MEN'S EXPLANATIONS FOR INTIMATE PARTNER VIOLENCE

How intimately violent men explain their violence, and how the explanations and their changes are related to treatment outcome in the Jyväskylä Model treatment group for intimately violent men

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ABSTRACT

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The aim of this study was to evaluate the explanation models of intimately violent men according to treatment outcome in the Jyväskylä Model treatment groups. It was hypothesized, that the men who are able to reduce the use of intimate partner violence either initially explain their abusive behaviour differently or their explanation models change during the intervention, and thus differ from those of the men who do not reduce their abusive behaviour.

The data of this study consisted of 32 videotaped or DVD-recorded 1.5 hour group intervention sessions from Jyväskylä Model treatment groups for intimately violent men. The explanation models of each of the four subjects were analysed from the four first and four last sessions they attended. The used method was functional analysis developed by Stephen Haynes. A Functional Analytic Clinical Case Model was drawn based on the explanations of each man. An additional source of information was the reports of the subjects' spouses.

The results of this study suggest that even though there were not significant differences in the content of the explanation models, those of the men who were not able to reduce their abusive behaviour were rather fixed and inflexible compared to others'. This result further supports a previous result, suggesting that the flexibility of explanation models may be an essential factor in reducing abuse.

The contradictions in the reports of the subject and his spouse were immense in the group of men who did not reduce the use of intimate partner violence. Consequently it is extremely important that the authorities treating intimately violent men also have a lasting contact with the victim of intimate partner violence.

Key words: violence, intimate partner violence, domestic violence, abuse, functional analysis, Functional Analytic Clinical Case Model (FACCM)

TIIVISTELMÄ

JYVÄSKYLÄN YLIOPISTO Psykologian laitos

JÄRVINEN, HANNA: Miesten selityksiä parisuhdeväkivallalle. Kuinka parisuhteessaan väkivaltaiset miehet selittävät väkivaltaisuuttaan, ja kuinka selitykset ja niiden muutokset ovat yhteydessä hoitotulokseen Vaihtoehto väkivallalle – ryhmäinterventiossa.

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Tässä tutkimuksessa tarkasteltiin parisuhteessaan väkivaltaisten miesten selitysmalleja ja niiden muutosta. Tutkittavat henkilöt osallistuivat Vaihtoehto väkivallalle – ryhmään Jyväskylän yliopiston psykologian laitoksen psykoterapian opetus- ja tutkimusklinikalla. Tutkimuksen hypoteesina oli, että miehet, jotka onnistuvat vähentämään väkivaltaisuuttaan, selittävät omaa väkivaltaista käytöstään eri tavoin kuin ne miehet, joiden väkivaltaisuus jatkuu samanlaisena tai lisääntyy interventiosta huolimatta. Oletus oli, että väkivaltaa vähentävien ja sitä jatkavien miesten selitysmalleissa joko on eroja alun perin, tai erot muodostuvat intervention edetessä.

Tutkimuksen ainestona oli 32 videonauhoitettua tai DVD-levylle tallennettua puolentoista tunnin pituista ryhmäistuntoa. Tutkittavia oli yhteensä neljä, ja tutkimukseen otettiin mukaan jokaisen miehen neljä ensimmäistä ja neljä viimeistä istuntoa. Näissä istunnoissa ilmenneet miesten omat selitykset parisuhdeväkivallalleen analysoitiin käyttämällä Stephen Haynesin kehittämää funktionaalista analyysia, ja miesten selitysmalleista piirrettiin FACC-mallit. Miesten omien kertomusten lisäksi informaatiolähteenä käytettiin heidän puolisoidensa raportteja parisuhdeväkivallasta ja sen kehittymisestä.

Tutkimuksen tulokset osoittavat, ettei miesten selitysmalleissa ollut sisällöllisesti merkittävää eroa, mutta niillä miehillä, joiden väkivaltaisuus ei vähentynyt, oli jo ryhmään tullessaan melko pysyvä väkivallan selitysmalli, joka ei merkittävästi muuttunut intervention edetessä. Väkivaltaista käyttäytymistään vähentäneiden miesten selitysmallit olivat joustavampia. Tulokset tukevat aikaisempaa tutkimustulosta, jonka mukaan selitysmallien joustavuus saattaa olla parisuhdeväkivaltaa käyttävän miehen muutoksessa oleellinen tekijä.

Ne tutkimushenkilöt, joiden väkivaltaisuus ei vähentynyt, raportoivat omasta väkivaltaisuudestaan hyvin ristiriitaisesti puolisoidensa raportteihin nähden. Hoitavan tahon pitkäkestoinen kontakti parisuhdeväkivaltaisen miehen puolisoon on erittäin tärkeä realistisen kuvan saamiseksi tilanteesta.

Avainsanat: väkivalta, lähisuhdeväkivalta, parisuhdeväkivalta, funktionaalinen analyysi, FACCM

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1 INTRODUCTION

The main focus of research of intimately violent men's treatment has so far been mostly on the quantitative change of men's physically violent behaviour. A meta-analysis shows that approximately two thirds of physically intimately violent men are able to cease assaulting their spouses with the help of intervention programs, whereas one third continues to assault their partners (Scott, 2004). There is less data on what kinds of predictors are associated with the change and how they are related to treatment outcome. Overall, the results on treatment outcome predictors are controversial, and so far research has not been plausibly able to determine factors linked to effectiveness of treatment (e.g. Saunders, 2008). Altogether, it remains unclear, why certain treatment models work for some men and not for others. The object of this study is to examine whether men's own explanations for their intimate partner violence (IPV) can be predictors of treatment outcome in the Jyväskylä Model treatment for intimately violent men. The purpose is to explore the hypotheses that there is something distinctive in the explanation models of the men who are not able to stop or reduce violence compared to the models of those men whose group treatment outcomes are successful.

1.1 Explanations for violence

There are several possible approaches for when it comes to explaining why men batter their spouses. Wolfe and Jaffe (1999) have categorized violence theories into biological theory, individual psychopathology theory, couple and family interactions theory, social learning and development theory, and societal structure theory. Scott (2004) uses a broader categorization of feminist theories, family systems theories and individual theories. These theories entail different approaches to responsibility. From feminist theories' viewpoint violence towards women is caused by the patriarchal structure of a society. This structure causes a hierarchy where it is possible for men to control their partners, even with violence. Thus, in feminist theories the responsibility of intimate partner violence falls upon societal structure that is maintained by individuals. In family systems theories, intimate partner violence is believed to be caused by dysfunctional interaction that is

maintained by both spouses, and it is thought that both have to change their behaviour and communication style in order to the violence to stop. Under the category of individual theories fall personality trait theories, social learning theory and attachment theory. In these theories the cause of intimate partner violence is seen to be the personality structure of the violent person, or disorders in his/her personality development. There has also been research on the personality traits of the victims of intimate partner violence, but the results are disputable (e.g. Bograd, 1989; Rosewater, 1989).

Several attempts have been made to find common features in intimately violent men or to categorize them into subgroups, so that treatment could be more focused and thus more effective (Scott, 2004). According to Säävälä, Pohjoisvirta, Keinänen, and Salonen (2006) desire to dominate, emotional sensitivity, jealousy, interdependence, psychiatric illnesses and alcohol addiction are traits often associated with intimately violent men. Based on previous research, Holtzworth-Munroe and Stuart (1994) divide batterers into three groups by severity and generality of violence and psychopathology of the perpetrator. These groups are family-only, dysphoric/borderline and violent/antisocial batterers. Recent findings support this categorization (Panchanadeswaran et al., 2010). In the family-only group men are not likely to use violence outside the home and either don't have any psychopathology, or have passive-dependent personality disorder. Their violence is typically moderate physical abuse; the use of psychological or sexual abuse is not common. According to Scott (2004), research suggests that these men can be best treated with either traditional skills building or marital systems interventions. Dysphoric/borderline batterers on the other hand typically use also emotional and sexual violence against their spouses. Substance abuse problems are common and their violence can also be extra-familial. These men have borderline personality organization. Holtzworth-Munroe, Meehan, Stuart, Herron, and Rehman (2000) suggest that psychotherapeutic treatment planned for borderline personality disorder could be effective. Generally violent/antisocial batterers engage in moderate or severe physical, sexual and emotional abuse, and often use violence also outside of home. Drug and alcohol problems and problems with the law are common in this group. These men can often be diagnosed with antisocial personality disorder. Scott (2004) refers to research according to which generally violent/antisocial batterers are best treated with long-term individual psychotherapy or long-term outpatient treatment.

