

breaking the cycle: a life course framework for preventing domestic violence

February 5, 2019

today's speakers



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blue shield of california foundation

Our mission:

Blue Shield of California Foundation builds lasting and equitable solutions to make California the healthiest state and end domestic violence.



Total Grantmaking since 2002:

Over \$390 million

2017 Grantmaking:

\$25.6 million

Independent Board:

9 Trustees

Number of Staff:

25

Source of Funding:

Annual contributions from Blue Shield of California

our bold goal



To make California the
**healthiest state in the country,
and the state with the lowest
rates of domestic violence**

what we've learned



Violence starts early and impacts people **throughout their lives**, so we need approaches that match their life course.



the life course framework



Preventing Domestic Violence and Its Consequences for Community Health and Wellbeing

A LIFE COURSE APPROACH
February 5th, 2018



FOUNDATION STRATEGIC LEARNING PROCESS



Research Scan and Synthesis

Conducted extensive scans of the peer-reviewed literature on causes, consequences and interventions for domestic violence



Interviews with Field Leaders







Conducted 11 interviews with field leaders doing domestic violence work



Staff Planning Workshops

Held 4 planning workshops with Blue Shield of California Foundation staff

KEY FOUNDATION GOALS AND CONSIDERATIONS

-  **Get at “Root Causes”/Move “Upstream”:** The BSCF’s recent foundation-wide strategy process involves an effort to move upstream with prevention across all of its program areas
-  **Build from the foundation’s strengths and its health mission:** The framework should be guided by the Foundation’s mission of health prevention and its strategic strengths
-  **Apply a Life Course Lens:** There was a specific desire to apply a life course lens to the factors that drive domestic violence
-  **Inter-generational:** There was a desire to address the drivers and consequences of domestic violence across generations
-  **Program and Systems interventions:** There was a call to look at both programmatic and systems-level/policy interventions for preventing family and domestic violence
-  **Proven and Promising:** There was a desire to identify both proven and promising interventions

