

Victimisation from Physical Punishment and Intimate Partner
Aggression in South Africa: The Role of Revictimisation

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Abstract

Aim: The aim of the study was to investigate victimisation from physical punishment during childhood, victimisation from an intimate partner as an adult, and psychological concomitants.

Method: A questionnaire was completed by 190 females, 32 males, and three who did not state their sex. The respondents were from South Africa. The mean age was 40.0 years (*SD* 12.2) for females, and 29.7 years (*SD* 9.9) for males.

Results: For females, victimisation from physical punishment correlated significantly with victimisation from intimate partner controlling behaviours. For females, but not for males, victimisation from physical punishment during childhood correlated positively with depression and anxiety later in life. For both females and males, a high significant correlation was found between victimisation from intimate partner physical aggression and controlling behaviours, intimate partner physical aggression also correlated significantly with depression and anxiety. For males, victimisation from controlling behaviours correlated significantly with anxiety. Respondents who had been victimised more than average from physical punishment scored significantly higher than others on victimisation from controlling behaviours, intimate partner physical aggression, depression, and anxiety.

Conclusions: It was concluded that victimisation from intimate partner aggression was associated with previous victimisation from physical punishment during childhood and could therefore constitute a form of revictimisation.

Key Words: Controlling behaviours by a partner, physical intimate partner aggression, physical punishment during childhood, depression, anxiety, South Africa.

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1. Introduction

1.1 Aim of the Study

The aim of the current study was to investigate revictimisation from aggression in respondents from South Africa. The study includes measurements of victimisation from physical punishment during childhood and victimisation from intimate partner aggression and controlling behaviours during adulthood. The association with psychological problems in the form of depression and anxiety were also investigated.

1.2 Historical Background of Physical Punishment in South Africa

Physical punishment was institutionalised in South Africa during Apartheid and accepted as a normal disciplinary method (Dawes, De Sas Kropiwnicki, Kafaar, & Richter, 2005). This attitude and mechanism have bled into the education system and become an essential component in maintaining discipline (Morrell, 2006). Soon after Apartheid was abolished, physical punishment became outlawed. Comparatively, Sweden had prohibited child physical punishment in 1979, and Finland in 1983 (Österman, Björkqvist, & Wahlbeck, 2014). South Africa's historical background paints a picture of obedience and it is related to why the country still faces one of the highest rates of intimate partner violence and child victimisation (Dawes et al., 2005).

As mentioned above, the South African Schools Act no. 84 of 1996 and The Abolition of Corporal Punishment Act No. 33 of 1997, sought to eliminate the culture of violence brought on by Apartheid which was more common in schools (Breen, Daniels & Tomlinson, 2015; Morrell, 2001). Despite physical punishment being illegalized, research shows that it is still persistent throughout the country especially in rural settings (Breen et al., 2015). Additionally, sometimes to preserve their culture, many ethnic African tribes reject current knowledge. Leaving those growing into the culture unequipped with alternatives on how to approach conflict (Muchane, 2011). According to Morrell (2001), some progress has been made but the transition is not easy. In 2005, 300 teachers were removed from their jobs and charged with committing offences such as assaulting learners (Naong, 2007). Furthermore, the environment which allows a lack of accountability demonstrated how matters are dealt with in the eyes of the law. A review of the penal system from the colonial era up until recently can provide a summary of how much change has taken place.

The penal system, which was rooted in physical punishment, torture in the form of whippings was common in colonial periods (Killingray, 1994; Midgley, 1982). According to Naong (2007), the aim of empowering individuals to take responsibilities for their and others' rights, is not possible due to the lack of support from authorities. In the past, physical punishment was administered to criminals, and the degree of intensity the punishment was dealt with frequently resulted in injury or death. The 1800's saw a change in legislation in terms of juvenile cases, limiting the number of whippings children under the age of 15 could receive. South Africa's legislative history with physical punishment demonstrates a strong attachment to this form of disciplinary measure (Killingray, 1994).

In the 1900's, most Western countries had already removed physical punishment from the penal system. The 1950's brought reforms to prevent parents from using physical punishment in Sweden (Council of Europe, 2007). In contrast, South Africa was still holding on to this form of torture and was particularly more adverse for juveniles and children of African descent. The argument based on a lack of alternatives, stated that because black Africans were still "uncivilized", this punishment acted as a form of deterrence. Nevertheless, of these arguments, the judicial commission felt that the punishments were severely harsh and were likely to cause psychological damage to children. Moreover, it was stated that children who originated from troubled homes were more likely to experience further psychological issues. Psychological and psychiatric arguments were able to persuade the justice system then to seek and utilize methods that would be constructive for the individual (Midgley, 1982). Despite the judicial commission's statements against physical punishment for penal reasons, physical punishment continued to be applied in school settings.

The introduction of Bantu education meant that African learners would still be the target of unfair physical punishment. As a result, black boys and girls were thought to be more vulnerable to physical punishment at school; contrarily in English schools, boys were most commonly the only victims of severe punishment (Naong, 2007). The 1980's brought about retaliation towards the authorities and a call to end physical punishment. Notably, opposition toward physical violence was not focused on its violent nature, but the inequality factor. The inequality factor mentioned here refers to the asymmetrical nature of physical punishment. The party of the administering end always determines what is appropriate behaviour. Moreover, the victim in this case is at the mercy of the perpetrator whose motives may not be consistent and rational leading to cruel and malicious punishment.

The end of Apartheid meant that themes of authoritarianism and gender inequality had begun to be challenged. The democracy that came post-apartheid was also part of the international

community's pressure to enforce human rights (Morrell, 2001). Human right laws emphasized that the respect of humanity should not be exclusive to adults, but that children too have the right to be protected (Council of Europe, 2007). The United Nations Committee on the Rights of the Child (2011), states that all children require protection from all forms of violence including neglect, abuse, negligence, maltreatment of any sort of abuse including sexual abuse. To date, the transition from physical punishment at home or school has only been on a political basis. In private settings, many South Africans still support the use of physical punishment (Morrell, 2001). Research outlined the fact that most violence takes place at home and/or school settings from family and teachers.

Recently, the opinion of physical punishment has not changed, in 2004 teachers were still against the prohibition of physical punishment at schools. Believing that it is the only method that can successfully maintain discipline. However, the reality was that many teachers felt they had been stripped of their power and respect while other appropriate disciplinary methods required more effort and knowledge (Naong, 2007). Additionally, the issue also stems from adults who take inspiration from first-hand experiences with physical punishment. This has led to a cycle of multiple generations taking turns to raise children using the same methods (Council of Europe, 2007).

According to Breen et al. (2015), South Africa is included in the 6 out of 10 countries with the highest rates of physical punishment. More than three quarters of the children in these 10 countries reported to having experienced physical punishment (Breen et al., 2015). Not excluding the difference in how the act of physical punishment is interpreted by the child versus the parent. Thereafter, in the early years of its abolishment between 1998 till 2001, students had been recorded stating that the decrease in physical punishment was a positive development. However, some students mentioned that since the abolishment of physical punishment other learners had become disrespectful, and detention was not an effective method of discipline (Morrell, 2001). In 2004, it was mentioned in research that more than 50% of parents admitted to using corporal punishment (Dawes et al., 2005). A survey conducted in South African schools in 2015 indicated that almost all used physical punishment as a form of discipline. (Global Initiative to End All Corporal Punishment of Children, 2020). Conversely, between 2018 and 2019 the South African Council for Educators had registered more than 633 cases of teacher misconduct of which 295 were related to physical punishment (South African Council for Educators, 2019). This demonstrates that despite official bans on corporal punishment being in place most schools in South Africa are guilty of utilising it for discipline. The next section discusses victimisation from physical punishment during childhood.

