









Male Victims of Coercive Control Experiences and Impact

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY	4
Why is change needed?	4
What the findings show us	5
Recommendations	5
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	<u>6</u>
LITERATURE REVIEW	7
Introduction	7
DEFINING COERCIVE CONTROL IN INTIMATE RELATIONSHIPS	
THE IMPORTANCE OF MEASUREMENT	
HISTORICAL CONTEXT OF COERCIVE CONTROL IN IPV	
THE "POWER AND CONTROL" WHEEL DEVELOPED BY THE DOMESTIC ABUSE INTERVENTION PROJECT	
(DVIP, THEDULUTHMODEL.ORG, 2021)	
CONCEPTUALISING COERCIVE CONTROL	11
THE FINAL FRONTIER	12
INVISIBILITY OF MALE VICTIMS OF COERCION	13
SEX-DIFFERENCES IN COERCION	13
RESEARCH ON MEN'S EXPERIENCES OF COERCIVE CONTROL	13
COERCIVE VIA 'THE SYSTEM'	14
PARENTING AND CHILDREN	14
IMPACT ON THE MALE VICTIM	14
Summary	15
FINDINGS FROM NEW MALE VICTIMS SURVEYS	16
SUMMARY OF METHODOLOGY	16
Participants	16
THE IMPACT OF COERCIVE CONTROL FOR MALE VICTIMS	<u> 17</u>
POST-TRAHARATIC DISTRESS IN MALE VICTIAS	17

LIVED EXPERIENCE OF MALE VICTIMS	18
Space for Action (Stark & Hester, 2019)	18
Impact on Physical Well-Being	19
IMPACT ON PSYCHOLOGICAL WELLBEING	20
MALE VICTIMS LIVED EXPERIENCE – SENTIMENT & LINGUISTIC EXPRESSION	21
TYPES AND LEVELS OF COERCIVE CONTROL	<u> 23</u>
MALE VICTIMS OF INTIMATE PARTNER VIOLENCE – SURVEY ONE	23
COERCIVE CONTROL EXPERIENCED BY MALE VICTIMS — SURVEY TWO	24
DIMENSIONS OF ABUSE	<u> 26</u>
SUMMARY	<u> 27</u>
RECOMMENDATIONS	28
REFERENCES	29
APPENDIX	35
APPENDIX 1: DETAILED METHODOLOGY	35
Introduction	35
Measures	35
Survey 1 — Experiences of Male Victims of Intimate Partner Abuse	35
Revised - Controlling Behaviours Scale (CBS-R: Graham-Kevan & Archer 2005)	35
Impact of Events Scale – Revised (IES-R: Weiss & Marmar, 1996)	35
Pearson's Correlation	36
Self-reported Recovery	36
Qualitative Questions	36
Survey 2	36
MALE VICTIMS EXPERIENCE OF COERCIVE CONTROL	36
Qualitative Questions	37
APPENDIX 2: PARTICIPANT DETAILS	37

AGE	37
OCCUPATION	37
ETHNICITY	38
RELIGION	38
Sexuality	38
CHILDREN	40
APPENDIX 3: PEARSON CORRELATION TABLE	40
TABLES TABLE 1. CONTROLLING BEHAVIOURS SCALE ITEMS EXPERIENCED BY MALE VICTIMS - ONE	
TABLE 2. ADDITIONAL CONTROLLING BEHAVIOURS EXPERIENCED BY MALE VICTIMS - ONE	
TABLE 3. COERCIVE CONTROL EXPERIENCED BY MALE VICTIMS - SURVEY TWO	25
TABLE 4. EMPLOYMENT STATUS OF PARTICIPANTS	37
TABLE 5. ETHNICITY FOR SURVEYS ONE & TWO.	39
TABLE 6. RELIGION FOR SURVEYS ONE & TWO	39
TABLE 7. SEXUALITY FOR SURVEYS ONE & TWO.	40
FIGURES TEXTBOX 1	8
FIGURE 1. THE FOUR FACETS OF COERCIVE CONTROL	11
FIGURE 2. SENTIMENT RANKING FOR MALE VICTIMS LIVED EXPERIENCE	21
FIGURE 3. TOP 20 WORDS USED BY MALE VICTIMS OF COERCIVE CONTROL	22
FIGURE 4. DIMENSIONS OF ABUSE FOR 'PUTTING YOU DOWN'	26
FIGURE 5. AGE OF PARTICIPANTS FOR SURVEYS ONE & TWO	37
FIGURE 6. PARTICIPANT OCCUPATIONS FOR SURVEYS ONE & TWO	38

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

- This report reflects the UK findings of two recent international surveys investigating the experiences of male victims of domestic abuse from their current or former partners which included coercive control.
- 2. The report provides an understanding of the types and levels of coercive control experienced by male victims in the UK including emotional, psychological, economic and sexual, as well as isolation.
- 3. The findings demonstrate that male victims experience severe and longstanding negative effects from female perpetrated coercive control including anxiety, depression, post-traumatic distress and suicidal ideation.
- 4. Recommendations are made to ensure that awareness of men's experiences are raised, the severity of the impact on male victims is sufficiently recognised, and this is measured and addressed in a gender specific manner.

WHY IS CHANGE NEEDED?

- 5. Despite the Office for National Statistics reporting that one in three victims of domestic abuse is a man (ONS, 2020), research in the main has been focused on the experiences of female victims (Tsui, 2014). This has produced a skewed narrative that frames domestic abuse and particularly coercive control as a gendered issue. That is, domestic abuse should be viewed as an issue that is focussed only on heterosexual women with male perpetrators. It is often predicated as being "a cause and consequence of gender inequality, with women disproportionately the victims" (Home Office, 2020). The effect being that men's voices are systemically minimised or ignored and men are not recognised as a valid victim group.
- 6. Having a dominant and pervasive gendered narrative creates deep-seated barriers for male victims. This means men may not even comprehend they are being coercively controlled, support agencies (including the police, social services and the family courts) may not recognise men's victimisation, and funding and services may be lacking.
- 7. These societal beliefs leave men vulnerable to persistent abuse, and at risk of post-separation abuse and secondary victimisation (including by support services).
- 8. Additionally, and crucially, this leaves the children of male victims at risk of harm. Either directly or as a member of a household controlled by an abusive mother.

WHAT THE FINDINGS SHOW US

- 9. The findings from the surveys present a direct challenge to the current accepted view of domestic abuse and coercive control.
- 10. The findings demonstrate male victims experience persistent and severe patterns of coercive control similar to those experienced by female victims.
- 11. Even in areas that are often exclusively seen as affecting female victims such as economic abuse and sexual coercion, we see that over half of the male victims had their earnings controlled and one in five men was forced to penetrate as an ongoing pattern of abuse.
- 12. Coercive control for male victims is uniquely gendered in some aspects. In particular, men's relationship with their children is often exploited to coercively control men, both within the relationship and post-separation.
- 13. False allegations, or the threat of making these, to the police and social services as a pattern of abuse are experienced by almost two thirds of male victims in our survey.
- 14. Male victims' sense of choice and freedom was severely limited by coercive control. The distress of experiencing abuse had a physical impact and psychological affect that would be of clinical concern in eight out of ten men.