PRESENTATION OVERVIEW



**Domestic
Violence and Its
Consequences**



**Taking a Life Course
Approach to Domestic
Violence Prevention**



**Moving Toward Life
Course Prevention of
Domestic Violence**



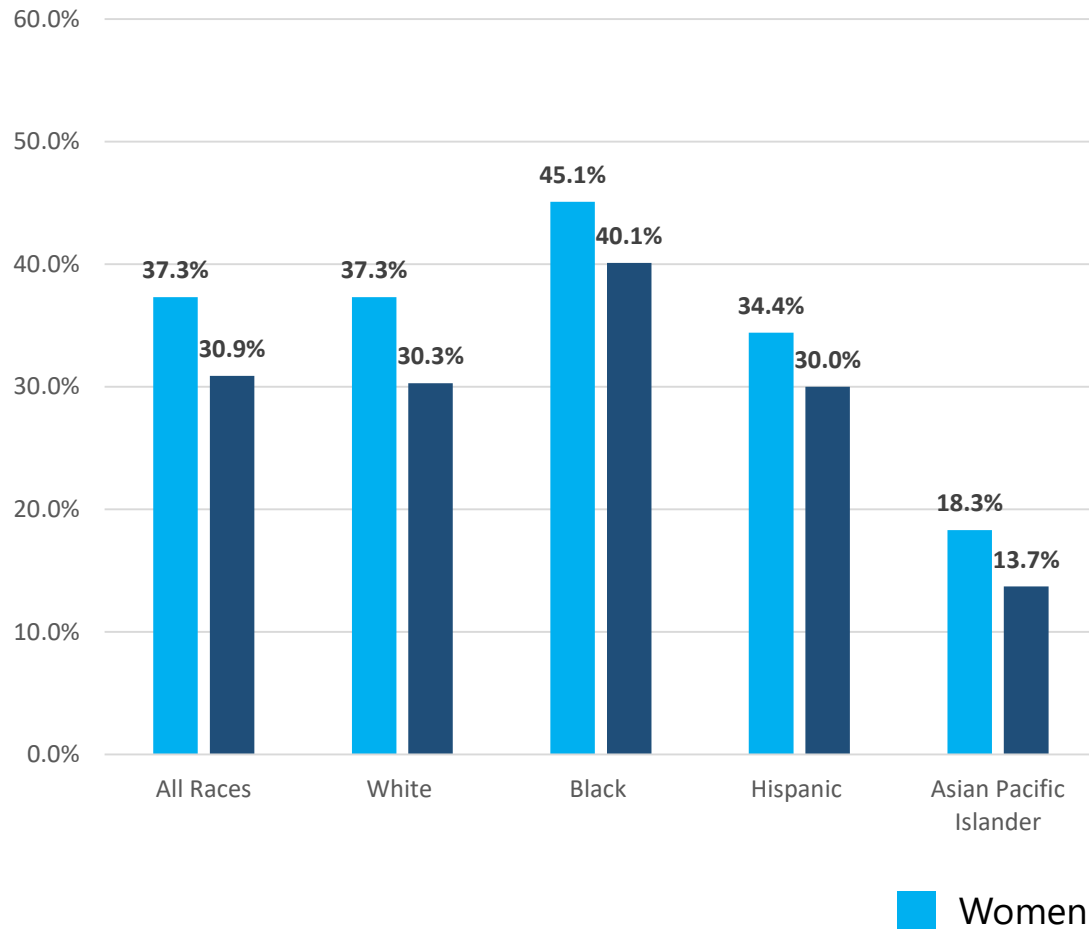
DOMESTIC VIOLENCE AND ITS CONSEQUENCES



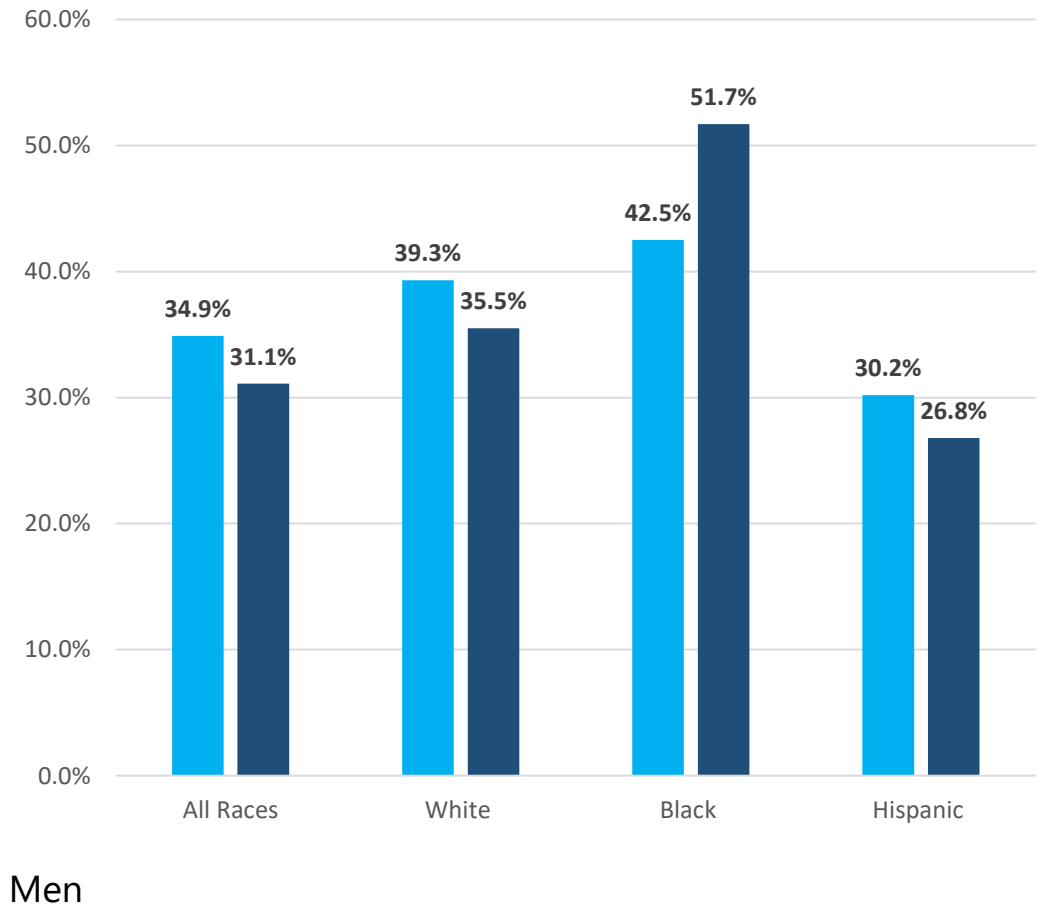
PREVALENCE OF DOMESTIC VIOLENCE VICTIMIZATION



United States: Lifetime Prevalence of Intimate Sexual Violence, Physical Violence, or Stalking Victimization by Race & Gender (2010-12)



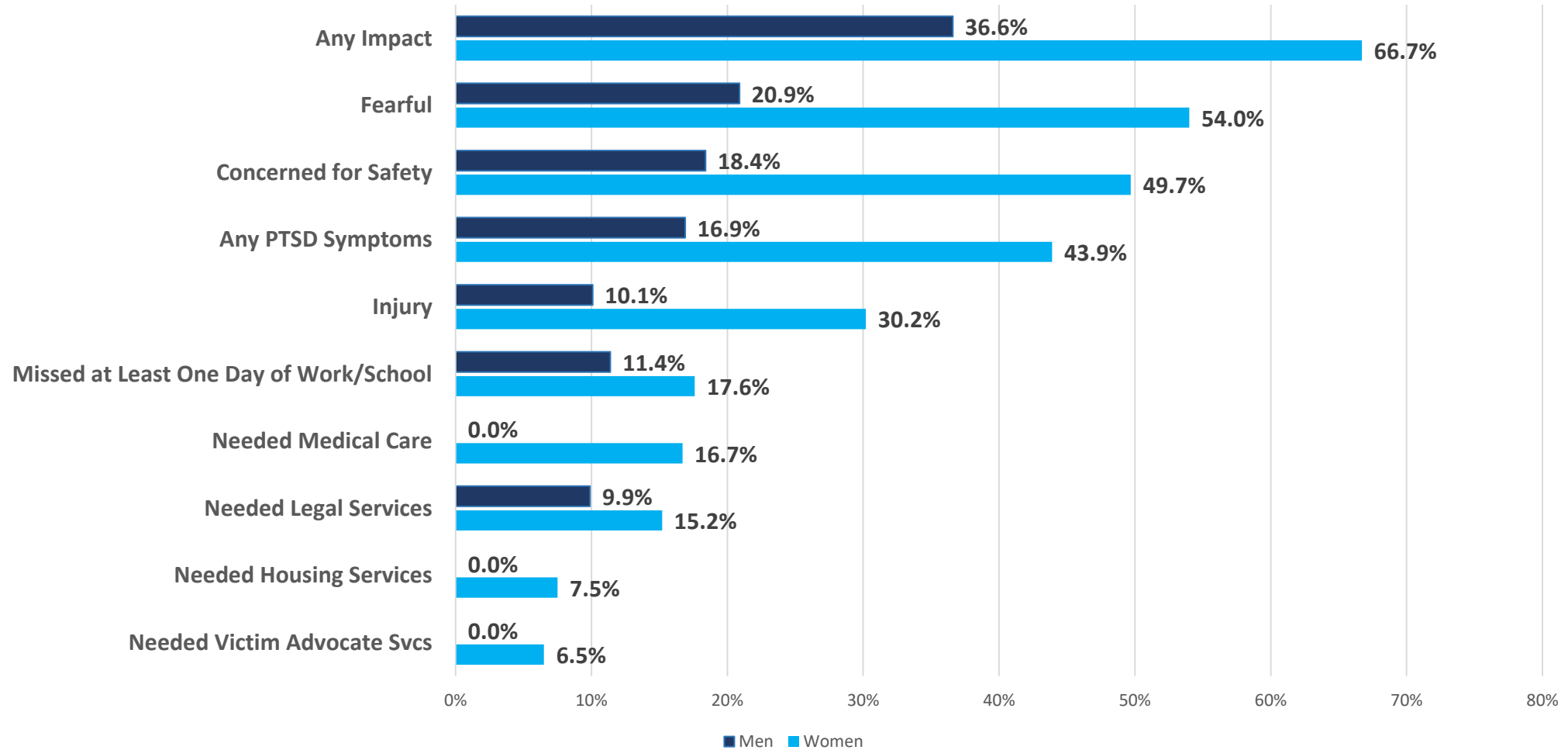
California: Lifetime Prevalence of Intimate Sexual Violence, Physical Violence, or Stalking Victimization by Race & Gender (2010-12)



SOURCE: The National Intimate Partner and Sexual Violence Survey: 2010-2012 State report