1.3 Definition and Nature of Physical Punishment

Physical punishment (PP) is referred to as an action taken to inflict pain on an individual in the name of punishment (Council of Europe, 2007). More specifically, any form of punishment in which physical force is used to cause some degree of pain intentionally or unintentionally. The main purpose of administering physical punishment is as a corrective discipline technique in response to an offence the child has committed. The offence is usually interpreted by the adults or parents, who are motivated by the inappropriate behavioural deterrent abilities punishment holds (Ennew & Pierre Plateau, 2004).

Many parents or adults rely on physical punishment to prevent bad behaviour from their children. The degree of severity, as well as the methods used to administer the punishment, vary between households. Some methods include hitting the child with one's hands which is most often referred to as spanking. In other examples, objects such as whips, shoes, or belts are used to hit the child. Punishment is not exclusive to physical form; some adults can also verbally abuse children through humiliation and threats (Council of Europe, 2007). Evidence exists that demonstrates how physical punishment has immediate compliance effects on the child's behaviour in response to the parent's demands. On the other hand, the punishment can give rise to an unwanted behaviour where the child becomes more restless rather than calm. Consequently, the parents will have to increase the severity as time goes to produce the same compliance response (Gershoff, 2010). When the severity of the punishment is increased it is no longer physical punishment but physical abuse. Research shows that in the long run an individual's probability of developing undesirable behaviours is high (Baumrind, Larzelere, & Cowan, 2002). The harmful effects do not stop at aggression and physical injury, there is also emotional pain (Sanapo & Nakamura, 2010).

Physical punishment is not confined to the domestic setting but can spill over into the educational setting. Beyond the methods that form part of physical punishment, the settings in which it is often administered are important to consider. Violence which is accepted in one setting may create a continuous cycle thereby overflowing into settings such education and community environments (United Nations Office of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General on Violence against Children, 2016). According to Ortiz-Ospina (2017), almost 70% of parents in the United States agreed to strongly agreed with spanking to discipline in 2016. Jaghoory, Björkqvist, and Österman (2015), mentioned in a research article on extreme physical punishment by teachers that four out of five parents themselves believe that children

require physical punishment at school. Schools provide an environment in which children can easily internalise values. Hence, educational settings that are filled with violence, disrespect and intolerance not only have an impact on the victim. Pupils who are not victims of physical punishment can unwittingly develop anxiety and fear from the environment (United Nations Office of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General on Violence against Children, 2016). Although, physical punishment is widely debated, it is known to be linked to other negative behaviours and disorders. Amongst these behaviours' children are said to develop further aggression, interpersonal relationship problems, anxiety, and depression (Gershoff, 2002). Children are recorded more often considering the punishment harsher than the parent or adult. Additionally, children indicated that adults would reprimand them using objects for minor misbehaving's (Breen et al., 2015). At times, these reprimanding actions can be severe and may even be the onset of abusive behaviour from adults to children. One example is a first grader who was hit with a pipe on the head. Furthermore, in some instances the punishment is used to justify motives which are unrelated to discipline. For example, a teacher physically punishing a learner to coerce them into sex with an adult (Veriava, Hodgson, & Thom, 2017). Moreover, the punishment children receive is based on the adult's perception of what can be considered as inappropriate, while disregarding the idea that these are typical behaviours from children. Children are denied their human nature because adults want to instil a particular behaviour (Pizzirani, Karantzas, Roisman, & Simpson, 2020). Picture teachers throwing hot water at learners while hanging them upside down. Extreme disciplinary measures such as those mentioned previously reveal the dehumanising nature of physical punishment and its inconsistency between severity and rationale for the punishment.

According to United Nations Office of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General on Violence against Children (2016), frequent victimisation in the educational setting can result in learner dropouts. Dropout rates present as an issue not just for the individual but on a societal level. High dropout rates in developing countries can affect the economy, where the inability to receive an education leaves the individual stuck in a cycle of poverty ((Nisar Ul Haq et al., 2019; United Nations Office of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General on Violence against Children, 2016).

1.3.1 Challenges Associated with Eliminating Childhood Physical Punishment

The United Nations composed 17 Sustainable Development goals based on relevant societal issues. Sustainable Development Goals are aimed at improving the general societal living conditions. Goal 16 refers to promoting peaceful and inclusive societies for sustainable

development, provide access to justice for all and build effective, accountable, and inclusive institutions at all levels. Furthermore, when expanded on goal 16 consists of its own well-defined targets and indicators. Target 16.2, meant to end abuse, exploitation, trafficking, and all forms of violence against and torture of children includes physical punishment and or psychological aggression by caregivers as its indicator (*Transforming Our World: The 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development*, 2015; United Nations Economic and Social Council, 2020). However, as recent as 2019 violence directed at children was still a major issue in almost 70 countries. Countries with socio-economic levels ranging from low to middle income were said to have 80% of their children having been subjected to some form of psychological aggression and or physical punishment (United Nations Economic and Social Council, 2020). In view of findings such as those mentioned a variety of challenges exist that prevent goal 16 and its targets from being fulfilled (Choi, Yoo, Park, Lee, Tran, Lee, & Oh, 2018).

Firstly, the notion of physical punishment as a form of discipline is problematic in the sense that it makes it difficult to achieve the goal. Unfortunately, in many cases, the perpetrator is the caregiver who is under the belief that this action benefits the child's upbringing (Knox, 2020). Research shows that parents or adults who had grown up in settings where violence was normalized are more inclined to carry over the same practices when raising their own children. When non-violent alternatives that can decrease the risk of abuse are provided (Breen et al., 2015), parents are more likely to become defensive and refuse to understand the need for change (Knox, 2020). Parents may reject alternative recommendations due to the level of education they received. Caregivers with little to lack of education perceive physical punishment as a character-building disciplinary approach (Nisar Ul Haq et al., 2019). Physical punishment is said to build character in the sense that the child learns to toughen up and grow thick skin.

Secondly, societal factors such as culture and general perspective of violence in a country, work to reinforce this mentality. Factors such as the judicial system, and overall inequality within the country also contribute to the normative attitude towards physical punishment. Take for example the concept of societal coercion which creates the impression that parents who do not use physical punishment are inadequate parents (Straus, 1991). The next section discusses how the challenges seek to validate the practice of physical punishment.

1.3.2 Childhood Physical Punishment and Contributing Factors

African, and specifically South African culture are rooted in patriarchy hence most societal systems favour masculinity (Breen et al., 2015; Mogale, Burns, & Richter, 2012). In the 19th

century, racial hierarchy was solidified in South Africa by Apartheid laws and segregation. As a result, the societal structure positioned men of every race as the dominant household figures, which left the submissive role to women and children. Furthermore, an authoritarian education system emphasized a hierarchy of dominance detailing adults having authority over children and men over women (Morrell, 2001). Records of South African society after Apartheid inform of increased rates of violence due to societal factors such as inequality in both economic and social settings, as well as high rates of substance abuse (Gass, Stein, Williams, & Seedat, 2010).