Säävälä, Nyqvist, and Salonen (2006a) quote Jenkins (1990), who has argued that violence explanation models should be evaluated according to whether an explanation helps the perpetrator to accept full responsibility of his violence, whether an explanation helps to find a plausible and

practical way to end violence and solve the problems related to it, and whether an explanation reaches all dimensions of violence from individual to sociocultural level. When evaluated according to these criteria, personality trait or psychopathology theories have at least two obvious problems. First, having a psychopathology diagnosis or referring to problems in a person's personality organization doesn't help the perpetrator to accept responsibility of his violence. It may even cause the opposite effect, and result in the perpetrator hiding behind a diagnosis. Second, explaining violence this way remains mainly on individual level, not reaching other dimensions of violence.

It seems that the significance of each theory or explanation model varies from one case to another and they should be seen as overlapping to some extent.

1.2 Men's own explanations for their use of violence

When researching men's own explanations for their intimate partner violence, six distinctive ways of speaking were found (Holma, Laitila, Wahlström, & Sveins, 2005). The insufficiency discourse is a way of speaking, in which a man reconstructs himself as a failure, uncertain, and guilty of violence. The second type of explanation is a discourse, where a man expresses that he lacks the means to get out of difficult situations, and therefore has to resort to violence. This discourse is often involved with the alleged verbal superiority of women, that leaves the man little means to defend himself. In the third type of discourse, a man expresses that his own stress and/or problems in the relationship have accumulated to a point where he can not contain himself anymore, and that's why he ends up acting violently, i.e. he is driven into violence. Men also described their violence as a result of feeling boxed-in by their spouses. In this case it is argued that a man's violent behaviour is a result of his spouse's actions. The fifth discourse with which men were found to explain their violence, was expressing that they were just simply temporarily out of control, often due to excessive alcohol consumption. And finally, the sixth discourse, that indicates that a man is bound to act violently in certain situations, it's only natural, and it cannot be changed.

In terms of taking responsibility of the violence, these six discourses differ from each other. In insufficiency discourse the man feels fully responsible for his actions and does not place the blame on his spouse or the circumstances. When a man expresses that violence is a natural way of

behaving, he takes no responsibility whatsoever, and feels that there is no need to change his behaviour. Although feminist emphasis on intimate partner violence sees that taking responsibility for the violence is essential, there are results that suggest that the level of responsibility taking does not predict the treatment outcome. Pitkänen (2008) examined changes in men's explanations and ability to take responsibility during group intervention. She found that expressing responsibility taking was not related to the outcome of group intervention. However, the results of Pitkänen's (2008) indicate that men, who didn't have any consistent explanation models that persisted through the whole intervention, were able to reduce the use of physical, sexual and emotional violence. Perhaps this result indicates that not having fixed explanations of the reasons of violence leaves the man more open to therapeutic suggestions; hence it is easier to end the violence.

Perpetrators of IPV have been noticed to often construct an image of themselves as victims (Holma, Partanen, Wahlström, Laitila, & Seikkula, 2006) or use current scientific explanations to explain their violence (Ajo & Grönroos, 2005). Victimization can be constructed by appealing to own helplessness, traumatizing or stressful circumstances, partner's qualities or biology. In a therapeutic setting victimization causes challenges, because it potentially hinders the development of empathy towards the victim of IPV and complicates the process of accepting responsibility of abusive behaviour. Current popular scientific theories can also be used to construct victimization, for example by using traumatizing experiences (theory of learning) or accumulating pressure (ecological theory) to account for intimate partner violence.

1.3 Aims of the study

It remains uncertain, why treatment helps some men towards non-violence, while other men seem to not benefit from treatment. The hypothesis of this study is that men, who are able to reduce or stop violence with the help of the Jyväskylä Model group intervention, either explain their own abusive behaviour differently to begin with, or their explanations change during the intervention compared to the group of men, who the intervention does not work for.

The aims of this study are to:

- 1. Find out if there are differences in men's own explanations for their violent behaviour according to whether the Jyväskylä Model treatment group has helped them to stop or reduce their violence.
- 2. Examine whether there is a change in the men's explanation models as the group intervention progresses, and if so, is it different with the men who are able to reduce violence compared to those who are not?

2 MATERIALS AND METHOD

2.1 The Jyväskylä Model treatment program for intimately violent men

The Jyväskylä Model treatment, initiated in 1995, is a part of a regional treatment program for intimate partner violence in Central Finland (Holma et al., 2005). The program is influenced by similar treatment model in Norway, which offers treatment for victims and perpetrators of IPV, and also for children who have experienced or witnessed violence at home. Attending the program is voluntary for all participants, and not connected to any possible legal proceedings. The victims of IPV usually receive counselling in a crisis centre, whereas children are treated within the communal social services. Perpetrators' first contact to the programme is usually the crisis centre. They either contact the centre themselves, after guidance of authorities (e.g. social services or police), or are contacted by the crisis centre after their spouse has used its services. The perpetrators are offered a chance to receive private counselling, and after 1 – 6 months have the possibility to attend a group for intimately violent men at the Psychotherapy Training and Research Centre of University of Jyväskylä. A candidate for the group treatment must express sufficient motivation to attend at least the minimum of 15 1.5 hour group sessions, a criterion met by only 13 % of the perpetrators. However, for those attending the group, dropout rate is only about 20 %.

The Jyväskylä Model groups for intimately violent men have features from pro-feminist and psycho-educational models, but are not strictly committed to any psychotherapeutic background (Partanen, 2008). The goal of the group intervention is to secure the safety of the victim, offer the men a chance to recognize the consequences of their abusive behaviour, adopt a more responsible attitude towards their actions, and learn alternative ways to handle difficult situations (Partanen, 2008). The groups have two facilitators, who guide the otherwise unstructured conversation to themes that are relevant to IPV, e.g. violence as a conscious choice and masculine identity (Holma et al., 2006).

The safety of the victims is monitored by a psychotherapy clinic worker meeting them in person at the beginning and at the end of the group intervention. Victims are also informed if the group facilitators have any reason to believe they might be in danger. They are informed what to do

in case they experience IPV. The situation is monitored after a two-year follow-up period. Victims fill in Abusive and Controlling Behaviour Inventory (ACBI) (Davies et al., 1995) at the beginning and at the end of the group intervention, and also after a two-year follow-up period.

2.2 The data and method of this study

The data of this study consisted of 32 videotaped/ DVD-recorded, 1.5 hour long group sessions from Jyväskylä Model treatment groups for intimately violent men. The recordings were made between years 2002 and 2008. Some of the four subjects attended the same group for a portion of time. The subjects of this study were between 30 and 56 year-old men living in heterosexual relationships. They participated in between 9 to 31 group sessions. On this research, the existing intimate partner violence and changes that occurred in it during the group attendance were assessed based on the victims' interview material and ACB-inventories (Davies, Holmes, Lundy, & Urquhart, 1995) filled in by them before the men attended a group, again after the group treatment was over, and also after a two-year follow-up period. The ACBI includes questions about psychological, physical and sexual abuse, and also about the consequences of violence for the victim.

The method used in this study was functional analysis (FA), more specifically chain analysis and Functional Analytic Clinical Case Model, FACCM (Haynes & O'Brien, 2000; Lappalainen, Miettinen, & Lehtonen, 2007). Aarnio and Laurto (2008) examined the use of functional analysis in studying intimately violent men and found out that FA is able to capture functional relationships related to the men's violent acts, and conceptualise their situations as a whole. Using FA and FACCM makes it possible to conceptualise the men's own views on their violence and their thoughts and emotions related to it.

Functional analysis is a clinical assessment and case-formulation tool of cognitive behavioural analysis. The goal of FA is to describe a client's problem behaviours and prospective intervention outcomes, identify maintaining and moderating variables related to the problem behaviour, and study the functional relationships related to those variables. FA stems from functionalism, which abandons descriptive behavioural topographies as inadequate to explain the function of someone's behaviour. In other words, classification of a client's problems does not

provide enough information for selecting a suitable treatment; moderating and mediating variables must be taken into consideration as well (Haynes & O'Brien, 2000). Lappalainen, Timonen, and Haynes (2009) point out that a diagnosis doesn't provide any information about the variation of problem behaviour across situations and contexts, the maintaining mechanisms or the interaction between different psychological problems.

When designing a clinical intervention, the complexity of a client's situation should be considered carefully, and the data available integrated into a working model. The characteristics and dimensions of a behaviour problem and possible other current behaviour problems must be observed in detail, as well as the relationship between these problems. The clinician must consider what variables are likely to moderate intervention outcome, how these variables operate, and how they are related to each other (Haynes & O'Brien, 2000).

In functional analysis, the functional relations applicable to a client's behaviour are identified. These relations can be causal or non-causal, controllable or uncontrollable. Causal and controllable relations are emphasized, because they are modifiable in an intervention process (Haynes & O'Brien, 2000). Behaviour itself, its antecedent factors, and its consequent factors are observed in order to study the functional relations related to a client's problem (Gresham, Watson, & Skinner, 2001; Haynes & O'Brien, 2000). In a clinical behavioural analysis, the therapist first forms a general conception of a client's problem behaviour and then makes a list of his/her problems. A global functional analysis is formed based on the problem list and it is then discussed together with the client. The goals of the treatment are considered, and further, more detailed functional analyses are made from separate problems and treatment methods are chosen based on this data. The analysis models can be modified as the treatment process progresses (Lappalainen et al., 2007).