IMPACT OF DOMESTIC VIOLENCE BY GENDER

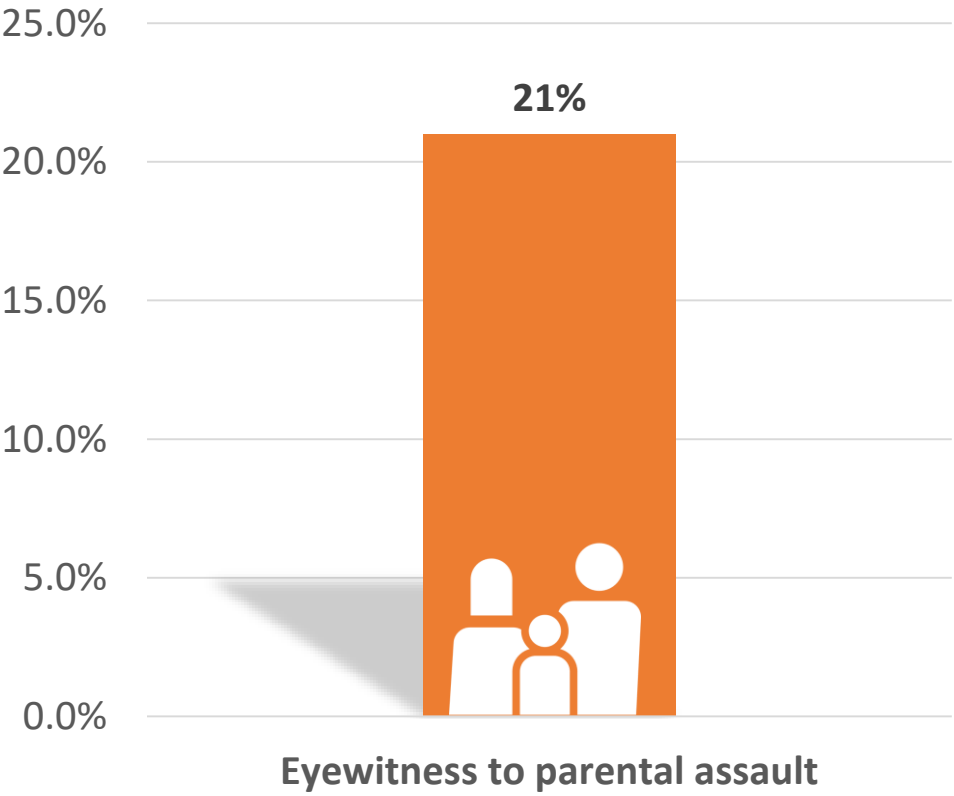
The Impact of Intimate Partner Violence by Gender, California



SOURCE: The National Intimate Partner and Sexual Violence Survey: 2010-2012 State report



LIFETIME PREVALENCE OF EXPOSURE TO INTERPARENTAL VIOLENCE: AGES 14-17



SOURCE: Children’s Exposure to Intimate Partner Violence and Other Family Violence, October 2011



METHOD FOR IDENTIFYING THE CONSEQUENCES OF DOMESTIC VIOLENCE EXPOSURE



Scanned the Literature: Conducted a scan for systematic reviews and meta-analyses of the peer-reviewed literature that identify “domestic violence” or “intimate partner violence” and “health” “consequences” “outcomes”



Longitudinal Studies: From those reviews, along with additional searches identified longitudinal studies that measure the occurrence of domestic violence victimization before a subsequent health outcome.

THE HEALTH CONSEQUENCES OF DOMESTIC VIOLENCE EXPOSURE



Depression is the most common health consequence of domestic violence found in the literature: In longitudinal studies, depression has been shown repeatedly to be a result of exposure to domestic violence:

- A national U.S. longitudinal study found that adult women who experienced IPV were 42 percent more likely to experience depression at a 5-year follow-up compared to women that did not experience IPV. (Zlotnick et al, 2006)



Posttraumatic stress disorder is also another common consequence of domestic violence found in the literature. (Lagdon et al, 2014)



Suicide attempts are also shown in longitudinal studies to increase following IPV incidents (Devries et al, 2013)



In-utero exposure of children leads to preterm birth, low-birth weight and perinatal mortality (Alhusen et al, 2014)



A LIFE COURSE PERSPECTIVE ON THE CAUSES OF DOMESTIC VIOLENCE



NESTED FACTORS ASSOCIATED WITH DOMESTIC VIOLENCE

Life Course/ Developmental factors

- exposure to interparental violence
- child physical abuse
- adolescent antisocial behavior
- chronic violent offending
- violent peer networks
- non-exclusive relationship

Situational factors

- arguments and anger
- escalation dynamics
- alcohol use
- presence of third parties