The inequality a society faces may contribute to the prevalence of physical punishment in families. According to Choi et al. (2018), wealthier families are less likely to have children experiencing child physical punishment. Moreover, the parents from low-income households are less inclined to abandon the belief system of physical punishment as a discipline. Belief in physical punishment was exacerbated in the case of a child with a disability, in these cases the vulnerability aspect increases the chances of physical abuse. Additionally, families with middle or upper socio-economic status enforce discipline using alternative methods. Positive reinforcement is one method, where parents encourage positive behaviours by providing rewards. Parents from low socio-economic status often lack adequate resources to enable them the use of reward systems in place of harsh disciplinary measures. Furthermore, parents from low-income households experience more stress factors that limit their ability to consider alternatives (Choi et al., 2018). Low-income parents are often unable to spend time disciplining their children and physical punishment is the easiest option.

More often low-income families face financial uncertainties which exacerbate the already difficult responsibility of parenting. Due to limited financial resources or family support low-income parents find themselves in situations that can induce family violence because of increased parental stress. Parental stress is a psychological reaction that emerges from an inconsistency between the parent's expectations and how a lack of resources prevents them from fulfilling those expectations. Notably, research has indicated that parental stress is linked to the use of harsh parenting methods such as corporal punishment. Moreover, parents who experience parental stress are more likely to engage in authoritarian parenting style. Meanwhile authoritarian parenting styles are more commonly associated with detached parent and child relationships (Chung, Lanier, & Wong, 2020). Children can go on to present external or internal symptoms that carry into adulthood because of the harmful developmental effects punitive parenting styles carry (Chung et al., 2020).

Poor parent-child bonds may lead to children developing persisting side effects long into adulthood such as depression (Patoek-Peckham, Ebbert, Woo, Finch, Broussard, Ulloa, &

Moses, 2020). The financial and time constraints low-income parents' experiences also prevent them from developing strong relationship bonds. Children who are subjected to frequent physical punishment by parents can develop insecure attachment bonds due to the confusion they experience in terms of support (Breen et al., 2015). Relationships with others are a crucial factor in predicting the recovery for those who have experienced a traumatic event such as domestic violence, especially in parent-child relationships where the interaction determines how the child will fare in the future to adversity (Breen et al., 2015). The type of relationship children have with their parents act as a buffers to the negative effects; positive parent-child relationships in which parents are responsive and attentive to the child's needs from birth lessen the effects of PP trauma (Hambrick, Brawner, Perry, Brandt, Hofmeister, & Collins, 2019).

Supportive structures are vital in validating individuals' experiences and demonstrating understanding (Graham-Kevan et al., 2015). Unfortunately, the stress factors for low-income households do not just stop at parental stress, several studies have found associations between substance abuse, poverty, child maltreatment, and intimate partner violence. Children with parents who have substance abuse problems are vulnerable to child maltreatment. Vulnerability to childhood adverse experiences is aggravated in cases where domestic violence and substance abuse co-occur. Mainly due to substance abuse, mental illness and violence having comorbidities to one another (Goldberg & Blaauw, 2019). Thus, the more risk factors present around an individual or community the higher the prevalence of child maltreatment. However, it is important to highlight that risk factors which exist on their own are not enough for an association to child maltreatment to be made. Although, in the South African context research has identified a high comorbidity of substance use disorders and mental illnesses. Disorders such as anxiety and substance abuse are present in 13% -15 % of South Africa's population (Pasche & Myers, 2012). The comorbidity of substance abuse and mental illnesses increases the likelihood for negative impacts to occur (Pasche & Myers, 2012).

Furthermore, communities which experience high rates of violence and substance abuse share a link with child maltreatment. The association between alcohol abuse and child maltreatment share a stronger link in comparison to drug use. Especially, when taking into consideration the close relationship between alcohol and aggression. Substance abuse has been documented as being a significant risk factor for aggression and vice versa. The inhibitory and frustration release properties alcohol carry seems to be the determining factor for this interaction (Chester & DeWall, 2018; Goldberg & Blaauw, 2019; Pasche & Myers, 2012). The association between alcohol and aggression are further exacerbated when combined with additional psychopathic characteristics. Excessive physical punishment in the South African

context may share a relationship with the use of alcohol within the country. Research on South Africa's alcohol use states almost 40% of the adult population are frequent drinkers, with nearly 15% of those being high risk drinkers. Moreover, alcohol and drug use seem to be more pervasive among communities with limited resources. Therefore, it can be said that a high number of physical punishment cases occur within the cycle of poverty (Goldberg & Blaauw, 2019; United Nations Office of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General on Violence against Children, 2016). The following section discusses the nature and definition of intimate partner aggression.

1.4 Definition and Nature of Intimate Partner Aggression

Intimate partner aggression (IPA) is described as any form of physical, psychological, or sexual harm, that an individual has experienced by their intimate partner (Brown, Perera, Masho, Mezuk, & Cohen, 2015). Often both intimate partner aggression and child maltreatment are intertwined within a negative cycle. Children who are exposed to their parent's intimate partner aggression are more likely to grow up with the mentality that using physical force in interactions is acceptable. According to the social learning theory parents play a vital role in a child's behavioural modelling. Interestingly, parents are said hand down aggressive behaviours to their children. Parent-child bonds are important regarding what lessons children receive throughout their upbringing. For example, in households where aggression is used to assert dominance, both male and female children are likely to adopt aggressive behaviours. However, gender differences exist within the type of aggression behavioural cues children develop. Furthermore, based on evolutionary theory physical aggressive behaviours are more common among boys. Contrasting, verbal aggressive behaviours in girls (Patock-Peckham et al., 2020). Incidents of intimate partner aggression in households are not exclusive to those in the relationship; children can also become victims in these situations (Brown et al., 2015). Couples transition into parenthood often brings more complications than gratification according to some studies. The crisis the shift of parenthood creates for many couples can spell the onset of marital victimisation, which consequently becomes the child's upbringing environment (Eller, Marshall, Rholes, Vieth & Simpson, 2019). Children exposed to marital violence experience a duality; either being direct victims of the aggression or developing externalising behaviours because of the exposure ((Brown et al., 2015; Patock-Peckham et al., 2020). Dysfunctional family settings create an environment for developmental impediments along with negative behavioural lessons. Research on adverse childhood experiences mention that developmental

impediments are connected to trauma and adversity. Adverse experiences during childhood leads to negative after-effects in behaviour, emotions, and interpersonal relationships (Hambrick et al., 2019). Negative effects are persistent throughout the child's life, hindering their emotional development. Consequently, increasing the chance of experiencing depression, emotional instability, and low-self-esteem (Patock-Peckham et al., 2020). Records indicate that later in life children who witness IPA while growing up were more likely to become either victims or perpetrators themselves (Frade & De Wet-Billings, 2019).

Intimate partner aggression gender differences outcomes are dependent on the relationship between the parental figures. Male children are more likely to become perpetrators if the male parental figure used aggression. Male aggression according to the social learning theory is directed towards influencing other males. Society sets certain expectations on each gender which influences people's behaviour. Scenarios in which gender norms are not fulfilled a person may feel inclined to overcompensate (Patock-Peckham et al., 2020). Intimate partner aggression may come because of feelings of inadequacy projecting themselves in private settings. Victims in these cases tend to be those that the perpetrator deems as weak and easy to assert dominance over (Darko, Björkqvist, & Österman, 2018; Patock-Peckham et al., 2020).