Functional analysis can be illustrated with a vector-graphic diagram, i.e. Functional Analytic Clinical Case Model, FACCM (Haynes, Leisen, & Blaine, 1997). A FACCM presents a client's behavioural problems, their importance and the relationships between them. It also illustrates the strength and direction of causal and non-causal functional relations and to what extent the causal variables can be modified (Haynes & O'Brien, 2000).

A global Functional Analytic Clinical Case Model is a general illustration of a client's problems. In a global FACCM the central problem behaviours or their impact are written inside rectangles, essential factors related or contributing to the problem are placed inside ellipses and finally factors that the subject cannot change, for example because they have happened in the past, or

because a change would require the change of another person, which the subject cannot influence, are placed inside diamond shaped patterns. Correlating factors are combined with a line, whose thickness depends on the estimated strength of the relationship. If one factor is not merely correlating, but also has a causal relationship to another, an arrow is used instead of a line to illustrate the causal relationship. A two-way arrow is used to illustrate a two-way relationship between factors (Lappalainen et al., 2007). The strength of correlation can be estimated with numeric values between 0.0.-1.0.

A global FACCM is sometimes unable to capture the nature of a client's problems when remaining on a too general level (Lappalainen et al., 2007). In this case, a more specific analysis or a chain analysis may be in order. In a chain analysis the detailed actions, emotions and thoughts of a specific situation are analysed all separately and drawn into a temporal chain to illustrate a certain situation more specifically.

Functional analysis and FACCM have mainly been used as clinical assessment tools. Clinical case formulations have practical importance especially when the clinical case at hand is complex or standardized treatments are not effective (Haynes & O'Brien, 2000). According to Haynes & O'Brien (2000) a treatment is most effective when it is based on individualized methods derived from a client's characteristics and information about the specific causal relationships related to his/her problem. However, when using clinical case formulations, it must be borne in mind, that the nature of case-formulations is subjective and therefore their validity is limited (Haynes & O'Brien, 2000). Functional Analytic Clinical Case Models are unstable best estimates of a client's situation, which apply only at a certain time. Also the numerical values of FACC-models are merely estimates (Haynes & O'Brien, 2000). Hence, FACC-models should be used with caution and think of them as best estimates of a client's problem structure at a certain time.

2.3 Analysis of the data

Before watching the actual data, a rehearsal subject was selected by one of the supervisors of this study from the material of the Jyväskylä treatment group for practicing the method. The rehearsal subject is not included in the data of this study. The three first and the three last of this man's sessions were watched (all together 9 hours of material) and the parts of his speech where he referred

to the reasons of his violent behaviour were transcribed for further analysis. A list of the explanations for the use of violence he expressed was made, and chain analyses and finally a complex FACCM were drawn. When it was confirmed by a supervisor that the use of method was correct, the research proceeded to the actual data.

A supervisor of this study also chose the four actual subjects. Two of the subjects had been able to significantly reduce using intimate partner violence during the group intervention; two continued using the same or even increased amount of IPV. To assure unbiased observation, the outcomes of the intervention were not known to the observer until after the complete FACCMs were drawn. The four first and the four last sessions of each of the four subjects were analysed. Altogether the data consisted of 48 hours of recordings. Watching and transcribing them took approximately 100 hours in total.

All the parts of the subjects' speech where they referred to the causes of their abusive behaviour in any way, were transcribed. A list of the expressed reasons was made and they were drawn into chain models to facilitate the conceptualisation of the explanations. After this, the complex FACCMs of the explanations of abusive behaviour were drawn.

Because the intention of this study was not to plan a clinical intervention for the subjects, numeric values were not used in FACC-models.

3 RESULTS

The four subjects were named men A, B, C, and D. Each of their explanation models are presented separately. Translated extracts of speech that illuminate IPV explanation models are presented, and when it further clarifies the structure of the models, chain analyses of them are included. The original extracts in Finnish are attached to Appendix 1. The number of the session (ranging from 1 to 31) in which the statement has been made is presented in parenthesis after each quote. The final FACC-models are presented for each of the subjects. In the final FACC-models the factors that the subjects have expressed during the last four sessions they attended are marked with a thickened line to make them stand out from factors expressed earlier. This kind of presentation makes it possible to include both the earlier and the latter factors in the same FACCM, which facilitates reviewing a subject's

functional representation as a whole. Thus, in this presentation, the thickness of the lines does not stand for the importance of factors, but when in the intervention process a factor was expressed. In cases where the preceding chain analysis figures clarify the captions of the men's speech, they are included. Most of them are however left out, because they do not add anything essential.

3.1 Explanations of subjects who were able to reduce using intimate partner violence

Man A

Man A participated in 13 group sessions during approximately 13 months period of time. According to the ACB-inventory filled in by his spouse, his abusiveness was mostly psychological. He was also sexually and physically abusive, but on a lower level compared to his psychological abusiveness. According to both man A and his spouse he stopped being sexually or physically abusive almost completely during the intervention, and his psychologically abusive behaviour reduced significantly. The results remained over the 2-year follow-up period.

Man A told about his abusive behaviour in the first session:

A: I'm psychologically abusive at home to a horrifying extent, sometimes I've grabbed my spouse by the arm, she's gotten bruises. And when I lose my nerve, I'm so foul-mouthed that no one is like that, that I slander and threaten and. (1) (Extract 1)

The previous extract of man A's speech is illustrated in *Figure 1* as a behaviour analytical chain model:

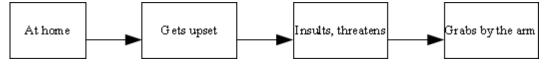


Figure 1

Man A stated that the single most significant contributor to his abusive behaviour was his lack of self-control. According to him, he had always been poor at controlling his temper, but had never questioned his behaviour before, or had not admitted to himself that he was abusive. Coming face to face with his abusiveness had been shocking to him. He described his situation in the following ways:

A: It's like nothing's wrong when I'm not upset, I can control myself, and there is no problem. But when it snaps it just happens so quickly, I just lose my head, and then the words come out. (1)

(Extract 2)

A: For me it has sometimes happened so quickly that when I've tried to anticipate, when the acceleration from zero to one hundred is three seconds, I don't have time to think about anything like "calm down now", but it's to the max right away, the game is over--.

Facilitator: *How does it start?*

A: Well it starts when we are fighting together and arguing about something. She has a different view and I have a different one. Or then it's about housework. (3) (Extract 3)

Figure 2 illustrates how verbal fighting and spouse disagreeing together with the man's hot temper contribute to man A's lack of self control. Psychological abuse has been added to the figure, because even though he does not mention it in the previous extract of speech, it is apparent from the context that he is referring to the reasons of his abusive behaviour.

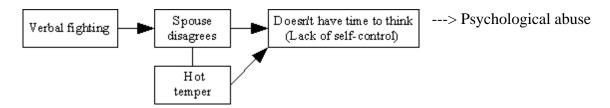


Figure 2

Man A expressed that he had a need to have the final word when arguing with his spouse and put an end to the fights. In the 13th session he participated, he named his way of ending the fights as oppression. In the first session he described his behaviour, illustrated in *Figure 3*:

A: --I always want to put an end to the fighting, you say really bad things, and think that will be the end of it. (1)
(Extract 4)

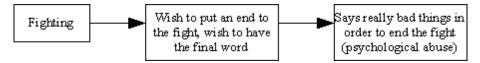


Figure 3

Man A told that he used to blame his wife for his own abusiveness and thought that it was her fault he lost his temper. He also said that he wouldn't speak about his negative feelings with his spouse, but rather repress them and "pile up" negative thoughts about her. When the situation then escalated into an argument, he felt that he was not able to control himself anymore, but had to resort to psychological abuse. The following extracts of man A's speech from his first and second session illustrate these explanations.

A: And then I've also like placed the blame, that when I like explode now, it's your fault. (1) (Extract 5)

A: I've poisoned my own mind, that now she was like that and now she did and said this, for example for a little longer period of time, have kind of thought negatively about the other and then you have a reason the next time you have a fight so then, then you've supposedly had a reason to say. (2)
(Extract 6)

Figure 4 illustrates the previous extract of man A's speech on how his negative thoughts about his wife and the difficulty in expressing them are related to his psychologically abusive behaviour.

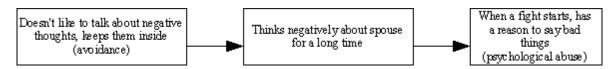


Figure 4

According to man A also a sufficiently strong confrontation from his wife's part had been a motive for him to be psychologically abusive.

Facilitator: [asking everyone]: Has it ever happened that when you've been psychologically or physically abusive, that even though you've known you're doing wrong, you've still somehow felt that there is some justification for it, given yourself permission?