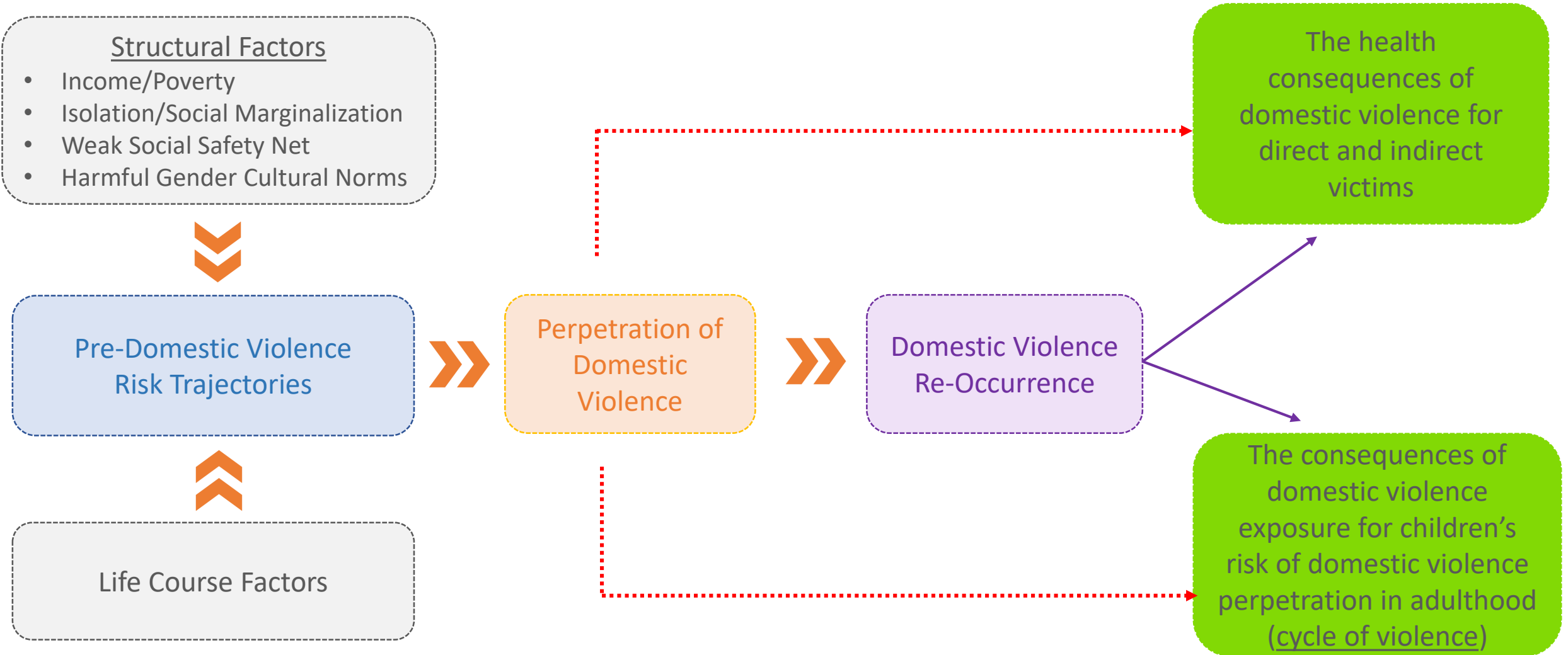


Structural/Cultural factors

- aggregate unemployment
- educational levels
- gender/age inequality
- concentrated disadvantage
- harmful cultural norms (e.g. masculine ideology)



THE CAUSES OF DOMESTIC VIOLENCE PERPETRATION AND THEIR CONSEQUENCES





PRE-DOMESTIC VIOLENCE PERPETRATION RISK TRAJECTORIES





METHOD FOR IDENTIFYING LIFE COURSE PREDICTORS OF DOMESTIC VIOLENCE



Scanned the Literature: Conducted a scan for systematic reviews and meta-analyses of the peer-reviewed literature that identify **predictors** of "domestic violence" or "intimate partner violence"

Longitudinal Studies: From those reviews, along with additional searches identified longitudinal studies that measure a risk factor for domestic violence before the domestic violence occurs. Cross-sectional studies can't establish "**temporal order**".

Limited to larger longitudinal studies: Narrowed the several dozen studies identified to only those that were "**prospective**" not "retrospective", that had a **sample with n=400** for identifying small effects, that included more than two waves and **several control variables**

In total **25 longitudinal studies** were identified

The reported effect sizes on the next slides were determined using multivariate and multinomial logistic regression to establish the **independent effect of the risk factor** on domestic violence outcome(s) when controlling for several covariates.



AT WHAT AGE DOES DOMESTIC VIOLENCE PEAK IN THE GENERAL POPULATION?