In the United States, almost 40% of women and 30% of men have experienced intimate partner aggression (Brown et al., 2015). This is in line with the world average of 30% of women having experienced IPA (Devries, Mak, García-Moreno, Petzold, Child, Falder, & Watts, 2013). Generally, intimate partner aggression has been perceived as asymmetrical with females reporting experiencing higher rates. Studies conducted in equal societies contradict the traditional notion of asymmetry, instead provide evidence that males are just as likely to be victims of IPA. Symmetry between males and females in terms of aggression is only valid in scenarios of acute aggression. Cases in which extreme aggression in other words violence is utilised (e.g., likely to lead to injury or death) males are still considered as the most common perpetrators (Darko et al., 2018). In South Africa's case the lack of statistical information on the prevalence of IPA is due to the flawed crime report method. Several factors contribute to the inadequacy of the crime reporting methods, although, most can be linked to the unsatisfactory nature of the criminal justice system. The criminal justice system's unsatisfactory performance is based on the relationship between victims and the police (Schönteich & Louw, 2001). Police are said to not record victim reports. Moreover, only few incidents which are recorded by law enforcement and subsequently land in court, end in convictions. The failure to report and record from both sides create obstacles in addressing many of the crime related problems in the country, especially IPA. Effective reporting methods

can increase the reputation of the criminal justice system which in turn can improve the deterrence of crime (Schönteich & Louw, 2001). Moreover, what information is available within the South African IPA context is focused mainly on female victims (Gass et al., 2010). Hence, the traditional view of asymmetry prevails. A study on mortality and IPA conducted in South Africa highlighted that at least half of all female murder victims in the year 1999 were due to an intimate partner (Abrahams, Jewkes, Martin, Mathews, Vetten, & Lombard, 2009). More recently, a study conducted on IPA in South Africa found that between the years 2003 and 2004 almost 30% of women had experienced IPA (Gass et al., 2010). The study also cited childhood physical abuse or extreme punishment as risk factors for intimate partner aggression later in adulthood (Gass et al., 2010). Childhood adversities connection with intimate partner aggression is not only an issue on the individual level but on the micro level too. Intimate Partner Aggression can be witnessed in several forms, the most common is physical aggression. Additionally, controlling behaviours are also utilised alongside physical violence towards the victimised partner (Darko et al., 2018). The following sections comprehensively discuss the forms of aggression that occur within intimate partner aggression.

1.4.1 Aggression

Aggression is a blanket term used to refer to any sort of behaviour in which harm or injury are inflicted on an individual (Berkowitz, 1978; Geen, 1998). Despite aggression being a widely used term, it is not categorised as scientific. Namely, aggression can be considered an umbrella term for other behaviours such as anger, violence, coercion, or punishment. Generally, aggression can be distinguished by two sets of reasoning. Reasoning behind an individual's aggression is based on what motivated him or her to act in this manner. Aggressive behaviour is generally understood as a reaction to some sort of provocation. However, this is not always the full picture, some individuals report being met with aggression spontaneously without any evident reason.

Perpetrators engaged in instrumental aggression do so seeking social or material rewards. Conversely, affective aggression is based on emotional grounds, where the perpetrator seeks to cause intentional harm (Berkowitz, 1978; Geen, 1998). Generally, the harmful outcomes that emerge from instrumental aggression can be understood as consequential damages from the main material goal (Berkowitz, 1978). Affective aggression is the most hostile between the two types of aggression. The danger present within affective aggression is found when the aggressor realises their intent of causing harm was successful. Consequently, this realisation reinforces their future behaviour (Berkowitz, 1978). The nature of aggression which is

motivated by emotional reasons tends to be on the reactive side. Meaning the aggressor is reacting or responding to something that has changed in his or her environment.

In terms of IPA the social environment in which the individual was brought up in becomes an important factor to consider. Our cognitive processes determine our emotional reactions. Aggression within relationships may be due to the cognitive process utilised to interpret interpersonal interactions (Geen, 1998). Parents whose aggressive behaviour results in positive outcomes rather than negative create an environment of harmful influence for their offspring. Hence, some children expect that certain behaviours are likely to result in aggressive reactions. Moreover, they develop an understanding that aggressive behaviours produce welcomed outcomes for the aggressor increasing the chances of them behaving violently (Geen, 1998). Hence, the aggressive mentality develops since no consequential reaction is expected which in turn only reinforces further aggressive behaviour.

1.4.1.1 Physical Aggression

Physical aggression in relationships is marked by acts of beating or kicking a partner. This sort of violence can be bidirectional in nature, meaning both men and women can be violent partners. However, most of the research demonstrates that women experience the highest amounts of physical aggression at the hands of their partners (Krug, Dahlberg, Mercy, & Zwi, 2002). Three - quarters of women in a worldwide survey reported having experienced some form of physical violence in their relationships. One key feature of physical aggression in relationships is the extended period. Many individuals report experiencing multiple forms of violence over time (Krug et al., 2002). Extended periods of violence can escalate from verbal aggression that eventually culminates in physical acts. A variety of factors are said to be responsible for assaulting an intimate partner. One example is a violent history of witnessing their own parents or family being assaulted. Furthermore, substance abuse as well as living in low income can play a vital role in developing maladaptive coping behaviours leading to violence (Krug et al., 2002).

1.4.1.2 Controlling Behaviours

Typically, aggression is thought to be a physical act however, some cases have been recorded involving non-physical behaviour (Merrell, Buchanan, & Tran, 2006). According to Yamasaki and Nishida (2009), aggression in a relational nature normally constitutes of manipulation to achieve control over another individual. Furthermore, the indirect nature of control or manipulative aggression can go unnoticed by the victim and those around them. Perpetrators

use this form of inconspicuous aggression to avoid confrontation. Since controlling aggression pertains more to the psychological and emotional aspect of a relationship, the motives are typically unclear. Controlling individuals motives are unique according to each scenario, however, are usually connected to material gains, establishing dominance, or obtaining status of some kind (Merrell et al., 2006).

Controlling behaviours in intimate partner relationships can manifest in form of isolating the partner from support systems. Furthermore, limiting their ability to receive information or creating a dependent relationship (Krug et al., 2002). Most research describes the motives behind men's use of violence due to control seeking behaviour (Brown et al., 2015). In contrast other studies have indicated that both men and women participate in controlling behaviour (Jouriles & McDonald, 2014). Women's vulnerability to IPA can be linked to the level of equality they experience in their immediate society. If the society is male dominated meaning that she may be dependent on them to avoid poverty it may be difficult to leave an abusive situation (Krug et al., 2002). A patriarchal society such as South Africa's provides an environment where males dominate due to financial dominance. Possession of financial dominance justifies authority and control in the household, creating an atmosphere of inequality that is likely to result in IPA (Darko et al., 2018).

Financial or economic abuse is also one method that is used to control the partner. This can be achieved either through direct control over familial expenses, exploitation or not permitting the individual access to a career (Anitha, 2019). This controlling behaviour acts as a reinforcer to dependency, especially when there are children involved that the individual has responsibility over (Anitha, 2019).