RECOMMENDATIONS

- 15. Although there is consistent national and international evidence of men's coercive control victimisation, there remains a need to conduct a large-scale national study investigating the experiences of male victims of coercive control in terms of impact. The findings of which should inform the wording of the Office for National Statistics impact questions for male victims of coercive control.
- 16. A whole system approach towards enhancing the understanding of the prevalence and specific experiences male victims is required so that agencies including the police, Crown Prosecutors, judiciary, general practitioners, social services and CAFCASS officers understand how men experience coercion, how they communicate this to others, what factors are more salient to male victims, and what support they need.
- 17. A whole system approach towards enhancing the understanding of the impact on children of being exposed to their father's coercive control victimisation and also being subject coercive control directly by their female caregiver is needed so that agencies including the police, Crown Prosecutors, judiciary, general practitioners, social services and CAFCASS

- officers, as well as other frontline services can detect and respond appropriately to protect children.
- 18. There is need to adapt current national awareness campaigns to adequately reflect male victimisation and to educate the public and change societal attitudes towards who may be a victim of coercive control. As well as to raise awareness and understanding of women's coercive controlling behaviour and to encourage abusive women to seek help to change.
- 19. Male victims of domestic abuse should no longer be categorised by the UK Government as being victims of "Violence Against Women and Girls." They should have a parallel strategy: "Ending Intimate Violence Against Men and Boys" to ensure their voices are equally heard, their experiences not minimised, and they are no longer invisible. There should also be consideration of a strategy tackling violence within the family as there are wider issues in this regard that need to be addressed.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

We would like to take this opportunity to thank the frontline service providers that took part in the data presentation workshops, as well as other domestic abuse focused professionals for their input and time. Most importantly, we would like to thank all the men that gave their time and experiences to the surveys and survivors workshop.

LITERATURE REVIEW

INTRODUCTION

In the court case of the murder of Lancashire solicitor David Edwards in 2015, Sharon Edwards was described as behaving in a domineering and possessive manner towards her solicitor husband.

"She seemed to resent any of his past or even present friends, family and colleagues...She behaved as though she expected him to devote his entire attention and time to her and made an overbearing nuisance of herself at his work"

As Rob Jansen of the Crown Prosecution Service stated "This domestic abuse was one of violence by a woman against a man. It had all the dreadful hallmarks of this type of offending". The pattern of coercive control culminated in the murder of the victim. A subsequent domestic homicide review found that opportunities to intervene were missed with many likely to be due to the fact that the victim was a male and the perpetrator was his wife (BBC, 2016).

As the CPS noted at the time, male victims of coercive control are less visible to services that would ordinarily protect female victims (ibid). This is understandable as both nationally and internationally, domestic abuse generally and coercive control particularly, is framed within a gendered narrative. This narrative has led to all domestic abuse and coercive control being positioned within the UK Government's Ending Violence Against Women and Girls strategy (refresh 2016-2020) for women and girls, even when the victims are male and that the legislation in this area is written in a gender-neutral manner. This has led to male victims of domestic abuse being largely invisible within policy discourse, particularly in the discussion of coercive control. This report therefore explores men's experiences of coercive control from their intimate partners (which are women unless specified otherwise). The report will first explore the literature on the coercive control of men in current peer-reviewed research. It will then present new findings relating to male UK participants from two recent international studies (Powney, Graham-Kevan & Willan, 2020: Graham-Kevan & Powney, 2021).

DEFINING COERCIVE CONTROL IN INTIMATE RELATIONSHIPS

The Serious Crime Act 2015 (the 2015 Act) created a new offence of controlling or coercive behaviour used within intimate or familial relationships (section 76). The new offence was enacted to address an identified gap in the law around patterns of behaviour within intimate partner or family relationships whereby the perpetrator "repeatedly or continuously" used a pattern of behaviour including but not limited to the behaviours listed in Textbox 1.

Textbox 1

Types of behaviour

The types of behaviour associated with coercion or control may or may not constitute a criminal offence in their own right. It is important to remember that the presence of controlling or coercive behaviour does not mean that no other offence has been committed or cannot be charged. However, the perpetrator may limit space for action and exhibit a story of ownership and entitlement over the victim. Such behaviours might include:

- isolating a person from their friends and family;
- depriving them of their basic needs;
- monitoring their time;
- > monitoring a person via online communication tools or using spyware;
- taking control over aspects of their everyday life, such as where they can go, who they can see, what to wear and when they can sleep;
- depriving them of access to support services, such as specialist support or medical services;
- repeatedly putting them down such as telling them they are worthless;
- enforcing rules and activity which humiliate, degrade or dehumanise the victim;
- forcing the victim to take part in criminal activity such as shoplifting, neglect or abuse of children to encourage self-blame and prevent disclosure to authorities;
- financial abuse including control of finances, such as only allowing a person a punitive allowance; threats to hurt or kill; threats to a child;
- > threats to reveal or publish private information (e.g. threatening to 'out' someone).
- > assault
- criminal damage (such as destruction of household goods);
- rape;
- preventing a person from having access to transport or from working.

This is not an exhaustive list

THE IMPORTANCE OF MEASUREMENT

"If inaccurate assumptions about violence between men and women are made, there could be serious, real-world consequences, such as miscalculating needs for resources and programming or making legal decisions based on incomplete or misleading conclusions." (O'Hara, Perkins, Tehee & Beck, 2018, p.567)

The same can be said regarding how coercive control is conceptualised and criminalised.

HISTORICAL CONTEXT OF COERCIVE CONTROL IN IPV

The concept of coercive control within domestic abuse gained prominence in the 1990s when Michael Johnson published a seminal paper exploring relationships where violence was used within a framework of ongoing coercive control (Johnson, 1995). He argued that among the representative samples of married, cohabiting or dating couples typically studied by family conflict researchers, physical aggression was likely to be mutual, not to be escalated or associated with serious consequences, and to be unrelated to nonviolent controlling behaviour by the individuals concerned (ibid).

He characterised such aggression as being the result of occasional angry episodes by one or both partners, and labelled it "common couple violence" later changed to "situational couple violence". In contrast, among the samples obtained from women's refuges or treatment programmes for violent men, violence would be predominately one-sided (by men), would escalate in severity over time, and be associated with serious physical and psychological consequences. Crucially, such a pattern of physical aggression, termed "patriarchal terrorism" but subsequently renamed "intimate terrorism", would be associated with a range of other behaviours indicative of a need to control the partner by violent and non-violent means alike.

Johnson (1995) argued that the two forms of aggressive relationship, 'patriarchal terrorism' and 'common couple violence' were distinct. Common couple violence was described as:

"the dynamic is one in which conflict occasionally gets 'out of hand', leading to 'minor' forms of violence, and more rarely escalating into serious, sometimes life-threatening, forms" (Johnson, 1995, p.283).

Patriarchal terrorism was defined as:

"...a product of patriarchal traditions of men's right to control 'their' women, is a form of terroristic control of wives by their husbands that involves the systematic use of not only violence, but economic subordination, threats, isolation, and other control tactics" (p.282).

The heart of the distinction Johnson sought to make was that patriarchal terrorism was not merely a more extreme form of common couple violence, but instead a qualitatively different phenomenon. Johnson (1995), and later Stark (2010), argued that it is this coercive aggression that was actually 'what the term domestic abuse' was actually coined for and that the victims of this were overwhelmingly women.