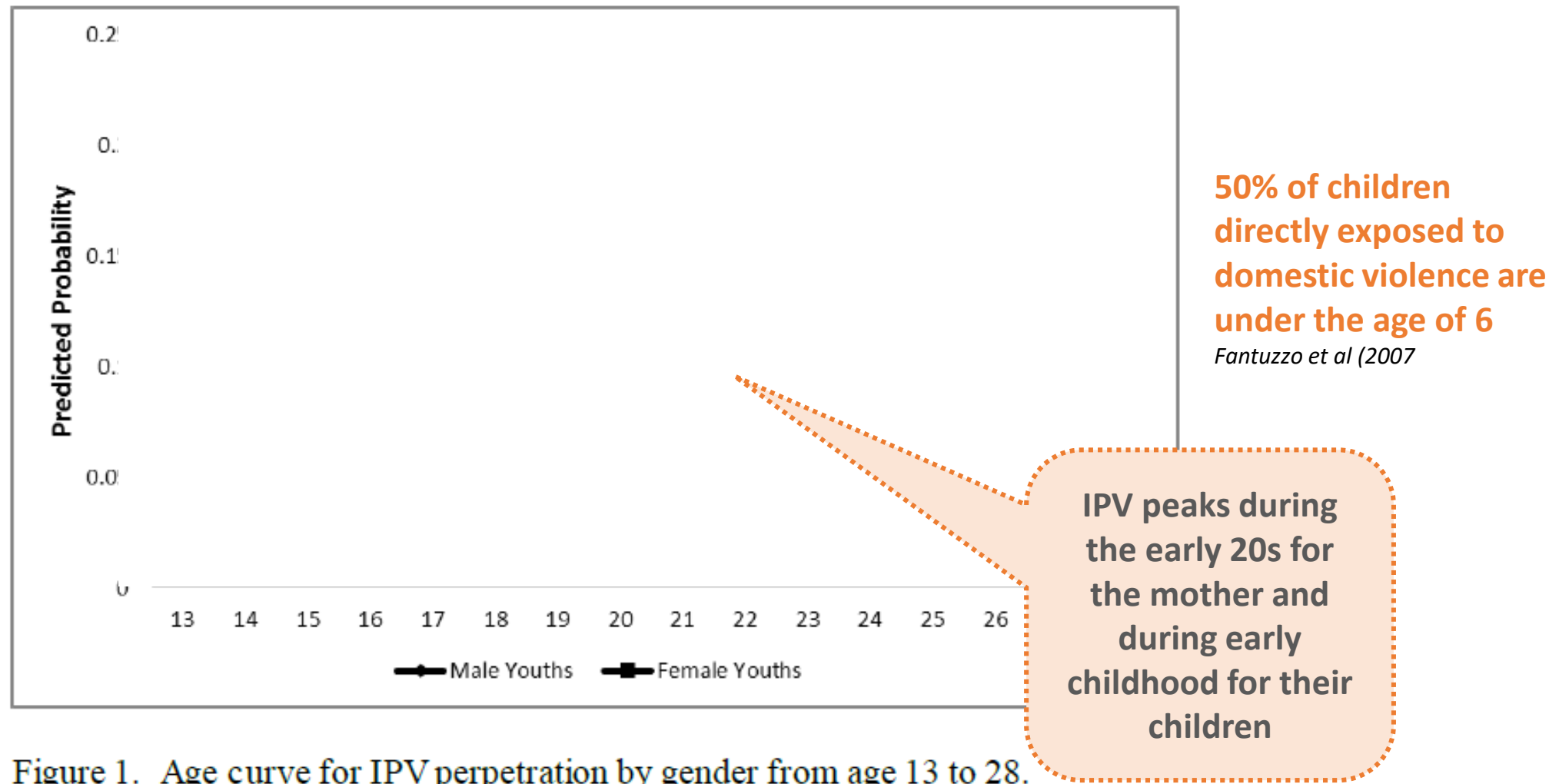


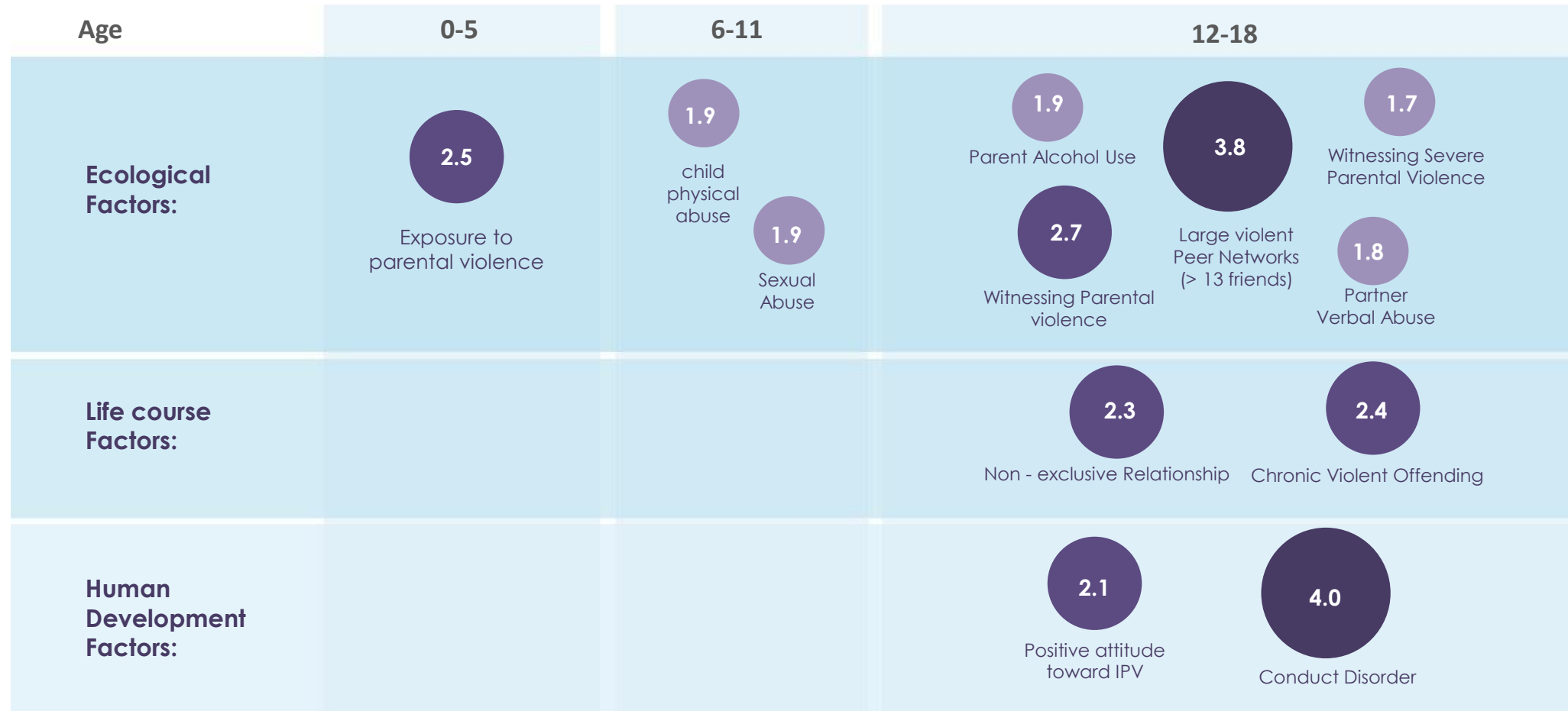
Figure 1. Age curve for IPV perpetration by gender from age 13 to 28.

SOURCE: Patterns, Precursors, and Consequences of Teen Dating Violence: Analyzing Gendered and Generic Pathways (2015)



LIFE COURSE PREDICTORS FOR ADULT DOMESTIC VIOLENCE PERPETRATION

risk factors for adult domestic violence perpetration (ages 19 to 26)