1.5 Definition of Revictimisation

Revictimisation refers to individuals who were exposed to traumatic events during childhood and again later in adulthood. Childhood adversity is described as a predictive factor for revictimisation in adulthood (Dias, Sales, Mooren, Mota-Cardoso, & Kleber, 2017). Research demonstrates those with previous victimisation incidences are more likely to be revictimised. Recent research indicates that prior victimisation and trauma development are predictors of further incidences (Graham-Kevan, Brooks, Willan, Lowe, Robinson, Khan, Bryce, 2015). Children who witnessed adults using violence while growing up are more likely to perceive physical violence as an accepted conflict resolution method (Breen, Daniels, & Tomlinson, 2015). However, studies show that women are more likely to become victims in adulthood as

opposed to men becoming perpetrators because of growing up in a violent environment (Gass et al., 2010). Certain factors are said to contribute directly or indirectly to revictimisation, due to adverse childhood experiences. For example, an inability to regulate one's emotions can indirectly determine whether an individual is involved in risk taking behaviour that increases the likelihood of victimisation (Messman-Moore, Walsh, & DiLillo, 2010). The way in which an individual handles traumatic events is significant and reflective of the likelihood to experience revictimisation (Graham-Kevan et al., 2015).

Numerous studies have established the negative effects that physical punishment can have on an individual. Regardless, there seems to be some individuals that manage and adapt to the risk factors of physical punishment. Based on psychological knowledge this can be referred to as possessing resilience. Resilience is recognised as an individual's resources that enable and protect the person from the negative outcomes. The resources in this case may be internal within the individual or external such as family and community (Powell, Rahm-Knigge, & Conner, 2020). The properties of resilience act as protective factors which may aide in children's growth and adjustment as they mature. Resilient factors may in fact shield the child from developing negative coping habits that can contribute to revictimization. Furthermore, children with strong resilience demonstrate an increased capacity to cope with depression and anxiety in comparison to those that are low in resilience. However, it is important to take note that resilience factors are witnessed differently across different cultures. For example, in some cultures survivors of childhood adversity detailed that avoidance was helpful for their development (Ho, Chan, Shevlin, Karatzias, Chan, & Leung, 2019). While in other cultures going against the convention of saving face was more beneficial in the long run for them. Although, the culture's approach towards mental health and seeking help are significant in building resilience. African cultures are more likely to view seeking help for childhood adversity as bringing family dishonour. Thus, the effects of childhood adversity go without treatment for longer periods. Therefore, for an individual's resilience to grow or remain stable he or she requires innate self-esteem or motivation (Ho et al., 2019). Resilience is mainly an innate character an individual possesses, however, other factors such as family and community ties play vital roles. Unfortunately, often children that experience physical punishment at home or at school do not have access to these resources.

1.6 Psychological Concomitants

The risk of vulnerability in victims is subject to the negative impact assault experiences had on their psychology. The threat of death, sustaining a severe injury, and frequent experiences of violence are all categorised as traumatic events. Domestic violence such as child maltreatment, verbal abuse and sexual abuse meet the criteria for traumatic events. Depending on the duration of the victimisation, the adverse reactions people face may lead to psychological and social problems. Physical punishment during childhood presents as an issue across several nations and the consequences are not only momentary but are linked to long term effects. A strong association is demonstrated between adverse mental conditions and physical punishment during childhood (Afifi, MacMillan, Boyle, Taillieu, Cheung, & Sareen, 2014). Additionally, the age of the child as well as the frequency in which the punishment is given out directly influence the developmental path (Hambrick et al., 2019). Especially when the physical punishment has been subjected frequently and over an extended period, research states that most often children experience physical punishment from infancy through to adolescence (Knox, 2020). Given that families and living environments remain constant unless child-welfare becomes involved. Children from homes that administer physical punishment are more likely to experience a developmental delay compared to others their age (Hambrick et al., 2019).

People who grew up in an environment that had them subjected to multiple traumatic events are at higher risk for severe implications especially if many of the incidents occurred during childhood, which further hinders their social interactions related to interpersonal relationships, employment, or financial situation (Afifi et al., 2014). Furthermore, the connection between mental conditions and childhood physical punishment extends in later stages of life into negative thought patterns and behaviours that include suicidal ideation and drug dependency (Afifi et al., 2014). Moreover, it is applicable to attachment problems, maladjusted emotional responses, and cognitive consequences (Graham-Kevan et al., 2015). The toxicity of chronic stress is not only harmful in terms of mood, but for young children this can affect their brain development (Breen et al., 2015).

1.6.1 Depression

Persistent symptoms that last longer than four weeks are considered as post-traumatic stress disorder (Graham-Kevan et al., 2015). In terms of gender, those females who have previous victimisation experiences are twice more likely to develop PTSD compared to their male counterparts. This was aggravated further if the victimisation had occurred on multiple occasions and throughout childhood. The early victimisation incidents leave emotional and

neurological damage that would otherwise increase the level of trauma the individual experiences (Graham-Kevan et al., 2015).

1.6.2 Anxiety

Physical punishment not only results in physical injury, damage to emotional functioning is also highlighted. Children can often become anxious to their parent's reactions. Creating an environment of anxiety and avoidance (Breen et al., 2015). Pre-existing psychiatric disorders such as neurosis that present in victims can also increase the chances that traumatic symptoms develop further. Therefore, emotional instability and sensitivity to external danger or threat can lead to anxiety (Graham-Kevan et al., 2015). Anxiety is a disorder based on being fearful of future situations because physical punishment is meant to be painful to instil discipline. This often leaves the child angry or fearful of the adult (Breen et al., 2015).

1.7 Research Questions

For the purpose of the study the following research questions were investigated:

Question 1

Are there correlations between physical punishment during childhood and intimate partner controlling behaviours later in life?

Question 2

Are there correlations between physical punishment during childhood and victimisation from intimate partner physical aggression later in life?

Question 3

What difference exists between respondents who have been victimised more than average from physical punishment compared to others in terms of victimisation from controlling behaviours, victimisation from intimate partner physical aggression, depression, and anxiety?

2. Method

2.1 Sample

A questionnaire was completed by 190 female, 32 male respondents, and three who did not state their sex. The respondents were from South Africa. The mean age was 40.0 years (SD 12.2) for females, and 29.7 years (SD 9.9) for males. The age difference was significant [$t_{(219)} = 4.49, p < .001$]. The age range was between 16 and 67 years.

2.2 Instrument

A questionnaire was constructed for measuring victimisation from an intimate partner as an adult, victimisation during childhood, and psychological concomitants. The following scales were included: victimisation from (a) controlling behaviours by a partner, (b) physical intimate partner aggression, (c) physical punishment during childhood, (d) depression, and (e) anxiety.

Controlling behaviours by a partner was measured with an abbreviated and revised version of The Controlling Behaviour Scale (CBS-R: Graham-Kevan & Archer, 2005). The seven items were: “Have you ever experienced any of the following behaviours from a partner?” (a) Limited the activities you can engage in outside the relationship, (b) Restricted the time you spend with your own friends and/or family, (c) Wanted to know everywhere you go and with whom you speak, (d) Been jealous of you and therefore monitored your activities, (e) Not let you use money that belongs to both of you, (f) Disapproved of you working or studying, and (g) Decided how you should dress. The response alternatives were on a five-point scale (0 = never, 1 = seldom, 2 = sometimes, 3 = often, 4 = very often). Cronbach’s alpha for the scale was .95.