A: Yes. At least in my case. I thought that now she has confronted me so much that I had the right, I've thought quite honestly. (2)
(Extract 7)

The previous extract of man A's speech is presented as a chain model in *Figure 5*:



Figure 5

Already when coming to the group man A had realized that his behaviour had been and to some extent still was psychologically abusive, and expressed empathy towards his spouse. He described a situation where he was abusive and said that he got so upset because his spouse had commented on his previous abusive behaviour. A facilitator suggested that man A's reaction may have risen from guilt. Even though he did not himself use the term "guilt" in any of the sessions in this data, man A often indirectly confirmed this feeling when a facilitator suggested it. Towards the end of the intervention he also expressed that he understood the relation between feeling guilty and being psychologically abusive. The following extract and *Figure 6* illustrate this:

Facilitator: So the guilt arises, that's the pain in a way that comes from what she says?

A: Yes. Yes. It's hard to admit it to yourself, that kind of a thing that you've just been like that. (2)

(Extract 8)

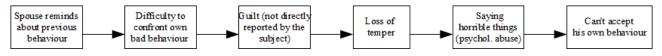


Figure 6

Man A saw alcohol as a factor in his abusive behaviour to some extent, but did not think it was of big significance. He said that controlling his temper was even harder if he was drunk. When leaving the group, he still expressed that being drunk might trigger abusive behaviour also in the future:

A: Sometimes it was then when I was drunk enough, there was a much bigger chance to start threatening. (12)

(Extract 9)

In his last session, Man A told that he has gained a lot more respect towards his spouse during the intervention. He was empathetic towards her feelings already when he entered the group, and seemed to struggle with guilt for his abusive behaviour. He needed support from the facilitator to be able to approach his guilt, and did not use the word "guilt" himself in any of the sessions in this data. Still it seemed to be a very important factor in his intervention process.

The complete Functional Analytic Clinical Case Model of man A's explanations of his abusive behaviour is presented in *Figure 7*.

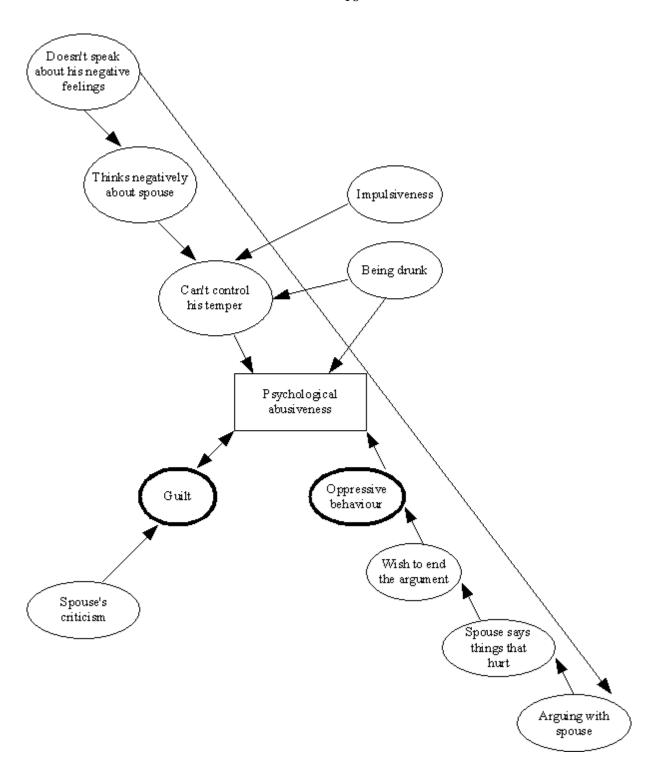


Figure 7

Man B

Man B participated in 31 sessions during the time of approximately 16 months. He and his spouse separated during the group, but decided to continue their relationship as the intervention progressed. In the 2-year follow-up, man B told that the relationship had ended. There is no 2-year follow-up data from man B's spouse. According to his spouse's ACBI-report, man B was seriously physically abusive at the beginning of the intervention. His psychological abusiveness was also strong, and he was somewhat sexually abusive. Man B succeeded in reducing his abusive behaviour significantly during the intervention. His physical abusiveness ceased almost completely.

Throughout the whole intervention, man B's main explanation for violence was alcohol. He brought up repeatedly, how difficult it was to control himself when drunk. During the intervention, he reduced his alcohol consumption and according to him this had clearly positive effects. He also saw switching spirits into milder alcohol as a contributor in the reduction of abusive behaviour. In the following extract from his first session he spoke about the relation between alcohol and violence, using the term "conversation" when referring to verbal fighting.

B: When I had enough to drink, missus' conversation started getting on my nerves and I would then attack [physically] in such a way that I was like trying to make it stop-- (1) (Extract 10)

Man B's description of the relation between alcohol and abusive behaviour is presented as a behavioural analytic chain model in *Figure 8*:



Figure 8

Man B had noticed already when entering the intervention group that he had in the past justified his abusiveness with his spouse's behaviour, as he expresses in the following extracts and *Figure 9*:

B: You just like explained it to yourself that when the other one nags for long enough, then I'm allowed to do something. Alcohol was often related but not every time. Too often. (1) (Extract 11)



Figure 9

It is noteworthy, that even though man B realized that his tendency to justify his abusiveness with his spouse's behaviour was wrong, he still went on to argue that there was something distinctive about his current spouse compared to his previous one that made his abusive behaviour possible. Man B's compared his previous and present relationships:

B: Let's say that she [ex-spouse] was in that sense the weaker vessel and in this relationship we're both rather bull-headed. In a way you didn't like need extreme means-- (1) (Extract 12)

Man B named his habit of not speaking about his negative feelings and not wanting to confront his spouse as contributors to his abusive behaviour. According to him suppressing the negative feelings caused them to accumulate, and increased the possibility of a violent outburst in a conflict situation especially when he was drunk. In the fourth session he pondered upon how he has learned to speak about his negative feelings. From this extract of speech, it can be interpreted how he explains his abusive behaviour with his habit of not speaking about his negative feelings. This is illustrated in *Figure 10*.

B: That you can somehow like open your mouth early enough so that it doesn't go to that you just like build up the steam in the kettle and then it boils over and if it boils over when drunk, it has been [mutters] unpleasant consequences.(4)
(Extract 13)

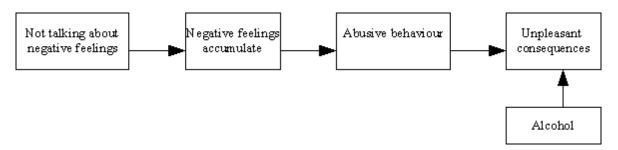


Figure 10

In his third session, man B described an abusive situation, where he had kicked his spouse. He identified the motive of his actions being the wish to demonstrate his spouse that he is angry and upset. In addition he identified a motive of making his spouse act according to his wishes, as illustrated in the following extract and *Figure 11*:

B: I wasn't violent there, but I was angry there, but I didn't like have any wish to hurt her. I didn't, I didn't have that kind of a wish, but I just wanted to show her that now I'm angry, now I'm mad and now we're going to do as I say, I suppose. (3)
(Extract 14)

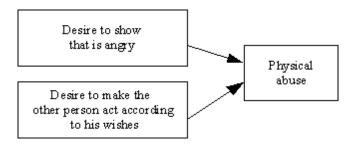


Figure 11

In his last session, man B speaks about his own perfectionism. He brings up that his difficulties in accepting criticism have in some situations caused him to defend himself by being

abusive. In the following extract he discusses the relationship between receiving criticism and abusive behaviour, illustrated in *Figure 11*.

B: -- you just had to be the best and the woman just nags so.

Facilitator: Criticism is of course extremely difficult when you set yourself terribly high standards.

B: Yeah.

Facilitator: And even if it isn't criticism, it may sound like criticism, like it, that because somehow you're, you're so sensitive to it.

B: Exactly, that you're so sensitive to it that well Z [spouse] surely did say many times that you can't be criticized even a little bit or you get upset, I probably did but maybe not so much anymore. It was somehow that when you had to be so perfect so then you couldn't take criticism apparently. (31)

(Extract 15)

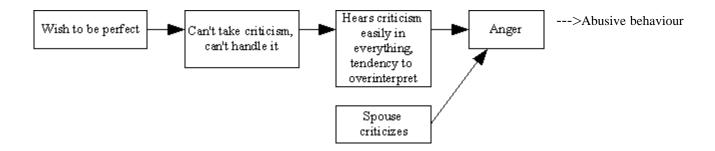


Figure 12

Man B's views on responsibility were somewhat contradictory: He perceived that he should attend the intervention group even if he and his spouse split up for good, because he had problems with controlling his aggression, but on the other hand he wanted to share the responsibility of the abusive situations to some extent with his spouse.