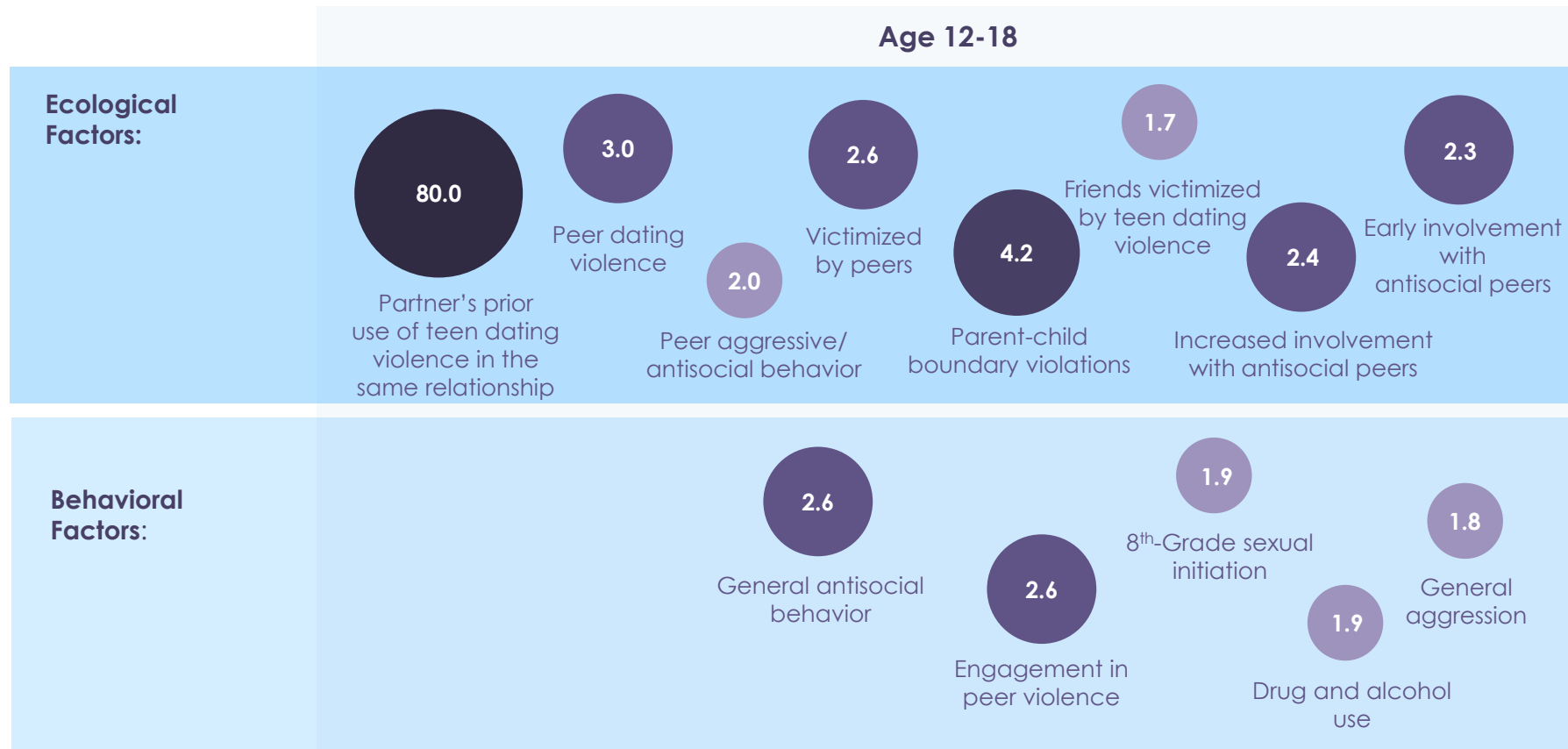


Effect size moderate small to moderate small



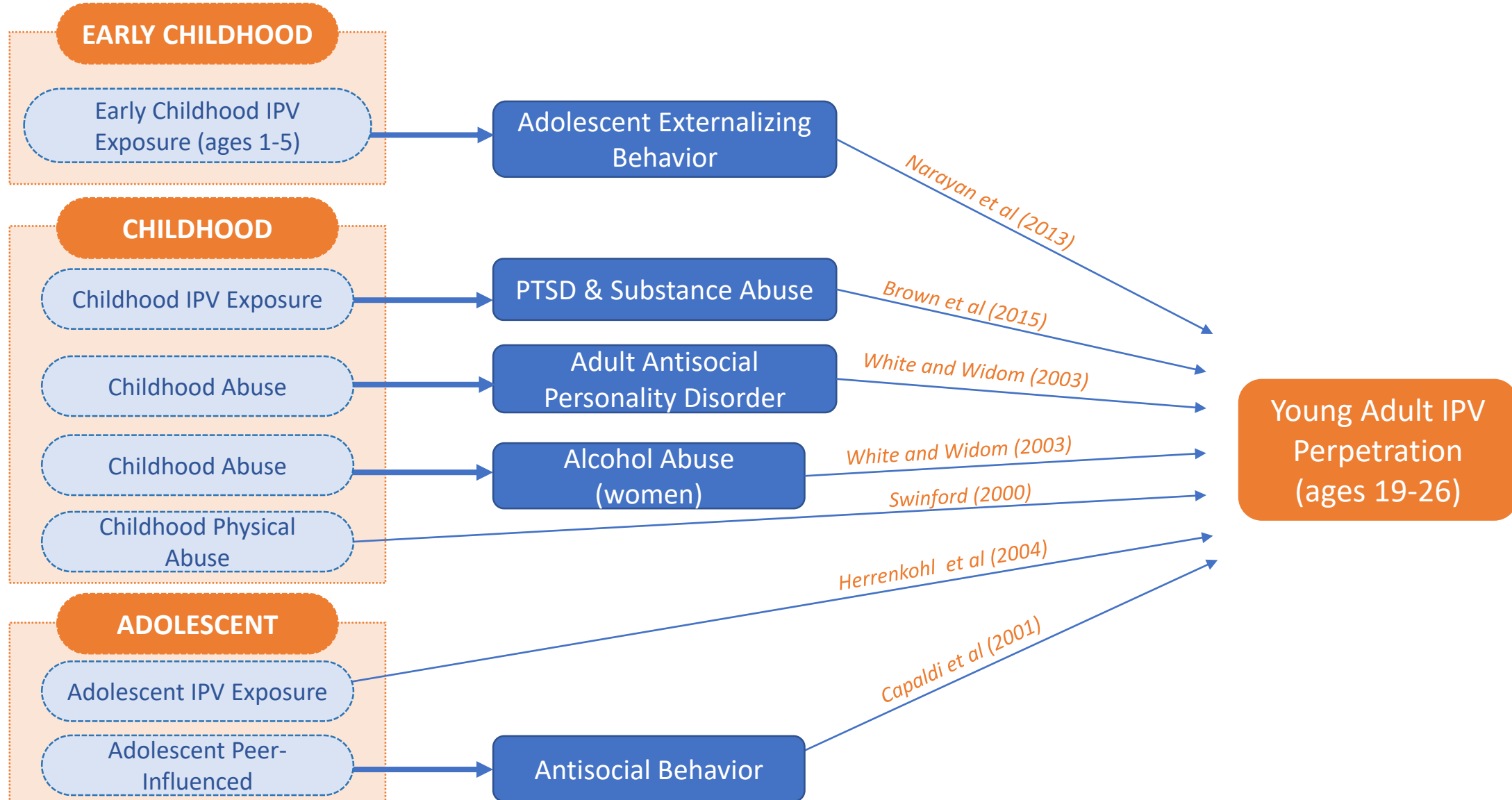
ADOLESCENT RISK FACTORS FOR TEEN DATING VIOLENCE

risk factors for adult domestic violence perpetration (ages 12-18)





EARLY RISK PATHWAYS TO DOMESTIC VIOLENCE PERPETRATION IN ADULTHOOD





DO LIFE COURSE PREDICTORS OF DOMESTIC VIOLENCE DIFFER BY GENDER?

Demographic

- age
- Education
- Income
- Employment status
- Number of children
- Marital status (married or divorced)
- Length of relationship

Family-of-Origin

- Witnessed parental domestic violence
- Witnessed mother hitting the father
- Witnessed the father hitting the mother
- Child physical abuse
- Maternal physical abuse
- Paternal physical abuse

Individual

- Depression
- Social support
- Trauma
- PTSD
- Drug use
- Alcohol problems
- Physical health
- Internal locus-of-control
- Financial stress
- Impulsivity
- Belief in male privilege

Relationship

- Separation
- Relational distress
- Verbal arguments
- demand/withdraw communication patterns
- Psychological abuse
- Forced sex
- Previous violence toward a current partner
- Weapon use in previous violent incidents with a current partner

SOURCE: Chelsea Spencer, Bryan Cafferky and Sandra Stith, "Gender Differences in Risk Markers for Perpetration of Physical Partner Violence: Results from a Meta-Analytic Review" (2016)