Victimisation from physical intimate partner aggression was measured with an abbreviated victim version of The Direct Indirect Aggression Scales for Adults (DIAS-Adult: Österman & Björkqvist, 2009). The seven items were: “Has your present or a previous partner done any of the following things to you?” (a) Hit you, (b) Locked you in, (c) Locked you out, (d) Shoved you, (e) Thrown objects at you, (f) Intentionally damaged something that was yours, and (g) Hit you with an object. The response alternatives were on a five-point scale (0 = never, 1 = seldom, 2 = sometimes, 3 = often, 4 = very often). Cronbach’s alpha for the scale was .88.

Physical punishment during childhood was measured with The Brief Physical Punishment Scale (BPPS: Österman, & Björkqvist, 2007). The items were: “When you were a child, did an adult in your home do any of the following things to you?” (a) Pull your hair, (b) Pull your ear,

(c) Hit you with the hand, and (d) Hit you with an object. The response alternatives were on a five-point scale (0 = never, 1 = seldom, 2 = sometimes, 3 = often, 4 = very often). Cronbach's alpha for the scale was .82.

Depression and anxiety were measured with six respectively five items from the Brief Symptom Inventory (Derogatis & Melisaratos, 1983). Response alternatives were on a five-point scale (0 = not at all, 1 = a little, 2 = moderately, 3 = much, 4 = extremely much). Cronbach's alpha was .93 for both depression and anxiety.

2.3 Procedure

The data collection was conducted with an online questionnaire. The link was shared by email or through social media with the respondents. The link was active from the 9th of September 2020 till the 27th of November 2020.

2.4 Ethical Considerations

The study is consistent with the principles concerning human research ethics of the Declaration of Helsinki (World Medical Association, 2013), as well as it follows the guidelines for the responsible conduct of research of The Finnish Advisory Board on Research Integrity (2012).

3. Results

3.1 Correlations between the Scales in the Study

For females, victimisation from physical punishment during childhood correlated significantly with victimisation from controlling behaviours perpetrated by an intimate partner later in life (Table 1). A tendency was also found for a significant positive correlation between victimisation from physical punishment and intimate partner physical aggression. Victimization from physical punishment during childhood correlated positively with depression and anxiety later in life. A high significant correlation was found between victimisation from intimate partner physical aggression and controlling behaviours perpetrated by the partner. Both controlling behaviours and physical aggression correlated significantly with depression and anxiety.

For males, a tendency was found between physical punishment during childhood and depression during adulthood, there was no association with anxiety (Table 1). A tendency was also found between physical punishment and victimisation from controlling behaviours by a female partner later in life. There was no association between physical punishment and victimisation from intimate partner physical aggression. Victimization from intimate partner physical aggression correlated significantly with both depression and anxiety for men. For victimisation from controlling behaviours a significant correlation was found with anxiety, for depression only a tendency was found. For males, a high significant correlation was found between victimisation from intimate partner physical aggression and controlling behaviours perpetrated by their female partner. Anxiety and depression were highly correlated with each other for both females and males.

Table 1
Correlations between the Scales in the Study, Females below the Diagonal (N = 190), Males above (N = 33)

Scales	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.
1. Controlling Behaviours		.65 ***	.30 †	.40 †	.47 *
2. Intimate Partner Physical Aggression	.70 ***		.12 <i>ns</i>	.59 ***	.63 ***
3. Physical Punishment	.24 ***	.15 †		.33 †	.20 <i>ns</i>
4. Depression	.38 ***	.43 ***	.28 ***		.86 ***
5. Anxiety	.37 ***	.38 ***	.20 *	.84 ***	

*** $p \leq .001$; ** $p < .005$; * $p < .01$, † $< .10$

3.2 Differences Associated with High or Low Victimization from Physical Punishment during Childhood

A new variable was constructed based on z -scores of victimisations from physical punishment during childhood. Respondents with values below the mean were assigned to the group of low physical punishment, and respondents with values above the mean were assigned to the group of high victimisations. A multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) was conducted with physical punishment (high/low) as independent variables and victimisation from intimate partner controlling behaviours, victimisation from intimate partner physical aggression, depression, and anxiety as dependent variables. The multivariate test was significant (Table 2). The univariate analyses showed that respondents belonging to the high physical punishment group scored significantly higher than those from the low group on victimisation from controlling behaviours, victimisation from physical aggression, depression, and anxiety (Figs. 1–4).

Table 2
Results of a Multivariate Analysis of Variance (MANOVA) with Physical Punishment (High/Low) as Independent Variables, and Four Dependent Variables (N = 223)

	<i>F</i>	<i>df</i>	<i>p</i> ≤	η_p^2	Group with higher mean
Effect of Group (High/Low)					
Multivariate Analysis	6.45	4, 218	.001	.106	
Univariate Analyses					
Victimisation from Controlling Behaviours	12.99	1, 221	.001	.056	HI PP
Victimisation from Physical Aggression	7.12	“	.008	.031	HI PP
Depression	14.61	”	.001	.062	HI PP
Anxiety	4.56	”	.034	.020	HI PP

Note. HI PP = High Physical Punishment Group

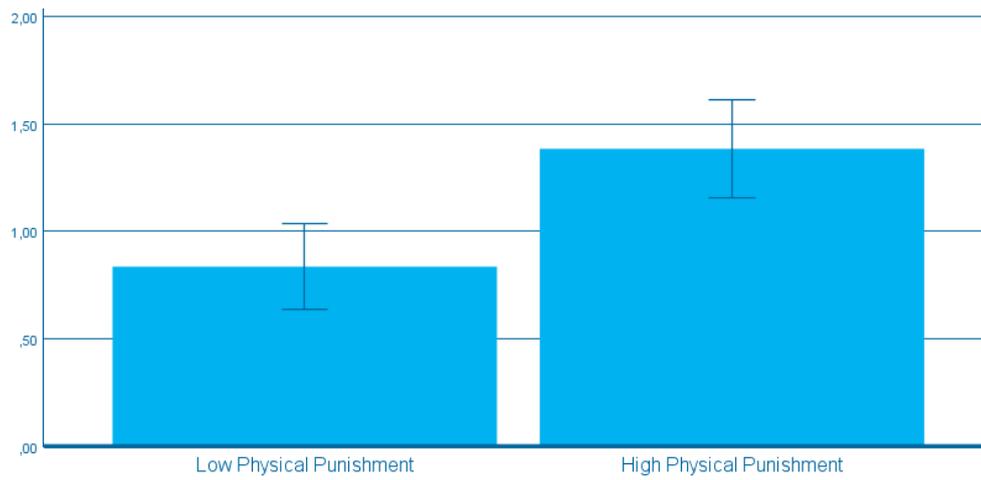


Fig. 1. Mean values on victimisation from intimate partner controlling behaviours for respondents with a high respectively a low level of victimisation from physical punishment during childhood ($N = 223$).