As the intervention proceeded, man B noticed a change in his own reactions when his spouse nagged or shouted at him. He told that he had learned to control his temper and both he and his spouse were more willing to back down in case of a disagreement. He said that he did not blame

himself for her verbal aggression anymore, which helped him to stay calm during an argument. Man B described the change in the following way:

B: I guess it is that Z [spouse] notices that now she must stop, I don't think I have changed so much anything but that I don't blame myself anymore for her shouting, let her shout, but I won't accept it all. I'm trying to like speak my mind to her. (28) (Extract 16)

Man B's explanations for violence were not very structured or complex. In the end of the intervention he told that the feelings of unfairness and injustice he had experienced before, were now gone, and this helped him control the level of his aggression. The complete Functional Analytic Clinical Case Model of man B's explanations of his abusive behaviour is presented in *Figure 13*.

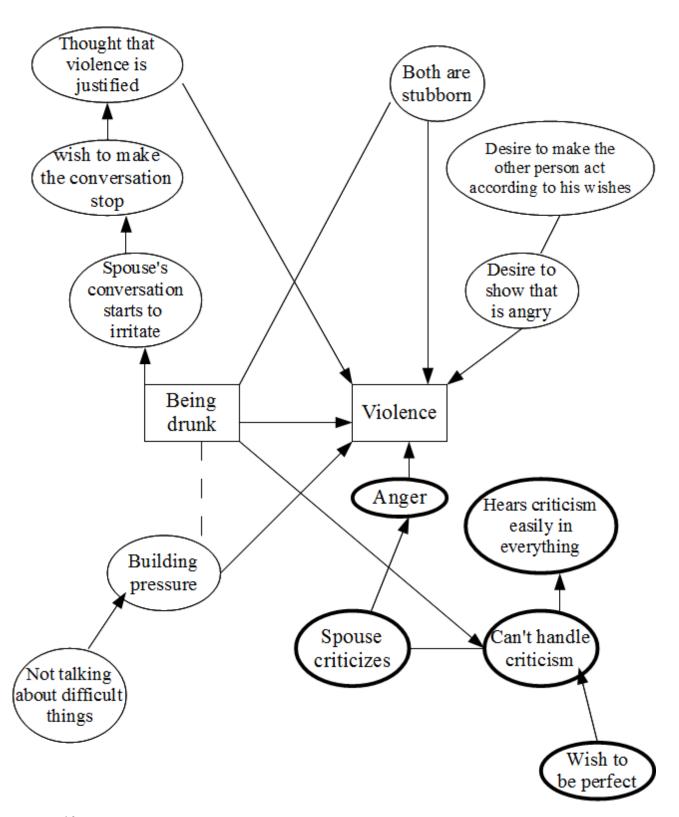


Figure 13

3.2 Explanations of subjects who were not able to reduce using intimate partner violence

Man C

Man C participated in 20 sessions within approximately 10 months. When he entered the group, he and his spouse were temporarily separated, but they got back together during the intervention. Man C told that his abusive behaviour had happened a long time ago, and said that he was not abusive anymore. However, on the ACB-inventory man C's spouse reported that there was no significant change in the quantity of man C's abusiveness altogether during the intervention or after a two-year follow-up. She reported that his psychological and sexual abusiveness were on a rather high level at all three measuring points, and physical abuse remained moderate.

In the first session, man C spoke about the relationship between jealousy and abusiveness, when he told that learning to deal with his jealousy had helped him stop his abusive behaviour. This can be interpreted, that he saw jealousy as an explanation for his abusive behaviour. In the following extract, illustrated in *Figure 14*, he also expressed that both the jealousy and the abusive behaviour had been mutual.

C: Let's say that I learned to deal with my own jealousy, it kind of, that way the arguing stopped. Then it turned that way, that, well, spouse started, or well she became exactly the way I had been. I mean situations where, incomprehensible situations. I've been jealous and she also the same way and then the violence was aimed at me. (1) (Extract 17)

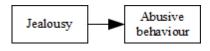


Figure 14

According to man C, the mutual jealousy stemmed at least to some extent from the fact that both he and his spouse had lost one of their parents at a young age. He told about this in the first session in the following way:

Facilitator: Has this kind of fear of loss been related to your jealousy?

C: I guess that's where it stems from, the jealousy. Fear of loss. And it's been the same with my spouse. Is it related to the backgrounds then, because both of us have lost one of our parents, in her case the loss of her own father? I've thought that it probably stems from there. That's where the controlling comes from. (1) (Extract 18)

The previous extract of speech is illustrated in *Figure 15*.

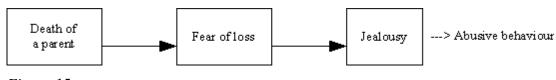


Figure 15

Man C did not mention abusive behaviour in the previous extract of speech, but from the context it is apparent that he refers to jealousy as a cause of it. For this reason "abusive behaviour" is added to the chain model. Again, he emphasized the reciprocity of abuse.

According to man C, yet another factor contributing to his jealousy was his spouse's infidelity. He told that her infidelity had caused him to control her use of telephone and he had also sometimes attempted to stop her from leaving their home. He said that sometimes also the spouse's state of mind required that he physically didn't let her out of the apartment, because she was so upset that he couldn't be sure what she would do. The man also stated that his wife had attempted to control him likewise. This mutual controlling he identified as abuse. In the first session he described one of these situations in the following way:

C: Then in the beginning of the relationship, it was mostly related to a kind of situation where the situation got out of hands in a way, and if spouse was in such a state of mind that you don't know what she's going to do and for example she's going to leave the apartment, then when you try to stop her, that not in that state of mind, when you feel that she can't go, she should at least calm down a bit. It's kind of abusive that you stop the other one from leaving the situation --. (1)

(Extract 19)

The previous extract of man C's speech is illustrated as a chain analysis in Figure 16:

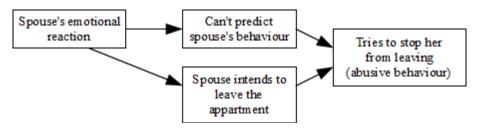


Figure 16

In general, man C had a lot of explanations for why his marriage was in a crisis, but did not link these explanations directly to his abusive behaviour. He mentioned several problems in his marriage, but mostly did not express that they were connected to his abusive behaviour. Abuse had in his opinion never been a significant problem in his relationship, and besides, at least from his part, it did not exist anymore.

According to man C, there had been problems in his marriage for a long time. He mentioned that he had had stress at his work, and that in time the communication in the relationship had gotten into a rut. He felt like he and his wife were not able to discuss things anymore. According to him, he couldn't handle shouting, and if he disagreed with his wife, she would always shout. That's why he preferred not to bring up things that bothered him. He also said that talking about his feelings was difficult for him. As another contributor to the marital problems in general, he mentioned his own use of alcohol, and said that his wife had sought for help from the crisis centre because of his beer drinking, which had started the process that eventually led him to come to the group for intimately violent men. Man C mentioned that his own father had been abusive and threatening, as had his father's father, and reflected upon how the culture of violence can be passed on through generations. He did not name this as an explanation for his own abusive behaviour, but brought the issue up frequently.

The concepts of violence and abuse were to some extent unclear to man C throughout the whole intervention. He defined them over and over again, and was reluctant to accept his own abusiveness. He reflected upon gender roles and expressed confusion about what the role of a man is in a modern society. He felt that the traditional masculine role has been violent, and it is confusing

for a man to navigate between the traditional aggressive and modern softer masculine roles. He felt that women, media and the social security system sometimes deliberately want to harm men by labelling normal arguing as intimate partner violence. In his third session man C pondered upon violence in a cultural context and in his fourth session he talked about how he had ran into a conflict with a crisis centre worker about the definition of abuse.

C: If you think about violent upbringing, at least for 2000 years it has been urged, and if you haven't believed that Big Book, you have been made to believe it. So in principle for 2000 years it has been taught "whoever spares the rod hates their children." (3) (Extract 20)

C: My mouth is shut with what is psychological abuse. It has become a weapon. I called the worker and had a conversation. I asked if they could re-evaluate their views about these. She said right away that this is psychological abuse. In my opinion she was abusive towards me. (4)

(Extract 21)

Man C's speech was very analytical and it seemed that he had contemplated gender and violence issues a lot. However, he spoke directly about his own violence only in the first session, when one of the facilitators asked about it. For the rest of the sessions he seemed to want to stay mainly on a rational, theoretical level or comment on other men's speech. His explanation models changed very little, if at all, during the intervention: It seemed that he either had ready and fixed explanation models about a topic in discussion, or he would not even start discussing a topic on a personal level, because it was in his opinion not related to his personal life.

Man C used uncontrollability as an explanation for intimate partner violence and used expressions like "things got out of hands". His explanations for his abusive behaviour were mostly detached and non-causal, and the functional chains were short. It was easy to create a list of the marital and communication problems he mentioned, but difficult to draw models of them related to abusive behaviour, because of their detached nature.