KEY TAKEAWAYS FROM THE PREDICTOR LITERATURE

- **Most longitudinal studies do not measure predictors in early childhood.** The limited studies that do, show a robust long-term relationship between early childhood IPV exposure and adult IPV.
- **Most longitudinal studies** of predictors of adult IPV perpetration **do not measure IPV perpetration in adolescence.** We are thus less able to examine patterns of continuity and/or desistance and how those patterns relate to later IPV
- **Family violence**—child physical and sexual abuse and interparental abuse—are **robust long-term predictors** of adult domestic violence
- **Peer relationships** in adolescence, particularly with antisocial, violent or relationship abusive peers, **pose a strong short-term risk** for teen dating violence as well as **strong long-term risk** for adult IPV
- **Chronic violent offending and delinquency** are robust risk factors for adult IPV
- The **risk factors for IPV perpetration** are largely **the same for males and females**



MOVING TOWARD LIFE COURSE PREVENTION

THE FOCUS OF THE DOMESTIC VIOLENCE SYSTEM





INTERACTION WITH THE DOMESTIC VIOLENCE SYSTEM FOLLOWING A FAMILY VIOLENCE INCIDENT

In a nationally representative sample of families with children in which a domestic violence incident occurred

1. **25.2%** of family violence incidents led to **police contact**
2. **11.8%** of family violence incidents led to an **arrest**
3. **8.3%** of incidents led to the filing of **criminal charges**
4. **3.1%** of incidents resulted in a **conviction or guilty plea**
5. **1.9%** resulted in sentencing to **prison or jail**
6. **14.9%** of incidents led to contact by a **Domestic Violence advocate**



CORE DV SYSTEM RESPONSES FOCUSED ON PREVENTING DV RE-OCCURRENCE



**Punishment &
Deterrence of
Perpetrators**



Arrest and
Prosecution



**Crisis Response
for Victims**



Survivor
Services



**Treatment and
Behavior Change for
Perpetrators**



Batterer Intervention
Programs



PUNISHMENT & DETERRENCE: ARREST AND PROSECUTION

Early findings...

Early study out of Milwaukee of mandatory arrest laws showed impact on recidivism...

Mandatory arrest laws require police officers to make an arrest if there is an allegation of domestic violence, regardless of whether the victim wishes to press charges.

The Milwaukee Domestic Violence Experiment (1987-88) **found that mandatory arrest reduced revictimization in the 6 month follow up** leading to the adoption of mandatory arrest laws across the country.

...debunked by later rigorous research

Arrests don't reduce domestic violence re-occurrence

National study of domestic violence incidents between 1996-2012, it was found **arrests had zero effect on rates of revictimization** for victims. *Xie and Lynch (2016)*

Mandatory arrest increased IPV homicides

Using a quasi-experimental design researchers found that states adopting those laws saw a **60 percent increase in intimate partner homicides** compared to states that did not. *Iyengar, (2007)*

Increased death rates of domestic violence victims from arresting vs. warning suspects

In a 23-year follow-up to those randomized to "arrest" vs "warning," **victims were found to be 64% more likely to die of all-cause mortality** (most commonly heart disease) **if their abuser was arrested rather than warned**. The effect was concentrated among black women (**whose risk rose by 100% compared to 9% for whites**), particularly if they had jobs at the time **(+420%)**. *Sherman and Harris (2014)*

CRISIS RESPONSE FOR VICTIMS

Survivor Advocacy Services

Advocacy services help survivors meet unmet needs, obtain legal assistance, protection orders, new housing, and public services.

A meta-analysis of advocacy interventions for domestic violence survivors found that “**intensive advocacy may improve short-term quality of life and reduce physical abuse one to two years after the intervention for women recruited from domestic violence shelters.**

Brief advocacy may provide small short-term mental health benefits and reduce abuse, particularly in pregnant women and for less severe abuse.” *Rivas et al (2015)*



TREATMENT AND BEHAVIOR CHANGE FOR PERPETRATORS

Batterer Intervention Programs

The most common Batterer Intervention Programs (BIPs) are based on **“The Duluth Model”** created in the 1980s that arose from a framework centered on revising men’s patriarchal views about male power and control.

This approach is less concerned with implementing therapeutic principles to combat the causes of violence in individuals and rather **focuses on confronting the endorsement of learned violent behavior**. Many principles in this model relate to the **“power and control wheel,”** which outlines the numerous ways in which men exert control over women.

A meta-analysis of 22 studies evaluating **treatment efficacy for violent batterer males found that BIPs produced little reduction in recidivism beyond the effect of arrest**. *Babcock (2004)*



KEY TAKEAWAYS FROM THE LITERATURE ON RECIDIVISM PREVENTION



The **vast majority** of domestic violence **incidents do not become involved in the Domestic Violence system**



Most **core components of the domestic violence system are weak on prevention** even though their focus is only on re-occurrence of domestic violence.



Law-enforcement aspects of the domestic violence system, focused as they are on arrest and prosecution, appear to **produce more harm than good for victims. The punitive deterrence paradigm is largely counterproductive.**



Intensive domestic violence advocacy survivor services generally **appear beneficial**



Batterer Intervention Programs (BIPs) that receive public funding to serve court-mandated abusers **do not appear effective** at reducing domestic violence recidivism

MOVING TO DEEP PREVENTION





HUMAN DEVELOPMENT AND BEHAVIORAL CONSEQUENCES THAT CAN LEAD TO DOMESTIC VIOLENCE PERPETRATION

1

Alter ecological exposures

Early Childhood
Child's age 0-5
Mother's age 20-26

Middle Childhood
Child's age 6-11
Mother's age 27-32

Adolescence
Child's age 12-18
Mother's age 33-39

Ecological Risk Factors
Family and Social

Exposure to parental violence, child physical and/or sexual abuse, impaired mother-infant bonding

Witness parental violence, child physical and/or sexual abuse

Witness parental violence, child physical and/or sexual abuse, parent alcohol abuse, parent-child boundary violation, exposure to violent or delinquent peers, violence by peers or dating partner

Life Course and Developmental Factors

Insecure attachment, stress dysregulation, externalizing behavior, PTSD, emotion regulation problems

Stress dysregulation, externalizing behavior, PTSD, emotion regulation problems

Depression, antisocial personality disorder, PTSD, positive attitude toward partner violence

Behavioral Outcomes
Pathway to Adult Domestic Violence Perpetration

Peer aggression, behavioral problems

Academic problems, peer aggression, behavioral problems

Alcohol/substance abuse, general delinquency and antisocial behavior, perpetration of violence (including dating violence)

Adult domestic violence perpetration and risk of continuing the cycle

2

Alter behavioral trajectories

KEY STRATEGIC PRINCIPLES FOR PREVENTION

- 
1. Family-centered prevention, particularly for families with young children
 2. Prevention pathways outside formal domestic violence system, including voluntary couple/family services
 3. Address healing as much as behavioral change priorities
 4. De-prioritize punitive approaches and systems
 5. Dual-generation from pre-natal through adolescence
 6. Target high-poverty neighborhoods
 7. Interventions that bridge health and domestic violence sectors
 8. Interventions targeted to and effective for communities of color, low income people, undocumented people and those living in neighborhoods of concentrated disadvantage