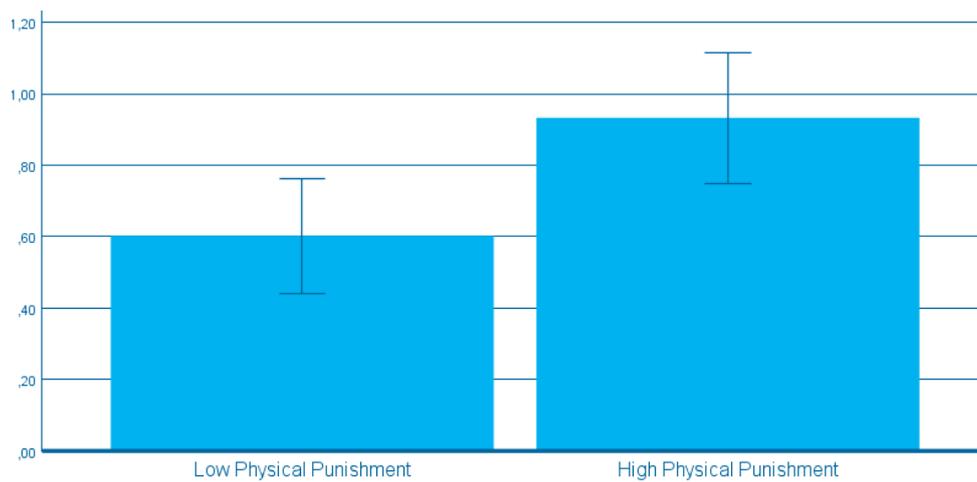


Fig. 2. Mean values on victimisation from intimate partner physical aggression for respondents with a high respectively a low level of victimisation from physical punishment during childhood ($N = 223$).

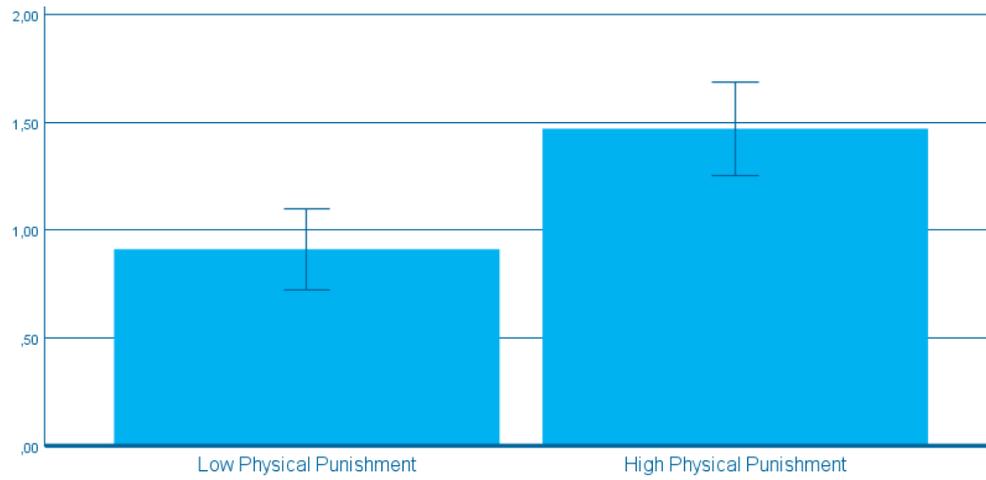


Fig. 3. Mean values on *depression* for respondents with a high respectively a low level of victimisation from physical punishment during childhood ($N = 223$).

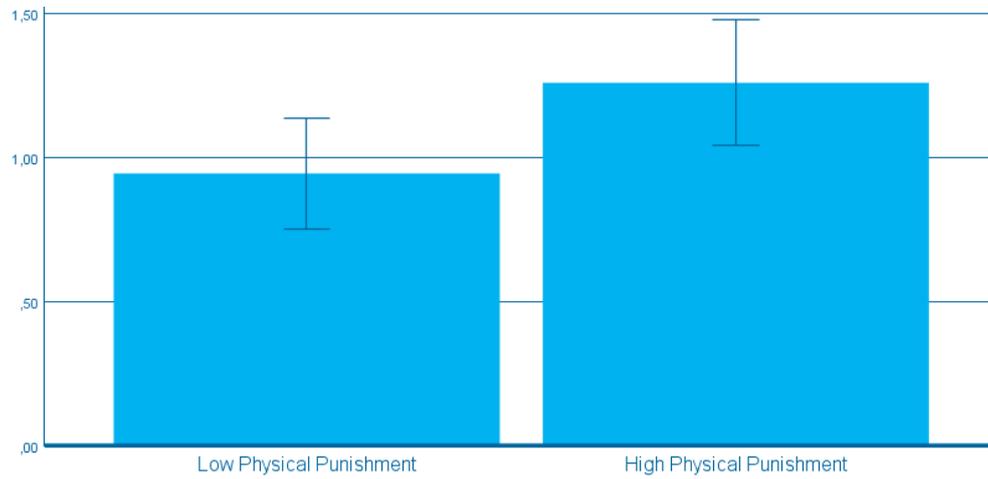


Fig. 4. Mean values on *anxiety* for respondents with a high respectively a low level of victimisation from physical punishment during childhood ($N = 223$).

4. Discussion

4.1 Summary of the Results

This study provides evidence for early childhood physical punishment antecedents of revictimisation as intimate partner aggression in adulthood. The current findings suggest several factors in relation to the research aims.

Firstly, the study investigated whether victimisation from physical punishment during childhood is correlated with victimisation from intimate partner controlling behaviours later in life. Results indicated that female's physical punishment during childhood increases the likelihood of experiencing controlling behaviour in intimate partner relationships. In addition, physical punishment in earlier life mediated for intimate partner physical aggression in adulthood. The findings can be contextualized with the existing research which mentions that women are more likely to be victims if there was physical aggression in the childhood family (Kalmuss, 1984). One explanation provided for this occurrence may be related to the role social norms play in behaviour. Behavioural scripts differ between the genders due to socialization. Men are socialized to place more value on aggressive behaviour according to evolutionary explanations (Anderson & Bushman, 2002; Straus, 1991). Therefore, in an environment that is filled with aggression the male child is more likely to select violent scripts that represent his gender norm. Contrarily, women do not acquire these scripts, which does not enable them to practice this sort of behaviour often (Anderson & Bushman, 2002; Straus, 1991). Another explanation for this is based on the authority in the household. Children are more likely to grow up thinking that aggression is an appropriate behaviour based on who the perpetrator between mother and father was (Kalmuss, 1984; Renner & Slack, 2006). In households where the father is the common aggressor, both boys and girls have a high probability of becoming IPA offenders (Kalmuss, 1984).

In contrast, the results indicated no link between physical punishment and victimisation from intimate partner aggression for males. Although, there was a connection in physical punishment and controlling behaviours. One explanation as to why men are not likely to be victims of aggression but rather are subjected to controlling behaviour from their female partner can be found in the gender aggression differences. As mentioned by Kalmuss (1984), both males and females can be affected by witnessing IPA in the home environment while growing up, perhaps females are not often acknowledged as perpetrators of IPA due to aggressive behaviour more often being defined as physical. Most aggression research has stated that there are gender differences between how men and women engage in aggression. More often because

females do not have the same physical advantage as men (Björkqvist, 1994), they tend to use other methods (Karakurt & Silver, 2013). Alternative methods women use include psychological strategies such as passive aggression. The purpose of these strategies is found in humiliating or decreasing someone's sense of self-worth without directly being involved. This reduces the chances of being confronted with physical violence (Björkqvist, 1994). Often indirect aggressive actions go unrecognised and are not labelled as aggressive, hence a female perpetrator is more likely to go unnoticed (Björkqvist, 1994; Dutton, Nicholls, & Spidel, 2005). However, there have been other studies that contradict the latter. As mentioned by Dutton et al. (2005), men (69.2%) and women (78.8%) had similar rates of psychological abuse. Additionally, both genders had experienced similar amounts of physical abuse from the other (men = 23.1% and women = 26.9%). This is indicative of the bidirectional nature of IPA in which men can be victims as well (Dutton et al., 2005).