Altogether, man C was fairly active in the group, but took mostly the role of an adviser, helping other men deal with their aggression. He spoke about how he had learned to control his

jealousy and temper and appreciate his spouse's opinions, and that is why there weren't violent situations at home any more. In the first session he mentioned the need to psychologically control his family and a general fear of losing control, but didn't mention these topics in the further sessions. It was evident that man C held his spouse at least equally responsible for the abuse in the past as he did himself. He implied that she had problems with her mental health and might give the workers a wrong impression of their situation. He stated that also his wife has to change in order the relationship to continue. If it had not been for the ACB-inventory and a regular contact with the spouse, it would have been possible that the intimate partner violence in man C's case could have been overlooked. To the observer, man C was very convincing in his self-expression, and systematically stuck to his story of being a non-violent person.

From man C's speech it could be interpreted, that violence was just a by-product of problems in the relationship in general, which on the other hand were contributed by several other factors. The final FACCM can best be presented in the following way:

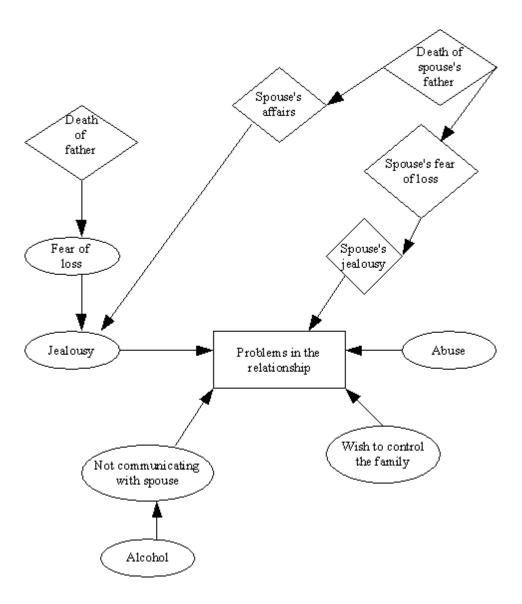


Figure 17

During the intervention there was not a significant change in the quantity of man C's abusive behaviour, but according to his spouse the quality of abusiveness changed. She reported that after the intervention, his abusiveness had become cleverer and more manipulating; he for example accused her of psychological abuse, if she disagreed with him, or wasn't willing to fulfil his sexual fantasies. He would also often disguise his psychological abuse as humour or hide it in a positive message. In the two-year follow-up she still felt that the threat of physical violence was sometimes present in the relationship. He had not physically attacked her, but had for example broken things when he was

angry. 2 years after the group she said that his psychological abusiveness had become stronger. The views of man C and his spouse on intimate partner violence differed to a great deal.

232 Man D

Man D participated in 9 sessions within approximately 2.5 months. He and his spouse separated during the intervention, and the decision to file for divorce was made. After this, man D didn't produce any more explanations for his abusive behaviour, because he saw violence foremost as something characteristic of this particular relationship. He didn't consider himself as violent. Man D's and his wife's reports on abuse were contradictory: He said that after splitting up, he had not been abusive in any way, whereas the spouse reported an increase both on psychological and sexual abuse after the separation. At the two-year follow-up man D's spouse wasn't willing to fill in the ACB-inventory anymore, but said that the amount of direct threatening behaviour had increased during the divorce-process. According to her, she had had to report an offence to the police to make him stop calling her. She said that he had also been financially abusive after the separation. The immense contradiction in the spouses' stories is striking.

According to man D, the general problems of the relationship were the main factor contributing to abuse. Such problems were his own inability or unwillingness to speak about things that bothered him, his own and his spouse's use of alcohol, and also the characteristics of his current spouse. He expressed that his current wife's behaviour was so provoking, that if he hadn't had training for anti-violent conflict solving, he would not be able to control himself at all. He also mentioned jealousy as contributing to abuse but didn't see it as a very significant factor, or was unsure how big a role it played in his abusiveness. Man D also told that he had been submissive in his previous relationship and didn't want to be the same way in the current one. This, according to him, made him sometimes abusive.

According to man D abuse in this relationship was mutual and both he and his spouse used equal amount of it. Altogether, he didn't identify violence as a central problem, and didn't think of himself as being a violent person.

Man D said the fact that he did not speak about thing that bothered him had a large impact on his violent behaviour. When he remained silent, the aggression accumulated and grew, causing the eventual outburst to be violent. This can be perceived in the following extracts of man D's speech from his first session:

D: If something the missus does or says irritates me, or, quite frankly said, pisses me off, I just like leave it there, like it means nothing, just push it back there. (1) (Extract 22)

D: When something annoying comes up, or it's not that the other person necessarily does it on purpose, but that it somehow feels to me that it would be smart to be quiet now. And so then I of course am, and like build up a load, which then bursts out like a volcanic eruption.

(1)

(Extract 23)

Another important factor related to violence was the consumption of alcohol. Man D said that when he has had enough to drink, he feels that he should bring up the things that he "pushed back" before and when he is drunk, his way of expressing things easily becomes aggressive. The disagreements escalated also because of his spouse's intoxication.

D: Very often it, or almost always, it [violence] is related to that I've made a few drinks too many. If I hadn't made the last one, it wouldn't have happened. But you just feel like after 7, 8 drinks and then one more like "I'm sober now", and then you try to start talking about it. (1) (Extract 24)

D: The last drink may trigger it so that I attack horribly verbally, sometimes it's been so that I attack horribly verbally, sometimes I try to start a conversation and then when she has attacked, then I get even worse. (1)
(Extract 25)

Man D saw his spouse's hot temper as a contributor to violence, suggesting that violence could have been avoided, if she had been more submissive. He also saw his wife's verbal abilities as a factor here: She often fought back when an argument arose, and because she seemed verbally superior to him, he felt like he "always lost the conversation" (1), he couldn't take it, and had no other means but to use either verbal or physical violence. The initial thought here is the assumption, that women are naturally verbally superior. The following extracts illustrate man D's thoughts on her wife's temper and women's verbal superiority:

D: --my wife happens to be very hot-tempered, she always attacks back even more fiercely and then when I always lose the conversation and nothing else helps, it's not totally like I'll just smack her like that but-- (1)

(Extract 26)

D: And if we get into this arguing, women just are so much better at that. (1) (Extract 27)

D: I'm under the conception that when it comes to using words, it's she who wins, because I'm wordless and have no means there. (1)
(Extract 28)

D: When the power struggle is done with words, it's clear that it's always the man who comes in second-- (2)
(Extract 29)

Man D told that in his previous marriage he was oppressed and submissive, and pondered on whether this may have caused him to unconsciously fear ending up in a similar situation again. This would be why he can't give in one inch, which causes inflexibility in the communication with his spouse. Extract 30 and *Figure 18* illustrate this.

D: It's strange that in my previous marriage we didn't fight, we were able to settle things in a totally different manner. So do we just have such a hell of a power struggle where neither one is willing to give in one inch? (3)

(Extract 30)

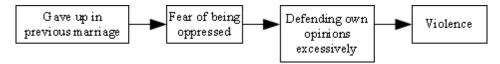


Figure 18

Man D was fairly active in the group and produced the longest and most complex explanation models of the four subjects of this study. When creating the FACC-model for man D, it became apparent that he had a very wide-ranging, detailed and logical system of explanations for the violence already in the first session. The explanations didn't change during the intervention process, and the reasons for violence were to a great extent external. The underlying reason for his abusive behaviour could in the end be identified being his spouse's abusive behaviour towards him. He took very little responsibility of his own actions: He might disapprove his individual actions, e.g. drinking too much alcohol or not speaking about things that bothered him, but saw that in the end the reason he lost his temper was his wife's behaviour and her characteristics.

The logical and ready construction of man D's explanation model already in the first session is conspicuous. Most of his explanations were present and could be drawn into the following chain analysis already after the first session. The chain analysis model did not change as the intervention process proceeded. The chain model is long and complex, thus presented here in two rows:

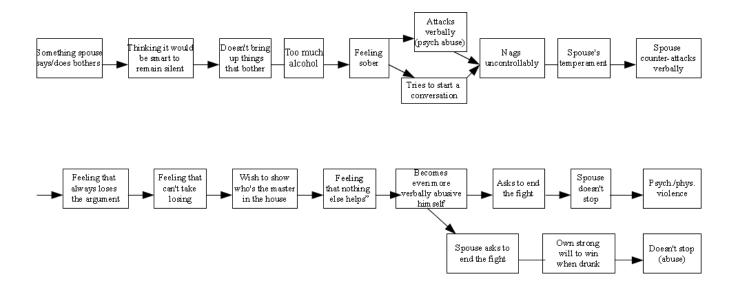


Figure 19

The final FACCM is simple and the factors are detached. Not speaking about things that bother him, the fact that he and his spouse drank too much alcohol, and his spouse's provoking behaviour were man D's central problems according to him. He did not express any of these contributors being directly linked with violence.

