mex=44, TX Mex-Am=69, Juarez=96)

Fig. 4. Couple Type By Sample (Severe Assaults)



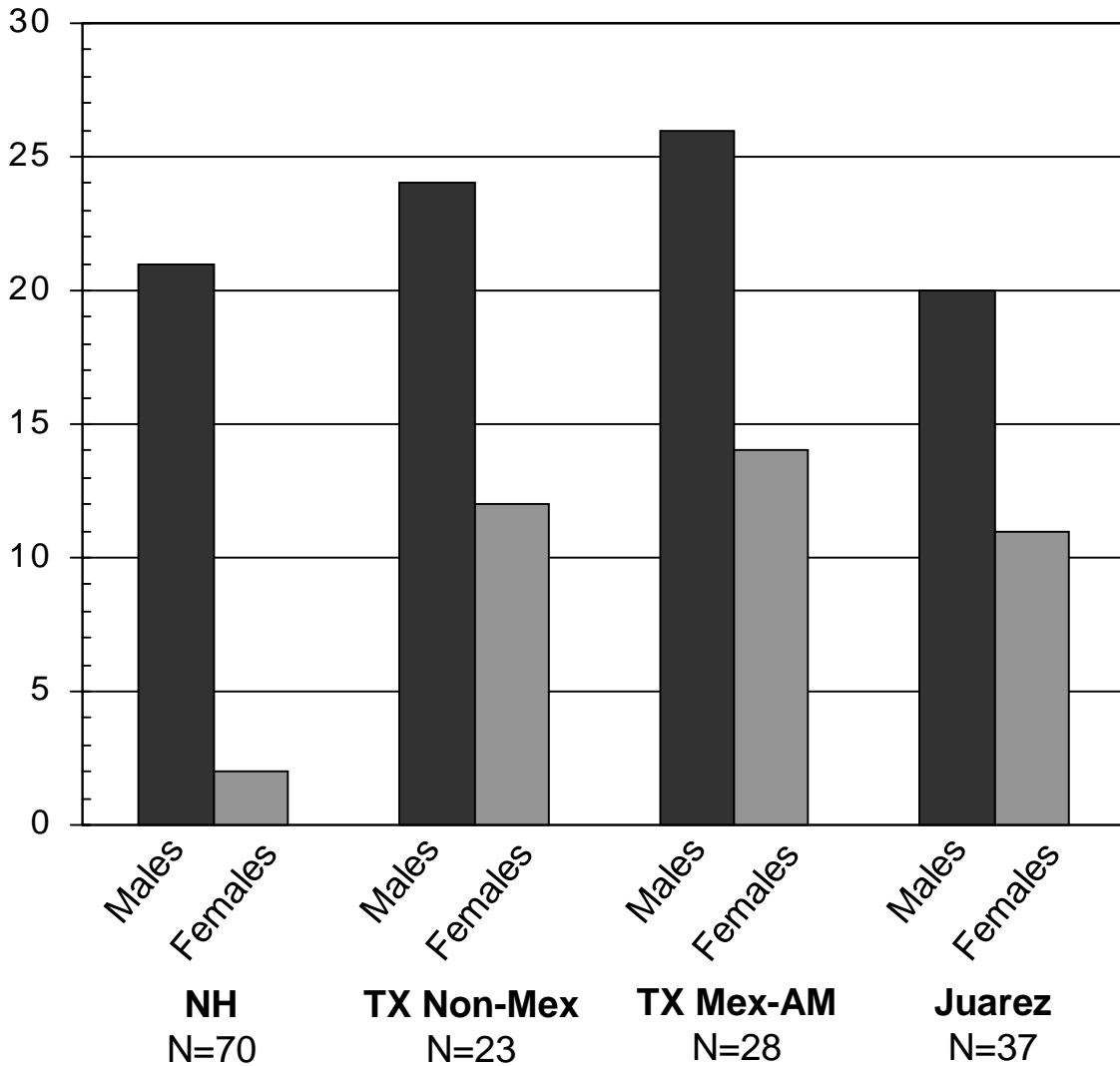
Chi-squared = 17.57, p .007

N for Male Aggressor = 28 (NH=16, TX Non-Mex=1, TX Mex-Am=3, Juarez=8)

N for Female Aggressor = 61 (NH=40, TX Non-Mex=4, TX Mex-Am=8, Juarez=9)

N for Both = 117 (NH=43, TX Non-Mex=20, TX Mex-Am=23, Juarez=31)

Fig. 5 Chronicity of Severe Assaults on Dating Partners By Male and Female Students and By Sample



Controlling for Age, SES and Social Desirability.