Secondly, the study also analysed whether respondents who have been victimised from physical punishment demonstrated feelings of depression and anxiety. In terms of psychological concomitants, the results pointed to an expected relationship between anxiety and depression. An overall link between controlling behaviour, physical aggression, and depression was found. This could be related to physical violence being the successor to psychological abuse and how an extended duration of abuse increases the likelihood of mental disorders (Moraes, Marques, Reichenheim, Ferreira, & Salles-Costa, 2016; Schneider, Baron, Davies, Munodawafa & Lund, 2018). Additionally, the results also indicated that males who had received physical punishment as children were more likely to experience depression. Other studies had similar interpretations which mentioned the correlation between physical punishment and mental conditions such as depression (Afifi et al., 2014). Later in adulthood, men in violent relationships had also reported feeling depressed and anxious. Contrasting most research which indicate females mainly reporting being depressed while in a violent relationship (Afifi et al., 2014). Furthermore, controlling relationships brought about more feelings of anxiety compared to depression. Perhaps this could be linked to the nature of control and its general relationship with anxiety. Controlling behaviour is difficult to recognize and victims are reluctant to disclose its occurrence in fear that others will not believe them. Alongside childhood factors such as controlling parents could have a lasting effect on the individual. Studies have shown that children who grew up with controlling parents can develop behavioural responses in line with anxiety. In adulthood this can manifest as anticipation and avoidance in reaction to similar controlling relationships. (Krantz & Vung, 2009; van der Bruggen, Bögels, & van Zeilst, 2010). Men also reported that female partners used controlling

behaviour alongside aggression. A study on gender differences in depression and anxiety among victims of intimate partner violence achieved similar results. The study mentions that men who had been psychologically victimized in the relationship had feelings of anxiety and depression. The relationship between control in IPA and depression may be explained by considering shame, and how it may bring about feelings of hopelessness and worthlessness (Shorey, Sherman, Kivisto, Elkins, Rhatigan, & Moore, 2010). South African men live in a society that encourages male dominance; a controlling female partner may bring about feelings of shame for them not living up to the social norm (Mantell et al., 2009; Shorey et al., 2010).

4.2 Limitations and Recommendations of the Study

This paper discussed an overview of physical punishment and intimate partner aggression in relation to the role of revictimisation within the setting of South Africa. The sample in the study included 190 females and 32 males, the limited male sample did not allow for more complex statistical analysis to determine the interaction of male and female differences. Perhaps this is due to intimate partner aggression in the South African context largely involving females as victims. The study also analysed data from a general population sample using an online survey which made it inaccessible for those in low- SES groups and other populations. Future research should consider including age-cohorts, socio-economic levels, and educational backgrounds to provide more evidence of these trends. The study also needs to take into consideration that some environmental factors interact and influence each other, for example family dynamics and socio-economic status. Additionally, adapting the method of data collection to reach hidden populations. South Africa is a country with a wide array of cultures that speak many languages. Although, English is the national working language, there are still populations that are not fluent in English, thus would be unable to provide responses.

The focus of the study was conducted with retrospective reporting, and from the individual's personal perspective. Future studies would do well to address the differences between adults' and children's reports. A longitudinal study in this case is suggested to clarify the relation between parental physical punishment beliefs and children's accounts of physical punishment over the years. A longitudinal study would allow for more accurate estimations to be recorded in terms of revictimisation. The study also recommends the inclusion of sexual abuse or harassment during childhood which are relevant in the context of South Africa and its gender-based violence issue. Sexual abuse is unquestionably happening in some of these settings and as such the true nature is going unrecognized. Acknowledging sexual violence during

childhood may close some gaps in research information on revictimisation in the form of IPA later in adulthood.

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An Investigation on Exposure to Different Types of Aggression in South Africa

Only for people who either has or has previously had an intimate partner.

This study measures the extent to which you have been exposed to different types of aggression during your childhood and adulthood. The questionnaire is completely confidential, do not write your name anywhere. It is hoped that the study will bring a deeper awareness and understanding of this sensitive subject in. Filling in this questionnaire only takes a few minutes. The study is conducted by Developmental Psychology at Åbo Akademi University Vasa, Finland.

Thank you for participating!

Magret Tsoahae

Are you ___ A woman ___ A man ___ Other?

How old are you (numbers only)? _____years

What is your marital status?

Single

In a cohabiting relationship

Married

Widowed

Other

What is your education? _____

Childhood

Please think about your childhood and answer the following questions by circling the right alternative.

1. When you were a child, did an adult in your home do any of the following things to you? Circle what comes closest to your experience.

	never	seldom	some- times	often	very often
Did an adult					
a) Pull your hair	0	1	2	3	4
b) Pull your ear	0	1	2	3	4
c) Hit you with the hand	0	1	2	3	4
d) Hit you with an object	0	1	2	3	4

Adulthood

2. Have you ever experienced any of the following behaviours from a partner?

Has your partner ...	never	seldom	some- times	often	very often
a) Limited the amount of activities you can engage in outside the relationship?	0	1	2	3	4
b) Restricted the time you spend with your own friends and/or family?	0	1	2	3	4
c) Wanted to know everywhere you go and with whom you speak?	0	1	2	3	4
d) Been jealous of you and therefore monitored your activities?	0	1	2	3	4
e) Not let you use money that belongs to both of you?	0	1	2	3	4
f) Disapproved of you working or studying?	0	1	2	3	4
g) Decided how you should dress?	0	2	3	4	5

3. Has your present or a previous partner done any of the following things to you?

	never	seldom	some- times	often	very often
a) Hit you	0	1	2	3	4
b) Locked you in	0	1	2	3	4
c) Locked you out	0	1	2	3	4
d) Shoved you	0	1	2	3	4
e) Thrown objects at you	0	1	2	3	4
f) Intentionally damaged something that was yours	0	1	2	3	4
g) Hit you with an object	0	1	2	3	4

4. Below is a list of problems and complaints that people sometimes have.
Please indicate the number that comes closest to how you feel today.

0 = not at all, 1 = a little, 2 = moderately, 3 = much, 4 = extremely much

a) Feeling blue	0	1	2	3	4
b) Feeling lonely	0	1	2	3	4
c) Feeling of worthlessness	0	1	2	3	4
d) Feeling no interest in things	0	1	2	3	4
e) Feeling hopeless about the future	0	1	2	3	4
f) Thoughts of ending your life	0	1	2	3	4
g) Feeling fearful	0	1	2	3	4
h) Nervousness or shakiness inside	0	1	2	3	4
i) Trouble concentrating	0	1	2	3	4
j) Suddenly scared for no reason	0	1	2	3	4
k) Feeling so restless you could not sit still	0	1	2	3	4
l) Spells of terror or panic	0	1	2	3	4