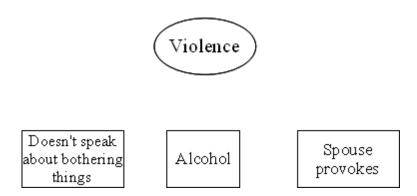


Figure 20

4 DISCUSSION

The aim of this study was to explore the possible differences in the explanation models of men participating in the Jyväskylä Model treatment group for intimately violent men. The hypothesis was that the explanation models for the use of intimate partner violence differ between the men who were able to reduce their abusive behaviour and the men who were not. It was also assessed whether the possible modifications of the explanation models differed between these two groups as the intervention proceeded. The relevant results will be discussed next, followed by reflection on research process and method. Finally, a brief conclusion of the study will be made.

4.1 Discussion of results

The data suggests that there are certain differences in the quality of the explanation models for intimate partner violence between men who were able to reduce their abusive behaviour and those who were not, in the Jyväskylä Model treatment group. It was not as much the content, as it was the quality of the explanation models that differed between these two groups of men: The explanation models of those able to reduce abusive behaviour appeared to be more flexible than the models of those who used the same or increased amount of intimate partner violence after the group intervention. The explanation models of the men who continued acting equally or more abusively were rather fixed already when starting the intervention, and remained the same for the most part during it. This can be seen especially in the FACCM of man C, consisting to a large extent of factors that he cannot change, and in the long and complex chain model of man D, already fixed when the intervention began. From FACCMs of both men C and D it can also be seen, that the explanation models did not change as the intervention progressed. Men A and B had more variation in their explanations. Pitkänen (2008) reported similar outcomes: Men, who did not have any consistent explanation models that persisted throughout the whole intervention, had better outcomes in a group intervention.

Holma et al. (2005) report of six different ways in which intimately violent men explain their own abusive behaviour: Insufficiency, lack of means, accumulated stress and problems,

feeling boxed-in, being out of control and combining violence with the biological nature of masculinity. All these were present in the data of this study, apart from directly explaining abuse with biological factors. The level of taking responsibility varied from one explanation model to another accordingly. The explanation models of the subjects of this study did not differ on this context according to the outcome results of the intervention.

According to Scott (2004), the reasons for intimate partner violence can be categorized into feminist theories, family systems theories and individual theories. When examining intimately violent men's own speech about their abuse, family systems theories and individual theories were those of the biggest importance. On the level of family systems theories, men often expressed the mutuality of abuse between the spouses leading to mutual responsibility in ending it. Problems of the relationship in general were often seen as a major cause for abusive behaviour. The feminist way of explaining abusiveness with the patriarchal structure of the society was only present in man C's speech, when he referred to the culture of masculine violence and the changing masculine role. Man C used societal speech to distance himself from intimate partner violence. He constructed himself as a helpless victim of traditional conventions, and on the other hand, on individual level, as a victim of the masculine violence he had experienced as a child.

All of the subjects constructed themselves as victims to some extent, man C the most of all. Also, when analysing man D 's speech as a whole, it seemed that he saw himself very much as a victim of his spouse's abuse, which could not be entirely captured by using FA, but could be otherwise perceived in careful analysis. Men A and B presented themselves less as victims as did C and D, but victimization was visible also in their explanation models. One form of victimization is helplessness, which all of the men used as an explanation by constructing a story of themselves as not being able to address emotionally challenging issues. The victimization expressed by the subjects of this study was located almost exclusively either on family systems level, where the men felt as victims of their spouse's abuse, or on individual level, where men referred to past traumas causing them to be abusive in the present day. Victimization makes the therapeutic process in the treatment of intimately violent men challenging (Partanen & Wahlström, 2003; Holma et al., 2006).

The reasons for the large differences between the self-reports and the spouses' reports among unsuccessful men cannot be exhaustively explained based on this data. It is possible that one or the other spouse is deliberately lying about the situation. Another possibility is that the spouses simply perceive the situation or abuse differently. In any case, the concept of violence and the variety of its

different forms should have been clear to all parties in this data because of the psycho-education they received before and during the intervention. Men whose reports on their intimate partner violence were consistent with their spouse's reports had better treatment outcomes. Perhaps a shared conception of the abuse means that the perpetrator is able to admit his abusiveness and thus is more able to take responsibility for his abusive behaviour. However, in this context, one must bear in mind that there is some evidence that taking responsibility is not related to a positive outcome of a group intervention (Pitkänen, 2008). In any case, the differences of the views on abusive behaviour demonstrate how important it is to control an intimately violent man's progress with spouse's reports.

Both men B and D used the term "conversation" when referring to verbal fighting or psychological abuse. This is not a common term to use in this context in the Finnish language. Both men seemed to be aware of the difference between conversation, argument and abusive behaviour, and the use of the term "conversation" can be interpreted as ironic and undermining the situation. To the observer it appeared as if the men had absorbed this term from the media or their previous contacts with IPV-professionals. Men B and D implied that they know they are expected to view a woman's verbal aggression as "a conversation", whereas man's aggression is more readily seen as abusive and threatening. The use of language in this particular way constructed a gap between the genders by stating that the helping system is partial in favour of women and that women and men are fundamentally different. According to Partanen (2005), constructing women and men different in speech is one way to justify violence against women.

4.2 Reflections on the research process and method

Functional analysis is, with certain limitations, an eligible tool for researching men's own explanations for intimate partner violence. It helps conceptualizing men's thoughts and feelings, creating a general picture of how they view their abusive behaviour. However, as Aarnio and Laurto (2008) point out, FA is a rather naïve method when researching intimate partner violence. Even though some research (e.g. Hearn, 1998) emphasizes the importance of seeing a client's situation as a whole, allowing men to explain their violence with other events in their lives may reduce their sense

of responsibility and be harmful for the treatment in that sense. Haynes and O'Brien (2000) point out that treatment decisions based on FACC-models should always be advanced prudently and tentatively because they are constructed subjectively from insufficient data. The same assumption can be made of using FA and FACCM as research methods.

In this study, functional analysis was not able to capture certain visual and auditory aspects that are available while watching recordings. In a regular clinical context the researcher would have been able to ask specifying questions directly from the subject, but now some of the information expressed in other than direct and verbal form was lost. Especially the tone of speech and certain idiomatic expressions were difficult to capture. Also emotional involvement and commitment was sometimes very visible in the recordings, but to a large extent lost when reducing the expressions to functional analytic level. An important point that could be recognised with a careful analysis of the data, but not presented in functional analysis was how man D actually explained his IPV with his spouse's abuse towards him. It would be interesting to know, how FACC-models would have turned out if they had been done together with the subjects of the study, which is the more conventional way of using FA.

The number of subjects in this study is too small to draw generalizable conclusions.

4.3 Conclusion and future prospects

The results of this study suggest that the flexibility of violence explanations models of intimately violent men may be a predictor of a positive treatment outcome. Regular contact with the perpetrators' partners can be recommended based on this data. The ready and logical explanation models of the men who do not reduce their abusive behaviour can cunningly hide the ongoing intimate partner violence if there is no other information available. Because of the small data in this study, further research is needed.

Functional analysis is an eligible method for investigating the explanation models of intimately violent men, but further research is needed to make the method more sophisticated.

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6 APPENDICES

Appendix 1: The original text extracts in Finnish

Extract 1

A: Mää käytän henkistä väkivaltaa ihan hirveesti kotona, välillä oon ottanu käsivarresta kiinni avovaimoo, on tullu mustelmat ja sitte ku mulla ne hermot menee ni mää oon niin kauhee suustani että eeeei kukaan oo semmonen, että mää haukun ja uhkailen ja. (1)

Extract 2

A: Jotenki ei mitään hätää oo kun mää en oo hermostunu, pystyn hallitteen itteni, että ei siinä oo mitään ongelmaa. Mutta kun se kiehahtaa, se tapahtuu niin nopeesti, mää vaan kiehahan ja sit sitä tulee sitä tekstiä. (1)

Extract 3

A: Mulla ainaki se on joskus menny niin äkkiä että kuun on yrittänyt ennakoida niin kun se kiihtyvyys on nollasta sataan ni se on kolme sekuntia, en kerkee ajatella mitään että nyt rauhotut enkä mitään vaan se on heti ääritapissa se --

TYÖNTEKIJÄ: Mistä se lähtee?