THE "POWER AND CONTROL" WHEEL DEVELOPED BY THE DOMESTIC ABUSE INTERVENTION PROJECT (DVIP, THEDULUTHMODEL.ORG, 2021)

The DVIP lists the types of coercive control men use against their female partners as economic abuse; coercion and threats; intimidation; emotional abuse; isolation; minimising, denying and blaming; using children; and abusing male privilege (Pence & Paymar, 1993). Stark (2007), subsequently reclassified these behaviours under the headings: violence; intimidation; isolation; control, arguing that

"....the problem which the domestic violence revolution set out to address... focus on the distinction between the patterned subjugation of one partner by the other that characterizes the dynamic the advocacy movement has identified as abuse with the widespread propensity for individuals or couples to use violence when they fight, to express jealousy, frustration or anger, settle conflicts, or to negotiate power differences." (p. 202)

The tension between whether 'physical aggression' or 'coercive control' is the true manifestation of domestic violence actually precipitated the challenge to feminist conceptualisations as it has become increasingly apparent that there is a significant and growing body of research that finds that the use of coercive control is not merely the behaviour of men with many studies finding that male and female IPV victims appear equally likely to experience highly controlling partners (e.g., Avant et al. 2011; Ballard, Holtzworth-Munroe, Applegate, 2011; Bates, Graham-Kevan & Archer, 2014; Bates & Graham-Kevan, 2016; Brownridge, 2010; Carroll et al., 2010: Foran et al. 2011: Gou, Duerksen, & Woodin, 2019; Graham-Kevan & Archer, 2009; Hamel, Jones, Dutton, & Graham-Kevan, 2015; Kasian & Painter, 1992; Próspero, 2008; 2009; Rogers & Follingstad, 2011: Saloma et al., 2015; Straus & & Gozjolko, 2014), with this body of research including a population survey (Laroche, 2005) and a systematic review (Carney & Barner, 2012).

Similarly, there is research that dominance motivated IPV is not the sole preserve of men (e.g., Coker, Davis, Arias, Desai, Sanderson, Brandt, & Smith, 2002; Schnurr, Mahatmya & Basche, 2013) including a systematic review (i.e., Langhinrichsen-Rohling, McCullars & Misra, 2012). Additionally, we also see coercive control against men in older adult couples (Policastro & Finn 2015). Although there is limited research on coercive control in male same-sex relationships, that which is published finds similarities in terms of prevalence and behaviour to heterosexual couples (Frankland & Brown, 2014; Raghavan, Beck, Menke & Loveland, 2019).

These research findings present a further challenge to a gender conceptualisation of domestic abuse between men and women. Where differences are found, these tend to be where women are selected from samples which are highly likely to contain female coercive control victims and male perpetrators (e.g., Graham-Kevan & Archer, 2003). However, as Candela (2016) rightly argued:

"Data in samples obtained from locations that are likely to report instances of coercive control, such as women's shelters, police reports, court-mandated treatment programs, and emergency rooms, depict women as victims of coercive control more often than men. However, this data does not necessarily denote accuracy. Women who perpetrate coercive control are often not recognized, ignored, infrequently arrested, or not ordered to treatment programs. These impediments make determining the extent of gender symmetry or asymmetry among coercive control victims impossible. Even if it were feasible to prove that women were more likely to be victims of coercive control, we cannot preclude the still-existent percentage of male victims from recovering under the law." (p.119)

An exception to this is a study by Beck, Anderson, O'Hara, Benjamin (2013) who found at severe levels of control and violence men were the perpetrators.

CONCEPTUALISING COERCIVE CONTROL

Hamberger, Larsen and Lehrner (2017) conducted a review of measures of coercive control to explore conceptualisations in the literature and concluded the coercive control is best conceptualised as being present when all four facets below are present (Figure 1):

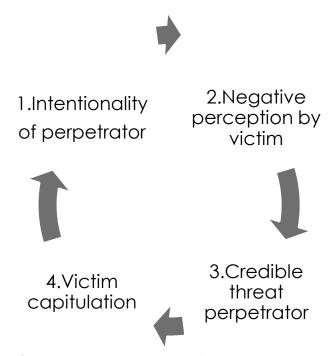


Figure 1. The Four Facets of Coercive Control

The first facet is the intentionality of the perpetrator with this being consistent with law generally where the law expects that the perpetrator knows or ought to know.

The second facet concerns the 'unwantedness' of the control by the victim and is similar to Harassment (Protection from Harassment Act 1997) and stalking (Protection of Freedoms Act 2012) legislation.

The third facet relates to the actual ability of the perpetrator to obtain control through creating the victim's perception of a credible threat. So, this requires both the ability of credible threat and the compliance of a victim directly because of their belief that the threat was real and aversive. Therefore, assessment of coercive control should include an evaluation of threatened consequences of failure to comply with demands (i.e., coercion), and the achievement of the demanded behaviours (i.e., control). For this to be a pattern of behaviour this cycle of threat and capitulation should be chronic and pervasive. This pattern fits well with Stark's 'space for action' which he placed central to understanding coercion.

Under current legislation, to meet the threshold of a criminal offence, the coercive behaviour must have had a serious effect on the victim, which is explained as causing the victim to fear the abuse will be used against them on at least two occasions. Alternatively, a criminal act has been committed when the pattern of behaviour has had a "substantial adverse effect on the victims' day to day activities" (CPS, 2015). Consistent with other legislation, the perpetrator must have known that their behaviour would have a serious effect on the victim, or the behaviour must have been such that he or she "ought to have known" it would have that effect.

THE FINAL FRONTIER

In an apparent effort to reconceptualise domestic abuse as something men do to women, leading names in the field called for further nuance to be added to the understanding so that an appropriate legal response could be enacted, arguing there remained the need for:

"...sustained work to flush out the original construct, ... [to] map the survival, coping, resistance and accommodation strategies as victimised partners (and children) craft 'space for action' in the face of tyranny." (Stark & Hester, 2019, p.88)

Stark and colleagues choose to use the female pronoun, even where men are included in cited studies and this has the effect of obscuring men's victimisation. For example, Stark and Hester (2019) review the findings of a study by Tanha, Beck, Figueredo and Raghavan (2010) and Beck and Raghavan, (2010) who sought to test Stark's assertion that it is men's coercive control, rather than physical or sexual aggression, that causes women's overall subjective appraisal of victimisation. Stark and Hester summarise the findings as supporting "their hypotheses that coercive control would have a direct effect on a latent common factor of victimization for women and predict specific facets of 'post-relationship distress' (such as escalating violence and fear of mediation) far better than relationship violence" (p. 90). What Stark and Hester, fail to include is that Tanha et al., included men in their sample and found that coercive control (CC) "by men against women causes women's victimization. Likewise, the CC by women against men causes men's victimization. This means that both women and men have similar patterns of abuse tactics as instrumentalities of CC". (p. 1850) To selectively airbrush men from studies' findings effectively hides men even when they are part of the sampling.

INVISIBILITY OF MALE VICTIMS OF COERCION

A recent NIHR review found that mass media campaigns are effective when they are intense, long-running and well-targeted to a population group (Stead, Angus & Langley, 2019). Campaigns to raise awareness of domestic abuse against women have been successful in terms of increasing reporting by victims and awareness of practitioners (Stanko et al, 2012), however there have been no national level campaigns for male victims. Therefore, until the time that there are intense and long running awareness campaigns highlighting male coercive control victimisation official statistics of help-seeking behaviour and even crime survey data are unreliable sources to use to compare men and women.

SEX-DIFFERENCES IN COERCION

Sex-differences in coercion are typically seen where sampling is skewed. An excellent example of this Dutton, Goodman and Schmidt's (2006) exploration of coercive control where their oversampling of female victims almost ensured that they would find men to be more coercive. Sampling is key to interpreting data as Johnson (1995) argued. Research tells us that women who use refuge services are overwhelmingly victims of coercive violence (e.g., 89% Graham-Kevan & Archer, 2003) and so it is sensible to conclude that the 20% over sample that Dutton et al., (2006) included in their analysis would contain almost all victims of coercive control and that without the additional 20% of female victims the proportions would very much more symmetrical. Interestingly those who research male victims (e.g., (Hines & Douglas, 2010) are clear about this when discussing their research findings Therefore, to explore sex-differences it is critical to sample men and women in the same way. The following discussion will therefore only discuss research where sampling was equitable.