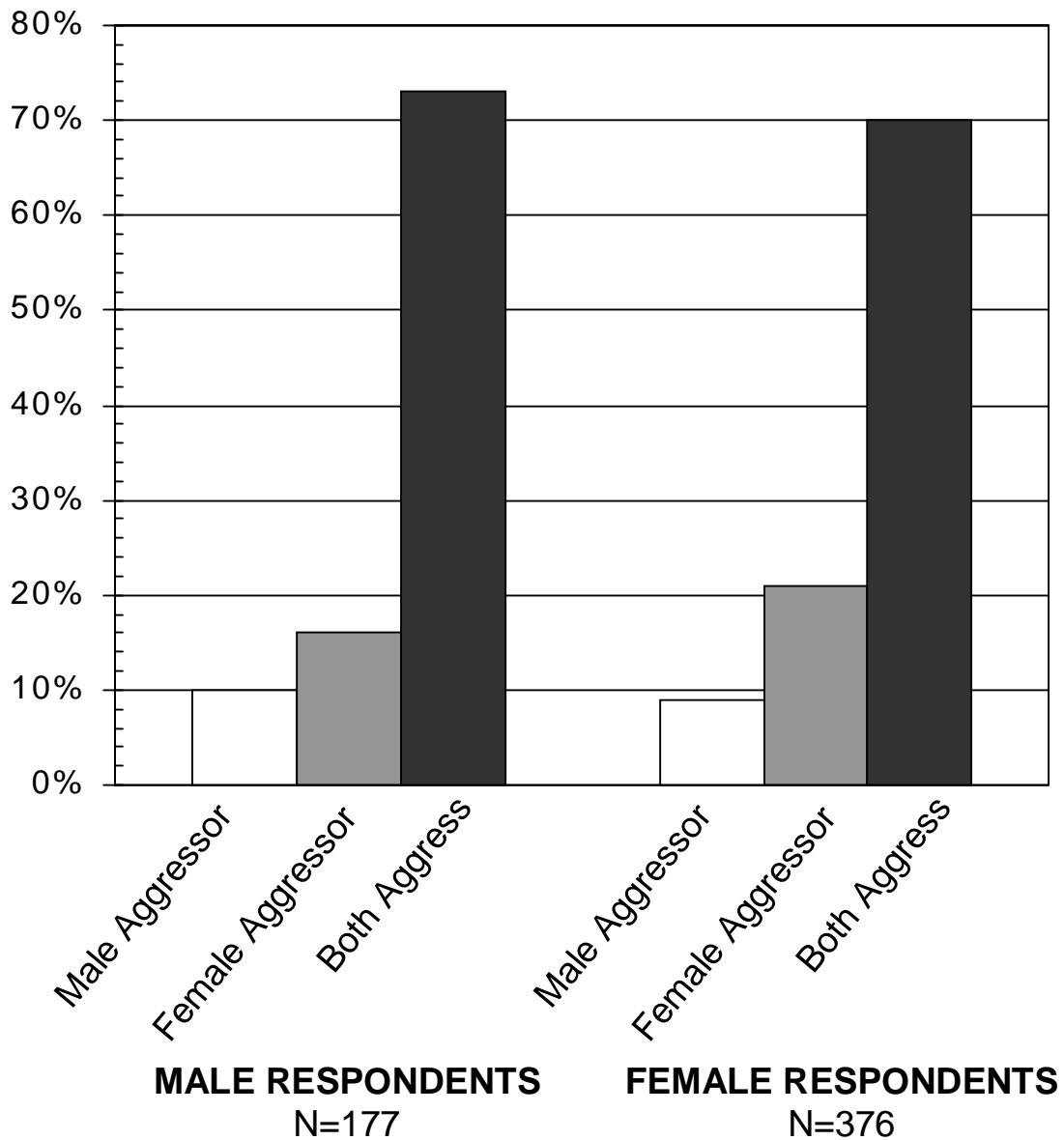
$F(\text{Gender}) = 11.864, p .001$; $F(\text{Sample}) = 1.092, p .354$;

$F(\text{interaction}) = 0.451, p .717$

N for Males = 49 (NH=19, TX Non-Mex=10, TX Mex-Am=13, Juarez=7)

N for Females = 110 (NH=51, TX Non-Mex=13, TX Mex-Am=15, Juarez=30)

Fig. 6. Couple Symmetry Types
By Sex of Respondent (All Assaults)



Chi-square = 1.803, p .406

N for Male Respondents = 177 (Male Aggressor=19, Female Aggressor=28, Both Aggress=130)

N for Female Respondents = 376 (Male Aggressor=35, Female Aggressor=77, Both Aggress=264)

Table 1. Characteristics of respondents and their relationships

Characteristic	NH	Texas Non-Mex	Texas Mex-Am.	Ciudad Juarez	chi-sq
Number of Participants*	770	190	291	290	
Percent Female	67.9	55.3	57.4	81.0	49.98**
Year in college					
Freshman	29.8	7.9	16.2	50.7	265.25**
Sophomore	36.2	23.8	14.8	29.0	
Junior	17.6	29.1	25.5	9.0	
Senior	16.5	39.2	43.4	11.4	
Age in Years (mean)	19.5	21.2	21.6	19.9	142.39**
Father's education					
High school/less					
Some college					
College degree					
Graduate degree					
Mother's education					
High school/less					
Some college					
College degree					
Graduate degree					
Family Income					
Median Group					
Reporting Current Relation	51.8	60.3	66.8	58.0	41.00**
Relationship Type					
Dating	93.4	71.4	65.5	82.3	147.02**
Engaged	4.3	8.6	13.3	5.6	
Married	2.3	20.0	21.2	12.0	
Relationship Length					
1-6 Months	38.2	27.5	24.6	33.2	98.42**
6 Months - 1Yr.	42.2	32.6	28.1	39.2	
2 Yrs. or More	19.6	40	47.5	27.6	
Cohabiting	9.3	31.8	31.3	14.3	99.34**
Sexually active	75.3	72.0	76.3	43.4	99.14**

* N's vary slightly from question to question due to variation in missing data.

Table 2 Prevalence And Chronicity Of IPV
By Males And Females

Measure	Male	Female	Total	Signif.
<i>Overall Violence</i>				
Prevalence	30.0%	34.6%	33.7%	.74
Chronicity - mean	16.27	11.6	12.9	.15
- median	4	4	4	
<i>Severe Violence</i>				
Prevalence	11.0%	11.6%	11.4%	.41
Chronicity - mean	21.9	9.3	15.6	.001
- median	11	3	4	

Notes: (1) Significance level based on Chi-square test for prevalence and Analysis of Variance for chronicity. (2) The means in this table are before adjustment for SES, age, or social desirability scale score. They therefore differ from the means in the figures which are adjusted for differences in these three variables.

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