QUESTIONS

CITATIONS

- Sherman and Harris (2014) "Increased death rates of domestic violence victims from arresting vs. warning suspects in the Milwaukee Domestic Violence Experiment"
- Jeanne L. Alhusen et al (2014) "Intimate Partner Violence During Pregnancy: Maternal and Neonatal Outcomes"
- Babcock (2004) "Does Batterers Treatment Work? A Meta-Analytic Review of Domestic Violence Treatment"
- Brown et al (2015) "Adverse childhood experiences and intimate partner aggression in the US: Sex differences and similarities in psychosocial mediation"
- Capaldi et al (2001) "Aggression Toward Female Partners by At-Risk Young Men: The Contribution of Male Adolescent Friendships"
- Devries et al (2013) "Intimate Partner Violence and Incident Depressive Symptoms and Suicide Attempts: A Systematic Review of Longitudinal Studies"
- Gutierrez et al (2017) "Do Domestic Violence Courts Work? A Meta-Analytic Review Examining Treatment and Study Quality"
- Iyengar (2007) "Does the Certainty of Arrest Reduce Domestic Violence? Evidence from Mandatory and Recommended Arrest Laws"
- Lagdon et al (2014) "Adult experience of mental health outcomes as a result of intimate partner violence victimisation: a systematic review"
- Martinez et al (2012) "Fertility of Men and Women Age 15-44 Years in the United States: National Survey of Family Growth, 2006-2010"
- Narayan et al (2013) "Developmental timing and continuity of exposure to interparental violence and externalizing behavior as prospective predictors of dating violence"
- Rivas et al (2015) "Advocacy Interventions to Reduce or Eliminate Violence and Promote the Physical and Psychosocial Wellbeing of Women Who Experience Intimate Partner Abuse"
- Sullivan et al (2017) "Criminal Protective Orders as a Critical Strategy to Reduce Domestic Violence: Final Summary Overview"
- Sullivan (2017) "Domestic Violence Shelter Services: A Review of the Empirical Evidence"
- Swinford et al (2000) "Harsh Physical Discipline in Childhood and Violence in Later Romantic Involvements: The Mediating Role of Problem Behaviors"
- White and Widom (2003) Intimate Partner Violence Among Abused and Neglected Children in Young Adulthood: The Mediating Effects of Early Aggression, Antisocial Personality, Hostility and Alcohol Problems
- Xie and Lynch (2016) "The Effects of Arrest, Reporting to the Police and Victim Services on Intimate Partner Violence"
- Zlotnick et al (2006) "Intimate Partner Violence and Long-Term Psychosocial Functioning in a National Sample of American Women"



PRIMARY EXPOSURE PATHWAYS TO IPV PERPETRATION IN EMERGING ADULTHOOD (AGES 20-26)

EARLY CHILDHOOD

- **Early Childhood IPV Exposure to Adolescent Externalizing Behavior** Pathway *[Naryan et al, (2013) Developmental timing and continuity of exposure to interparental violence and externalizing behavior as prospective predictors of dating violence]*

CHILDHOOD

- **Childhood IPV Exposure** to later **PTSD** and/or **Substance Abuse** Pathway *[Brown et al, (2015) Adverse childhood experiences and intimate partner aggression in the US: Sex differences and similarities in psychosocial mediation]*
- **Childhood Physical Abuse** pathway *[Herrenkohl et al (2004) Pathways from physical childhood abuse to partner violence in young adulthood]*
- **Childhood Abuse** to **Adult Antisocial Personality Disorder** pathway *[White and Widom (2013) Intimate Partner Violence Among Abused and Neglected Children in Young Adulthood]*
- **Childhood Abuse** to later **Alcohol Problems** for women pathway *[White and Widom (2013) Intimate Partner Violence Among Abused and Neglected Children in Young Adulthood]*

ADOLESCENT

- **Adolescent IPV Exposure** pathway *[Smith et al (2011) Intergenerational continuities and discontinuities in intimate partner violence, Living in Partner-Violent Families: The Developmental links to Antisocial Behavior and Relationship Violence]*
- **Adolescent Peer-Influenced** pathway *[Capaldi (2001) Aggression toward female partners by at-risk young men: the contribution of male adolescent friendships]*

reactions



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insights and actions

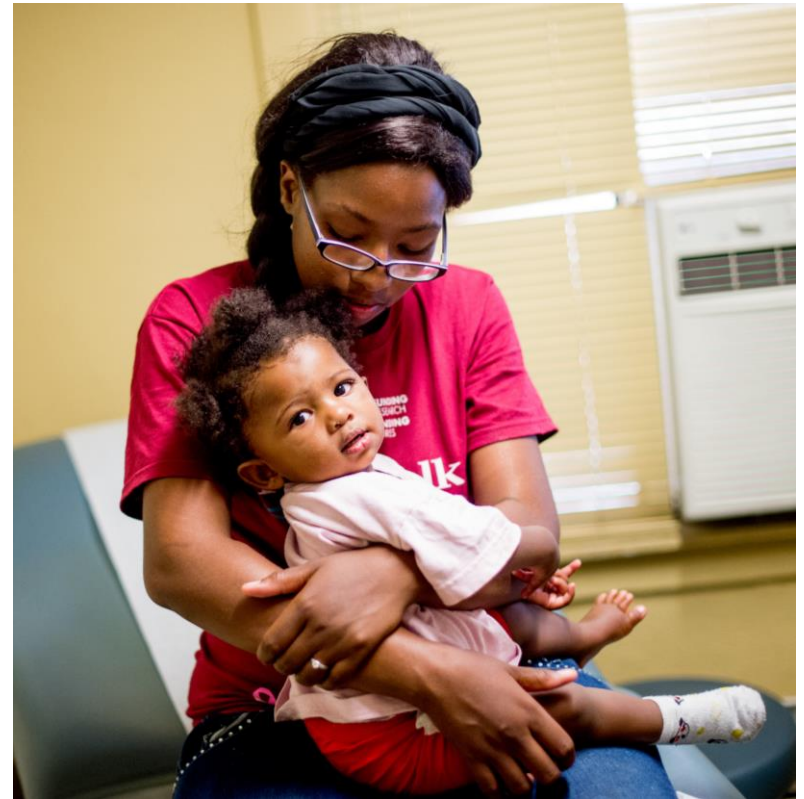
insights and actions



Q+A




**Please submit questions via
the Q+A function in WebEx.**



thank you & next steps



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