RESEARCH ON MEN'S EXPERIENCES OF COERCIVE CONTROL

Research on coercive control has primarily focused, and continues to focus (e.g., Arenas-Arroyo, Fernandez-Kranz & Nollenberger, 2021) on female victimisation, thus comparatively less is known about how men experience it (Follingstad, 2007). Similarly, many of the instruments used to assess coercive control are based on women's experiences as victims (e.g., O'Leary 2001: Pence & Paymar, 1993). As a result, there lacks a thorough and well-grounded conceptual and operational understanding of this phenomenon in male victims. McHugh, Rakowski and Swiderski (2013) argue that an approach that merely changes the pronouns is inadequate, and instead the starting point should include an analysis of men's experience or coercive control as reported in open-ended questions. Research which has asked males has found unique types of coercive control by women directed at their male partner included degrading men about their salary, their life choices, their job, for not being a good provider, being a bad father, emasculate him, make him feel inadequate as a lover, and challenge his masculinity (McHugh et al, 2013). Similarly, Follingstad's (2007) research found that men described coercive behaviours towards them by their female partner that included controlling decision making in the family and denigrating men's sexual performance. Indeed, research has found that women use gender role harassment (Berdahl 2007), which refers to comments by women towards men that are directed towards criticising men's behaviours,

personalities, performances and role choices as being not manly enough. Berdahl and her colleagues found that the focus of much of this coercive behaviour is to undermine men's masculine role by denigrating their partner's ability to fulfil the expected male role, and by labelling them as 'sissies, girls, or gays'.

COERCIVE VIA 'THE SYSTEM'

Legal and administrative (LA) intimate abuse (Hines, Douglas, & Berger, 2015) is a form of coercive control that appears to be particularly salient to male victims. LA abuse is used when a partner uses the police, social services and the courts to coercive a man into complying with their demands. LA abuse is possible because men as victims are largely invisible to professionals working with domestic abuse. LA abuse is associated with more symptoms of PTSD and depression in male victims, and is also associated problematic behaviour of their children (Hines, et al., 2015).

PARENTING AND CHILDREN

Gou, et al., (2019) found in their sample of expecting couples that the pregnant partner perpetrated more coercive control than their male partners before childbirth, and rates of coercion post-partum were equal. Longitudinally, women's coercive control predicted men's poor co-parenting, low perceived parenting competence, and perceptions of toddler problem behaviour suggesting that women's coercive relationship behaviour directly damages both men's parenting self-efficacy as well as their appraisal of their children's behaviour as problematic. Machado, Graham-Kevan, Santos & Matos' (2017) sample of male victims reported their female partners targeted their children, and/or abused the man in front of the children. Douglas and Hines (2015) found that the majority of help seeking men's children had witnessed the abuse. Men also reported their children being 'brainwashed' by their mothers into believing that the fathers had abused the child. Others have noted, for example, that threats concerning children and child custody are often used by women as a means of controlling spouses (Hines et al. 2007). Many men report choosing to remain in a coercive relationship due to perceived or actual threats to their parental relationship with their children (e.g., Bates, 2019; Bates & Carthy, 2020; Hines & Douglas, 2010; Machado et al., 2017). This is apparent not only where the abusive female prevents the father from having a parental relationship with dependent children but is also apparent in men's relationships with their adult children (Bates & Carthy, 2020; Douglas & Hines, 2015). Saloma, et al., (2015) found that men subjected to coercive control were twice as likely to have children in care than men not subjected to this.

IMPACT ON THE MALE VICTIM

A systematic review of the literature (Lawrence, Orengo-Aguayo, Lange, & Brock, 2012) found there was a lack of research examining the consequences of control for male victims, and of the studies there were that the results were mixed. Research that has been conducted finds that women's coercion predicts their male partner's depression (Gou, et al., 2019; Simonelli & Ingram, 1998), harmful alcohol use (Gou, et al., 2019; Saloma, et al., 2015), suicidal thoughts (Bates & McCarthy, 2020), trauma symptoms (Hines & Douglas, 2011) and anxiety (Simonelli & Ingram, 1998). Co-morbid alcohol, substance use and mood disorder are 7.5 times more likely in men who are

subjected to coercive control and when this is paired with IPV this increases to 10.5 times increase (Saloma, et al., 2015). Exploring male victims of intimate terrorism (high control and IPV) research found that men subject to intimate terrorism are significantly more likely to report trauma symptomology (58%) compared to men who experienced IPV without high levels of coercion (8%) and men who were subject to neither (2%) (Hines & Douglas, 2011).

SUMMARY

Coercive control is more complex and subjective than physical aggression and for this reason a simple list of behaviours fails to fully conceptualize the construct. Without a clear and concrete definition and conceptualization of coercive control, recognising and addressing it is problematic. Researchers have suggested that the definition of coercive control includes both the action or intent of the perpetrator, and the subsequent impact upon the victim (Maiuro, 2001).

The literature reviewed suggests that men's victimisation does qualify as coercive and hence criminal, as women are able to intentionally create a realistic threat of physical and/or emotional harm, but women can also use LA control by threatening the disruption of the parental relationship and/or the threat of false charges leading to social ostracism, arrest and even imprisonment in a way that a male perpetrator could not.

Therefore, there is a pressing need to explore men's experiences of coercive control so that it can be adequately assessed and understood (McHugh, Rakowski & Swiderski, 2013; Randel & Graham, 2011). This will allow an understanding of how coercive control constrains men's space for action, alleviating the reliance on models developed for women.



FINDINGS FROM NEW MALE VICTIMS SURVEYS

The following results represent analysis from two data sets of male victims from two surveys conducted between May to June 2020 and November to December 2020 respectively (Powney, Graham-Kevan & Willan, 2020; Graham-Kevan & Powney, 2020). The first international survey examined the experiences of male victims of intimate partner abuse in a sample of 1347 participants. The second international survey was developed to focus on coercive control as experienced by male victims and was completed by 2086 participants. For the purposes of this report the results will focus on findings exclusively from the UK; 286 from the first survey and 252 from the second, providing an amalgamated sample size of 538.

SUMMARY OF METHODOLOGY

A mixed methods design, incorporating quantitative and qualitative measures, was used for both surveys. This involved a combination of psychological scales – including the Impact of Events Scale (IES-R: Weise & Marmar, 1996) measuring post-traumatic distress, and the Controlling Behaviours Scale (CBS-R: Graham-Kevan & Archer 2005) assessing controlling behaviours across five subscales. To investigate the lived experiences of male victims, a number of open text questions were included in both surveys. To discuss and assess the results 3 workshops were conducted; two for frontline service providers and domestic abuse focused professionals and one for male victims (see Appendix 1 for full methodology).

PARTICIPANTS

For both survey 1 and 2, the majority of participants were from England (80%/79%) with other respondents being from Scotland (11%/12%), Wales (6%/6%) and Northern Ireland (3%/3%). There was a similar split with participants that were still in an abusive relationship (16%/18%), and the participants who had left the abusive relationship (84%/82%). Full analysis of participant demographics is available in Appendix 2.

'She insisted I drop many friends and relatives'

'She would make things up about me and prevent me seeing the children'

'My work suffered and eventually I had to take redundancy'

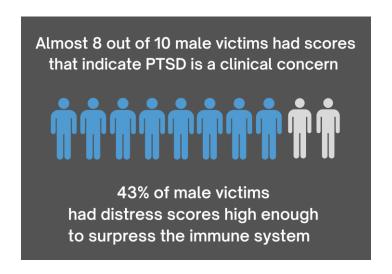
'It had a devastating impact on my mental health'

'I would describe myself as a shell of what I was'

THE IMPACT OF COERCIVE CONTROL FOR MALE VICTIMS

POST-TRAUMATIC DISTRESS IN MALE VICTIMS

To measure the impact of partner abuse and coercive control on male victims we included the Impact of Event Scale Revised (IES-R) that measures post-traumatic distress (Weiss & Marmar, 1996). The participants were asked to focus on their abusive relationship and indicate how much they were distressed or bothered during the past seven days by each of the 24 items. Scores are totalled to give an overall indication of distress with a score of 24 or more indicating clinical concern, over 33 indicating the cut off for probably Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder and 37 or more being high enough to suppress the immune systems function even ten years after the impact event.