A: No semmosestahan se lähtee kun myö yhessä riijjellään ja väitellään joistain asioista. Se on eri mieltä ja mää oon eri mieltä, tai sitten jostain kotihommista. (3)

Extract 4

A: -- haluan aina laittaa pisteen sille riitelylle, sanoo oikein pahasti ja aattelee että se loppuu siihen. (1)

Extract 5

A: Ja sitten on vielä niinku syyllistäny, että kun mää nyt niinku räjähän, se on sun vika. (1)

Extract 6

A: Oon myrkyttäny omaa mieltä että nyt se oli tolla lailla ja nyt se teki ja sano sillä lailla, vaikka vähän pitemmän aikaa, on sillee ajatellu negatiivisesti toisesta ja sitten on syy, kun tulee seuraavan kerran riitaa niin sitte, sit on ollu syy olevinaan sanoo. (2)

Extract 7

TYÖNTEKIJÄ [kysyy kaikilta]: Onko joskus käynyt niin että kun on ollut henkisesti tai fyysisesti väkivaltainen niin vaik on tiennyt että tekee väärin, on kuitenkin jotenkin kokenut että siihen on joku oikeutus, antanut itselleen luvan?

A: On. Mulla ainakin. Sitä mietin että kyllä se mulle nyt niin paljon annatti että kyllä mulla oli oikeus, oon ajatellu ihan rehellisesti. (2)

Extract 8

TYÖNTEKIJÄ: Eli se herää se syyllisyys, se on se kipu tavallaan mikä syntyy siitä toisen sanomisesta?

A: Niin. Niin. Se on kova paikka myöntää itelleen semmonen homma että sitä on vaan ollu semmonen. (2)

Extract 9

A: Joskus oli sillon että kun oli tarpeeks juovuksissa niin olihan siinä paljon suurempi mahollisuus siihen uhkailuun. (12)

Extract 10

B: Kun otti viinaa tarpeeks niin sitten se emännän keskustelu rupes käymään hermoille ja tuli käytyä sitten kiinni sillä tavalla että yritin niinkun saada sen loppumaan-- (1)

Extract 11

B: Sen niinku itelleen selitti sillä, että ku toinen aikansa jäkättää niin sit mää saan tehä jotanki että. Alkoholi oli aika usein mukana mut ei se nyt ihan joka kerta ollu. Liian monesti. (1)

Extract 12

B: Sanotaanko nyt näin, että hän [ex-puoliso] oli varmaan siinä suhteessa se heikompi astia ja tässä suhteessa kummatki on aika kovapäisiä ni se. Tavallaan ei tarvinnu sitten niinku semmosia äärimmäisiä keinoja-- (1)

Extract 13

B: ... että osaa jotenki niinku avata suunsa riittävän ajoissa ettei se mee siihen että sää keräät oikein sinne pannuun sitä höyryä ja sit se posahtaa ja sitte ku se posahtaa kännipäissään ni [mutinaa] ikävät seuraukset-- (4)

Extract 14

B: En mää väkivaltanen ollu siinä, mut olin mä vihanen siinä, mut ei mulla ollu niinku mitään halua vahingoittaa häntä. En mä, ei mulla semmosta halua, mut mää vaan halusin näyttää hänelle, että nyt mää oon suuttunu, nyt mä oon vihanen ja nyt tehään niinku minä sanon, ilmeisesti. (3)

Extract 15

B: Et ku piti olla kaikista paras ja sitte akka naputtaa vaan ni --

TYÖNTEKIJÄ: Kritiikki on tietysti hirveen vaikee siinä kohtaa, jos asettaa itselleen kauheet vaatimukset.

B: Nii.

TYÖNTEKIJÄ: Ja vaikkei se sitte kritiikkiä ookaan, niin se saattaa kuulostaa kritiikiltä niinku se, että koska jotenki on on niin kauheen herkkä siihen.

B: Niin just, että on niin herkkä sille, että tuota kyllähän se niinkun monesti sillä tavalla sano, että kun sulle ei tarvii sanoo ku pikkusen ni sä mökkäännyt. Kyllä sitä mää varmaan teinkin, mut et en mä enää nyt ehkä ihan niin. Se oli jotenki että ku sitä piti olla niin täydellinen ni sitä sitte ei kestäny kritiikkiä ilmeisesti. (31)

Extract 16

B: Kai se sitten on että Z [puoliso] huomaa että nyt pitää lopettaa. Että en mää oo mielestäni hirveen paljoo muuttanu muuta ku sitä että mää en niinku syyllistä itteäni siitä että hän huutaa, et huutakoot, mut et en mä ota vastaan kaikkea. Et sitä mä koitan niinku et mää sanon suoraan takasi että. (28)

Extract 17

C: Sanotaan että ite oppi käsitteleen sitä omaa mustasukkasuutta, se tavallaan, sitä kautta ne ristiriitatilanteet lakkas. Sit se käänty niinpäin että tota puoliso rupes, tai siis siitä tuli aivan sanalainen ku ite oli ollu. Siis semmosia tilanteita missä, käsittämättömiä tilanteita. Oon ollu mustasukkanen ja hän myöskin saman lailla ja sit se taas se väkivalta kohdistu tavallaan minuun. (1)

Extract 18

TYÖNTEKIJÄ: Onks sun mustasukkasuuteen liittynyt tämmöstä pelkoa menettämisestä? C: Siitä kai se kumpuaa se mustasukkaisuus. Menetyksen pelko. Ja sama on puolisolla ollu. Et liittyyks se seit taustoihin, kun kummallakin on kuollu toinen vanhemmista, hänellä se oman isän menetys? Oon aatellu et se varmaan sieltä juontaa. Sitä kautta se syntyy se kontrollointi. (1)

Extract 19

C: Sillon parisuhteen alkuaikoina, lähinnä liitty sellaseen tilanteeseen, että se tilanne tavallaan niinku riistäyty käsistä ja jos puoliso oli semmosessa mielentilassa että ei tiijjä mitä se tekee ja esim. se aikoo poistua vaikka asunnosta, sitten kun pyrki estämään sen, että ei tuossa mielentilassa ku ite tunti että se ei voi lähtee, sen pitäs ainaki vähän rauhottua. Se on tavallaan väkivaltaa se että estää toista poistumasta siitä tilanteesta --. (1)

Extract 20

C: Jos aatellaan väkivaltasta kasvatusta niin se siton vähintään 2000 vuotta kehotettu, ja jos ei oo uskonu sitä paksua kirjaa, missä niitä kehotuksia julistetaan, se on pantu uskomaan. Elikkä periaatteessa 2000 vuotta on opetettu että joka vitsaa säästää se vihaa lastaan. (3)

Extract 21

C: Mun suu suletaan sillä, mikä on henkistä väkivaltaa. Siitä on tullu lyömäase. Soitin työntekijälle ja keskustelin. Kysyin onko heillä varaa tarkistaa omia näkemyksiä näistä --Hän sanoi heti että tuo on henkistä väkivaltaa. Mun mielestä hän käytti väkivalta mua kohtaan (4).

Extract 22

D: Että jos joku emännän tekemisissä tai sanomisissa harmittaa tai suoraan sanottuna vituttaakin, sen niinku jättää tonne noin, että eihän tuo nyt mitään meinaa, painaa tuonne taakse. (1)

Extract 23

D: Kun tulee semmonen harmittava asia, tai ei sitä toinenkaan välttämättä tahallaan tee mutta ni se jotenki se minusta tuntuu että se ois nyt fiksua olla hiljaa tuosta. Ja niin minä sitten tietysti oon ja taas niinku kerään sitte itelle sitä lastia mikä sitte tulee tulivuorenpurkauksena. (1)

Extract 24

D: --niin hyvin useinhan siihen liittyy, tai melkein aina, että vähän liian paljon kuppia tehny, jos viimeset kerrat ois jättäny tekemättä, niin sillon ei ois sitä käyny. Mutta sitä tuntuu kun on 7,8 paukkua illassa ottanu ja vielä yhet, tuntuu että "minähän oon nyt selvinpäin" ja sitte yrittää ruveta puhumaan tuosta. (1)

Extract 25

D: Se viimenen kuppi saattaa laukasta niin että sitte hyökkään puheillani ihan hirveesti, joskus se on ollu niin että hyökkään puheillani ihan hirveesti, joskus sitten koittaa alottaa keskustelua ja sitte kun hän on hyökänny, sitten minoon kahta kauheempi. (1)

Extract 26

D: --vaimo sattuu olemaan hyvin tempperamenttinen, se hyökkää kahta kauheemmin takasin ja sitten kun minä aina häviän sen keskustelun, eikä mikkään muu auta ni ei nyt ihan turpiin vaan mutta... (1)

Extract 27

D: Ja jos tähän väittelyyn mennään, kun ne emännät on siinä niin paljon parempia. (1)

Extract 28

D: Kyllä mulla semmonen käsitys on, että mitä siihen sanailuun tulee niin kyllä hän sen voittaa, koska kyllähän mä oon siinä sanaton ja keinoton. (1)

Extract 29

D: Sitä kun käydään puhumalla sitä valtataistelua niin sen nyt tietää että ainahan siinä mies kakkoseks jää-- (2)

Extract 30

D: Se on niin kumma että edellisessä liitossa ei taisteltu, asiat osattiin sopia ihan eri tavalla. Että onko meillä sitten niin helvetin kova valtataistelu, mistä ei kumpikaan anna tuumaakaan periks? (3)