Results indicate the majority of male victims had scores of over 24 (of clinical concern) and almost half of the men had scores high enough to suggest the distress may impact on their immune system. This may have wider implications as male victims may need to access NHS services at increased rates if unable to gain support to positively adapt to the trauma.

To further investigate the impact of abuse on post-traumatic distress, a one-way between subjects Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) was conducted to compare the effect of level of abuse the on post-traumatic distress in participants groups that had experienced moderate, high and levels of abuse. The results show there was a significant effect of level of abuse on post-traumatic distress for the 3 conditions [F (2,188) =14.91, p <.001]. Post hoc comparisons using the Tukeys HSD test indicate that post-traumatic stress for moderate levels of abuse (M=32.82, SD=18.18) was significantly lower than high levels of abuse (M=42.00, SD=18.54) and very high levels of abuse (M=53.16, SD=20.91). Taken together these results suggest the levels of abuse sustained by male victims effect the levels of distress experienced.

LIVED EXPERIENCE OF MALE VICTIMS

To gain insight into the context and lived experiences of male victims open text questions were asked across both surveys to assess the impact on male victims. The following is an amalgamation of the central themes. Word clouds represent the language and frequency used by the participants.

Space for Action (Stark & Hester, 2019)

To assess male victims' limitations on 'space for action' we asked, "What impact has the abuse had on your sense of choice and freedom". The responses indicate that men experienced abuse related limitations across all areas of autonomy.

She insisted I drop many friends & relatives, not go to friends/colleague's weddings/birthday parties etc. If I wanted to do my own thing, I would sometimes pretend I was at work." (P10)

"I went from being a very confident high achiever running my own business to being unable to make a decision for myself without getting the opinion of my abuser. The effect on self-confidence and self-esteem is the worst." (P224)

"She had the power to take my child away. She had the power to destroy my career. If she did either of those, she'd have taken everything I was." (P59)

someone severely may mettdowns consequences cause negative lose police isolation anywhere removed debt options problems scared rules ecisions activity buy ioh son case learned alone ability allower afraid huge deal phone L false protect issue missed urts decide hope fight careful believe house earpay longer massive divorce enough difficult approval eats allegations Spent broken on significantly wrong car separation

anxiety subject cheated

mortgage

"The threats that she would make things up about me and prevent me seeing the children and lose my job. I thought I could end up homeless with nothing." (P39)

"My ex used the excuse of her having OCD (never been diagnosed) in order to force me to wash in scalding showers, spray my skin with bleach and cleaning chemicals multiple times a day, claim I wasn't clean when I got home (I work at a desk in an office) and force me to sleep in the car" (P11).

"Wife refused to contribute to any household expenses including mortgage whilst she worked with salary level same as my own. This required my taking on additional consultancy work to have sufficient income to cover all household bills and mortgage." (P55)

IMPACT ON PHYSICAL WELL-BEING

The participants were asked "How did the abuse affect your physical well-being?". Male victims experienced many negative impacts including sleep deprivation, weight fluctuation, increased substance use and physiological stress reactions.

"I became very skinny, doctors were worried, as she controlled how much food I was able to get and when I was able to eat." (P141).

"She'd generally get angry just before I was going to go to bed so I ended up on very little sleep and she'd want to have entirely circular arguments for hours. My work suffered and I eventually had to take redundancy."

(P172)

"I was drinking a lot of alcohol to try and block out the pain. I ended up in hospital due to really high blood pressure and anxiety. I was suicidal" (P168).

drained alcohol **nealt** stomach attacks massive ended heart high drinking looking food low problems gain use vears properly ene struggled damaged affected leave question suffered unable constantly suicidal wellbeing getting hruises sickness motivation mental daughter concentrate scars family

pressure confidence developed

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tiredness section

"Terrible migraines so much so that I had vision impairment, hearing loss, memory function impairment, speech impairment, numbness of limbs." (P109)

"One feels very much like being put through a 90-degree wash cycle with a very fast spin on the end. It feels as if an energy vampire has drawn all your life force out of you and the atmosphere in the surrounding area is so negatively heavy that one could almost cut it with a knife. It is an incredibly difficult thing to describe unless one has been through such an event." (P147)

IMPACT ON PSYCHOLOGICAL WELLBEING

The participants were asked "How did the abuse affect your psychological well-being?". Similar to the psychological impact reported by female victims, male victims experience devastating effects including anxiety, depression, PTSD and suicide ideation.

"A huge level of anxiety as I was being painted out to be someone I'm not. Second guessing everything I do. Walking on eggshells to avoid future conflict, feeling not in control of my own "I have PTSD, and I life and that of my children" would describe myself (P157); as a shell of what I was. I suffer depression and terrified damaged breakdown anxiety and completely eventually impact enough change difficult shut down for a while" thoughts child believe job (P123). cope lack confused money worry fault house lost "It had a devastating useless impact on my mental shell health. My anxiety sad levels were extremely police suicid high, and I was crying and basically I got diagnosed as having a court esteem eggshells upset mental breakdown." wrong emotionally financial (P146); happen section mind someone "I retreated into myself and withdrawn attempted suicide. By retreating into myself and following her rules I lost all friends and some family "Feeling of being highly stressed connections, this led to a (often). Feelings of inadequacy further decrease in my (sometimes)...Helplessness (nobody to mental state."(P16); turn to. Self-doubt. Demoralisation. Deep unhappiness. Anger and resentment, including directed against myself." (P111).

MALE VICTIMS LIVED EXPERIENCE – SENTIMENT & LINGUISTIC EXPRESSION

To understand how male victims discuss their experiences of coercive control frequency analysis was conducted across the qualitative questions regarding impact (Figure 2). The results revealed that men describe the abuse in terms of impact including depression, helplessness, anxiety, stress and feeling trapped, rather than fear. Indeed, when discussing fear men referred to fear of what actions may be used by the abusive partner not of the partner themselves. These actions included fear of controlling behaviours, punishment for breaking the rules of coercive control, fear of false allegations and of losing their children.

To investigate the language used across the whole experiences of coercive control further answers were used including those which asked if there was anything the participants would like to add to their responses. Figure 3 shows the top 20 words used by male victims when discussing the abuse, they experienced.

It is noteworthy that six of the top ten words used refer to family, children (child, daughter, son) and contact. Demonstrating that losing their children is a major concern for male victims of coercive control and may be a key vulnerability factor for of coercive control for male victims who share children with their abuser.

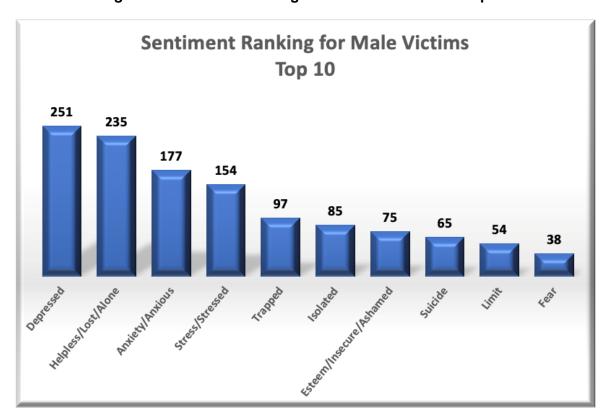
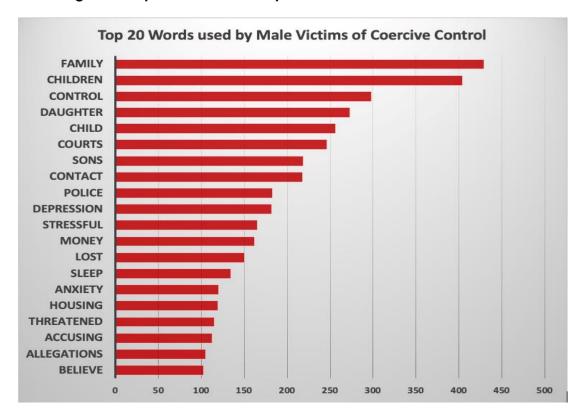


Figure 2. Sentiment Ranking for Male Victims Lived Experience

Figure 3. Top 20 Words used by Male Victims of Coercive Control



TYPES AND LEVELS OF COERCIVE CONTROL

MALE VICTIMS OF INTIMATE PARTNER VIOLENCE - SURVEY ONE

Two aims of Survey One were to assess the levels and types of abuse experienced by male victims. As described previously, the CBS-R was used to asked male victims if they had experienced any of the items on a scale from never to always. In accordance with the legal definition of coercive control, it is important to establish if the abuse is a pattern of behaviour. Table 1 below shows the combined percentage of male participants that experienced the CBS-R items of abusive behaviour either sometimes, often or always.

Table 1. Controlling Behaviours Scale Items Experienced by Male Victims - Survey One

Factors	Controlling Behaviours	Sometimes/Often/Always
	Made it difficult to work or study	87%
Economic	Control my money	71%
	Kept own money secret	80%
	Refused to share money/pay fair share	75%
	Threaten to harm	66%
Thuasta	Threaten to leave the relationship	67%
Threats	Threaten to harm self	49%
	Threaten to disclose damaging or embarrassing information	66%
	Try to make me do things I didn't want to	84%
	Use nasty looks and gestures to make me feel bad or silly	88%
Intimidation	Smash my property when annoyed/angry	57%
	Be nasty to my friends or family	74%
	Vent anger on pets	19%
	Try to put you down when 'too big for my boots'	79%
	Show you up in public	77%
Emotional	Tell you you're going mad	73%
	Tell you you're lying or confused	84%
	Call you unpleasant names	82%
	Try to restrict time spent with family or friends	84%
	Want to know where you went and who you spoke to when not together	82%
Isolation	Try to limit the amount of activities outside of the relationship	80%
	Act suspicious and jealous of you	80%
	Check up on your movements	76%
	Try to make you Jealous	65%
	Make you feel bad about the children	88%
	Use the children to pass on messages	54%
Children	Threaten to take the children away from you	84%
	Argue in front of the children	85%
	Strike, push or kick you in front of the children	54%

The CBS-R was developed from the Duluth Power and Control Wheel (Graham-Kevan & Archer, 2003) and so is likely to not fully represent male specific experiences of coercion. Therefore, to supplement the CBS-R, an additional section was included to explore post-separation abuse (see Table 2).

Table 2. Additional Controlling Behaviours Experienced by Male Victims - Survey One

	Breaks the contact order	58%
	Uses the courts to continue the abuse	53%
Post -	Uses the police to continue the abuse	48%
Separation	Uses the children to continue the abuse	63%
	Uses finances to continue the abuse	59%
	Interferes in new relationships	39%

The results demonstrate men are experiencing controlling behaviours as patterns of abuse, across all factors. Venting anger on pets was the item that was experienced by the lowest percentage of men, yet this is still one in five male victims. However, 28 of the 35 items were experienced by more than half of the participants and 13 items were experienced as a pattern of abuse by more than 80% of the men.

COERCIVE CONTROL EXPERIENCED BY MALE VICTIMS - SURVEY TWO

The results from Survey One showed themes of coercive control for male victims, consequently a second study was designed to focus on the coercive control experienced by male victims.

For Survey Two, we integrated the CBS-R with the information gathered in Survey One, as well as incorporating behaviours identified as coercive from the UK legal guidance issued by the Crown Prosecution Service to develop a 45-item scale that measured coercive control over six areas:

• threats, intimidation, emotional, isolation, financial and sexual.

Coercive control is described as a pattern of abusive behaviour, consequently the percentages presented below are of men that experience these types of abuse sometimes/often/always.

As for Survey One, the results show (Table 3) that men experience consistent abuse across all types of coercive control. Some elements are similar to those experienced by female victims while others are gender specific to masculinity.

Table 3. Coercive Control Experienced by Male Victims - Survey Two

Factors	Coercive Control Items	Sometimes/Often/Always
	Physically hurt you?	49%
Threats	Physically hurt themselves?	31%
	To commit suicide?	30%
	Leave you?	63%
	Report you to the police/social services for something you didn't do?	64%
	Using looks such as glaring or actions such as quick movements or pretending to hit you?	79%
	Carrying potential weapons such as knives or heavy objects in such a way that you felt they may strike you with them?	28%
ntimidation	Smashing Property	54%
	Frightening, threatening or hurting children and/or pets?	28%
		97%
	Putting you down?	96%
	Making you feel bad about yourself?	
	Calling you nasty/unpleasant names?	86%
- 1000 2011 2010 11	Humiliating you?	90%
Emotional	Playing 'mind games' with you?	96%
	Telling you that you're crazy?	76%
	Making you feel guilty for something you haven't done?	94%
	Telling you that you are not the father of your children?	18%
	Threaten to disclose damaging or embarrassing information about you?	59%
	Controlling who you see?	87%
	Not passing on messages from friends or family?	54%
	Checking/monitoring your phone calls or social media?	78%
	Trying to stop you going out without them?	81%
Isolation	Constantly calling/texting you if you go out with friends or family?	69%
	Accusing you of flirting or being unfaithful?	75%
	Flirting with your friends or telling you that your friends are flirting with them to make you jealous?	49%
	Punish you for going out with friends or family?	77%
	Be nasty or rude to your family or friends?	71%
	Threatening to contact your employer?	36%
	Try to embarrass you in front of work colleagues?	44%
	Prevent you from going to work?	41%
	Force you to go to work even if you were unwell?	32%
	Control your earning?	50%
Economic	Overspend or run up debts which you were responsible for?	60%
	Take out debt in your name without your knowledge?	29%
	Refusing to contribute to household bills whilst spending own money on non-essential items?	62%
	Refusing to work even if they are able to?	54%
	Withholding contact with children unless demands for money are met?	51%
	Humiliating you if you refuse to have sex?	44%
	Threaten to make false allegations about sexual assault/rape?	28%
	Forcing you to penetrate them without consent or by coercing consent?	22%
	Threatening you with violence if you refuse to have sex?	14%
Sexual	Threatening to have sex with others?	32%
	Stopping contraception without your knowledge?	29%
	PRODUCTURE	65%
	Withholding sex as punishment?	53%

DIMENSIONS OF ABUSE

It is important to note that there has been call for clarity regarding the interplay of the dimensions of abuse using quantitative and qualitative data (Stark & Hester, 2019). It is asserted that this may identify the relational aspects of coercive control which in turn may help to investigate the depth of abuse experienced by victims and allow calibration of the support required to return a victims' 'space for action'. To begin this process, we conducted Pearson's Correlation (Appendix 3) between the original items of the CBS-R in Survey One and identified associations between Put you down and other controlling behaviours with moderate or strong relationships.

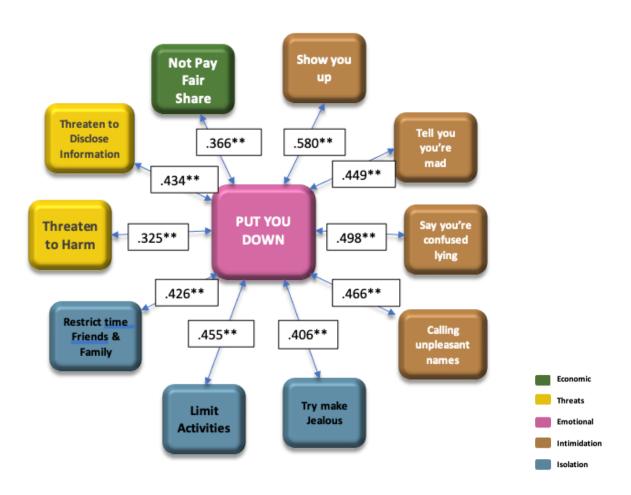


Figure 4. Dimensions of Abuse for 'Putting you down'.

The majority of the items in the CBS-R were significantly inter-correlated, although the strength of the relationships differed. Understanding the relationships across factors may be particularly beneficial as coercive control can be difficult to evidence, for taken in isolation incidents can seem trivial or even part of a non-abusive relationship. For example, here 79% of male victims indicated that they experienced being 'put down' sometimes, often or always. As an explanation of abuse, this may seem innocuous but examining the associations with other coercive behaviours reveals related dimensions of coercive control that either individually or in combination, present potential severe patterns and levels of abuse.

SUMMARY

The results from Survey One show male victims experience multiple types and severe levels of partner abuse across the facets including threats, intimidation, emotional, isolations, economic, sexual and post separation. Comparatively, results from Survey Two indicate men experience a broad range of coercive control, similar to female victims. For example, a recent campaign has highlighted threatening to disclose information against female victims (Refuge: Naked Threat Campaign 2020), here we see almost 3 out of 5 men had been threatened with disclosure of damaging/embarrassing information by their partner, evidencing that men and women are similar in their exposure to 'gaslighting'.

Although traditionally framed as a female issue, the participants reported experiencing economic abuse. Half of male victims had their earnings controlled as a pattern of abuse which in some cases led to men not being able to purchase food or clothing. Men were also expected to take on the burden of all household finances as almost two thirds of the female perpetrators refused to contribute to household bills and over half refused to work even if able to. Similar to women, some male victims were prevented from going to work, whereas almost one in three male victims were forced to go to work even when unwell.

Furthermore, responses indicated male victims experienced a range of sexual coercion. Men were humiliated and threatened with violence if they refused to have sex and over 1 in 5 men in the sample had been forced to penetrate as a pattern of coercive control. Additionally, withholding sex as a punishment was a pattern of coercion for two thirds of men. Specifically, for men, over a quarter had been threatened with false allegations of sexual abuse and 29% had experienced their partner stopping contraception without their knowledge which in some cases led to forced fatherhood.

Consistent with female counterparts, men experienced high levels of intimidation, isolation and emotional coercive control. However, there were gender specific differences for male victims. Almost two thirds of the men had been threatened with false allegations which, when combined with the qualitative data, suggests that abusive female partners are using institutions such as the police, social services and the family court as a means of coercive control. Additionally, female perpetrators appear likely to use children to control men in the relationship and post-separation with over 4 out of 5 in our data being threatened with having their children taken away and over half with having contact with children withheld if demands (e.g., for money) were not met.

The physical and psychological impact of coercive control on 'space for action' for male victims appears similar to that experienced by women. This can be devastating and longstanding, affecting every aspect of male victims' lives. Furthermore, as there is the assumption that women will more often be the primary carer, the loss of the relationship with their children is particularly impactful for male victims who are fathers and regularly used by their female abusers. The assertion that impactful coercive control is isolated to, or overwhelmingly perpetrated against, female victims must be urgently reconsidered to ensure that all victims (men, women and their children) are recorded, considered and supported.

RECOMMENDATIONS

- There is a need to commission a large-scale national study that includes a
 sufficiently large sample of male victims alongside a representative sample of
 men from the general population. The sample size of the survey data in the
 current report does not allow analysis by age, sexuality, SES, ethnicity or other
 potentially salient factors and so additional research needs to be conducted to
 ensure experiences of all male victims can be understood.
- Due to the evidence from the two male victims' surveys in this report, the proposed extension to the legal definition of coercive and controlling behaviour to include both partners and ex-partners who are no longer in the same household is supported. Indeed, post-separation may heighten the risk of coercion for male victims who have children. This is being considered as part of the Domestic Abuse Bill currently going through Parliament.
- Office for National Statistics should design coercive control items so that they
 reflect both what male victims experience and also how they describe the
 negative impact it has. Questions should avoid the term 'fear' as this does not
 appear to be a term used by men. As men with children appear to report that
 their coercion is centred around their parental role, items need to be developed
 to measure this.
- There needs to be better understanding with public services and related professionals (police officers, judiciary, general practitioners, social services and Cafcass officers) that men are victims of coercive control and share many of the same experiences that women do. Additionally, there appears to also be typically more male-specific experiences and these also need to be highlighted. There is a need for additional training to supplement training that has already been delivered and in future training materials should be reviewed to ensure they reflect the lived experience of women and men.
- Due to the success of national awareness campaigns, there is a need to adapt current campaigns to reflect male victims more and due to the current lack of knowledge across society to men's experiences of coercive control there should be a specific campaign to raise awareness to help men recognise patterns of coercive controlling behaviours within their own relationships or those of family members and friends, and to understand that this is coercive control. It is important to also educate women so that they can understand their own behaviour as coercive control and seek help to change, but also so they can see patterns of coercion towards men in the relationships of their friends and family.
- Given the invisibility of male victims within the 'system' and society at large, and the lack of responses/support for them, it is clear that this is compounded by defining their victimhood and experiences as being a victim of "Violence Against Women and Girls" (VAWG). If the UK is serious about recognising diversity and inclusion, the Government should redefine domestic abuse as abuse against family members. At a minimum male victims of domestic abuse should be decoupled from VAWG and create a parallel "Ending Intimate Violence Against Men and Boys" strategy. This would at least provide the focussed support, understanding and recognition they need, as shown by the finding from this research.

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APPENDIX

APPENDIX 1: DETAILED METHODOLOGY

Introduction

Both surveys were created in Qualtrics and distributed online via twitter and Facebook, which was fortunate as both surveys were conducted during COVID restrictions in many countries. In the first study's UK sample this coincided with the first UK COVID lockdown, from May 2020 to June 2020. This is likely to have captured men that may not have usually seen and/or completed this type of survey.

MEASURES

SURVEY 1 - EXPERIENCES OF MALE VICTIMS OF INTIMATE PARTNER ABUSE.

As well as other elements, the survey contained scales that measured the types and levels of abuse experienced by male victims, and the impact of the abuse in terms of posttraumatic symptomology. Open questions were also included to give context to the abuse and the impact this had on men and their lives.

REVISED - CONTROLLING BEHAVIOURS SCALE (CBS-R: GRAHAM-KEVAN & ARCHER 2005).

The CBS-R comprises 24 items that assess controlling behaviours across five subscales: Threats, Intimidation, Emotional, Isolation and Economic. Items include questions such as

- Has your partner control your money?
- Does your partner check up on your movements?
- Does your partner threaten to disclose damaging or embarrassing information?

In line with current debate regarding the Domestic Abuse Bill, questions regarding post-separation abuse and children were added to assess potential impact on men who are in abusive relationships, taking the total number of items to 35. These items included questions such as:

- Does your partner push or kick you in front of the children?
- Does your partner use the children to continue the abuse?
- Does your partner use the courts to continue the abuse?

Items are scored on a 5-point scale form 0 (never) to 4 (always). The scale can be calculated both as a total score (0 -140) or as subscale scores.

IMPACT OF EVENTS SCALE - REVISED (IES-R: WEISS & MARMAR, 1996)

The IES-R is a 22-item self-report measure that assesses subjective distress caused by traumatic events. The majority of the items correspond directly to the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders IV symptoms of Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder. Participants are asked to identify a specific stressful life event, here the abusive relationship, and then indicate how much they were distressed or bothered during the past seven days by each difficulty listed. In general, the IES-R is not used

to diagnosis PTSD, however, cut-off scores for a preliminary diagnosis of PTSD have been cited in the literature. Items are rated on a 5-point scale ranging from 0 ("not at all") to 4 ("extremely"). The IES-R yields a total score (ranging from 0 to 88) and subscale scores can also be calculated for the Intrusion (0-32), Avoidance (0-32), and Hyperarousal (0-24) subscales.

Sample items include:

- Any reminder bought back feelings about it.
- I was jumpy and easily startled
- I felt watchful and on-guard
- I had trouble concentrating

PEARSON'S CORRELATION

Pearson's correlation is used in this report to examine the associations between abuse types experienced by male victims.

SELF-REPORTED RECOVERY

The survey includes one item to ask participants:

To what extend do you think you have recovered from the abuse? This item is a Likert scale scored from 0 (Not at all) to 3 (fully recovered).

QUALITATIVE QUESTIONS

In order to add context to the scales, the survey asked contextual open questions. Those consider the impact of abuse on male victims are:

- Are/Were you afraid of your (ex) partner?
- Why were/are you afraid of your (ex) partner?
- How do you think the abuse has changed you?
- What has hindered recovery?
- Is there any type of support you wish you had?

Themes have been extracted using NVivo 12, a computer assisted qualitative data analysis programme that enables researchers to identify, categorise and develop themes from the data (Jackson & Bazeley, 2019). Answers to the open questions were used to conduct word frequency and visualisation highlighted the themes that were consistent with the thematic analysis. These themes were explored to identify those that were pertinent.

SURVEY 2

MALE VICTIMS EXPERIENCE OF COERCIVE CONTROL

Using the Controlling Behaviours Scales (Graham-Kevan & Archer, 2005), legal guidance from the Crown Prosecution Services (2017) and data from the previous survey (Powney, Graham-Kevan & Willan, 2020), a 45-item scale was developed to examine the impact of coercive control on male victims. As well as having an overall score the items are clustered into 6 areas; threats direct (5-items) scored 0 - 20, threats indirect (4-items) scored 0 - 16, psychological (10 items) scored 0 - 40,

isolation (9-items) scored 0-36, financial (10-items) scored (0-40), and sexual (8-items) scored 0-32.

QUALITATIVE QUESTIONS

As in the previous survey a number of open questions were include focusing on three areas of impact:

- What impact did this have on your psychological wellbeing?
- What impact did this have on your physical well-being?
- What impact did this have on your sense of choice and freedom?

APPENDIX 2: PARTICIPANT DETAILS

AGE

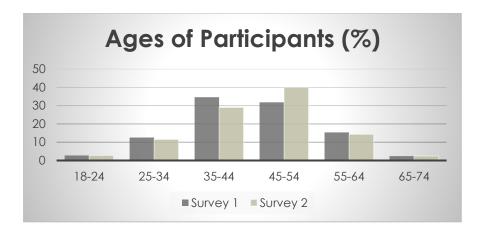


Figure 5. Age of Participants for Surveys One & Two.

Age distribution was constant and normal across the surveys. Two categories have the most participants: 35-44 years olds (32%) and 45-54 years olds (36%) accounting for 68% of the sample.

OCCUPATION

The majority of participants were employed.

Table 4. Employment Status of Participants

Employment Status	Survey 1	Survey 2
Full time	63.3%	68.3%
Part Time	11.5%	6.3%
Unemployed looking for work	5.6%	6.3%
Unemployed not looking	4.9%	5.2%
Retired	4.2%	5.2%
Student	4.9%	2.4%
Disabled	5.2%	5.6%

Participant occupations were similar across the surveys.

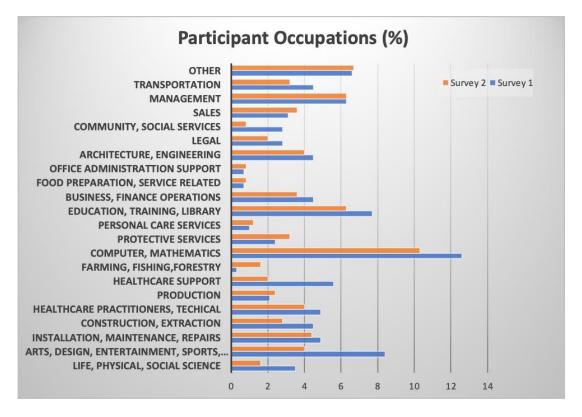


Figure 6. Participant Occupations for Surveys One & Two.

ETHNICITY

UK population demographics from the Census 2011 show that 86% of the population is white. The participants from both surveys are broadly in line with this, although there was a slight shift towards higher white ethnicity in survey 2 (see table 5).

RELIGION

Religious beliefs were broadly in line with 2011 Census Data. Survey 2 showed a decrease of 12.5% in the non-religious category and a 7.5% increase in the Catholicism/Christianity category. See table 6 for details.

SEXUALITY

Data from the Office of National Statistics (ONS:2018) shows that those that identify as heterosexual account for 94.6% of the UK population. Individuals identifying as lesbian, gay make up 2.2% and those identifying as bisexual accounting for 0.9% of the UK population. In our surveys there were some slight differences compared to ONS data. This may be due to the ONS combining data from men and women to give an overall view - see table 7.

Table 5. Ethnicity for Surveys One & Two.

Ethnicity	Survey 1	Survey 2
White - English/Welsh/Scottish/NI/British	76.90%	81.30%
Any other white background	6.30%	7.50%
White - Irish	3.10%	3.60%
Mixed/Multiple ethnic groups	1%	0.80%
Any other ethnic group	1%	0.40%
White - Gypsy or traveller	0.30%	0.40%
White and Black Caribbean	0.30%	1.20%
White and Asian	0.30%	0.80%
Any other Mixed/Multiple ethnic background	0.70%	0.40%
Asian/Asian British	0.70%	2%
Indian	2.40%	0.80%
Pakistani	1%	0.40%
Any other Asian background	0.30%	0%
Black/African/Caribbean/Black British	0.30%	0.40%
African	0.30%	0%
Arab	1%	0%

Table 6. Religion for Surveys One & Two

Religion	Survey 1	Survey 2
Catholicism/Christianity	23.1%	30.6%
Non-Religious	54.2%	41.7%
Judaism	0.7%	0.4%
Islam	2.4%	1.2%
Buddhism	2.4%	1.6%
Hinduism	2.8%	1.6%
Prefer not to say	7.3%	9.5%
Other	6.6%	8.3%

Table 7. Sexuality for Surveys One & Two.

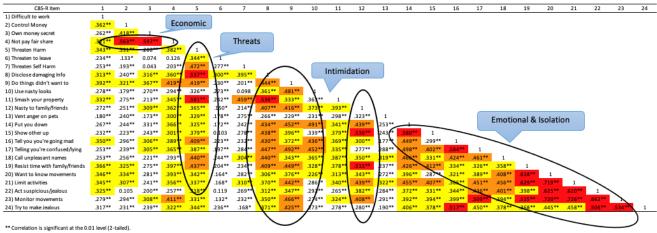
Sexuality	Survey 1	Survey 2
Heterosexual/Straight	92.7	90.1
Homosexual	2.4	3.6
Bisexual	4.5	5.2
Prefer not to say	0.3	1.2

CHILDREN

Two thirds, or more, of the men had children with the woman that had victimised them: 66% in Survey 1 and 70% in survey two.

APPENDIX 3: PEARSON CORRELATION TABLE





^{**} Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed)
* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).