HETEROSEXUAL AND SAME-SEX INTIMATE PARTNER VIOLENCE: POLICE ATTRIBUTIONS OF VICTIM CULPABILITY

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Amanda Jean Goodson

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HETEROSEXUAL AND SAME-SEX INTIMATE PARTNER VIOLENCE: POLICE ATTRIBUTIONS OF VICTIM CULPABILITY

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DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to all of my family and friends. I could not have completed my dissertation and doctoral training without your unconditional love and support. Thank you and I am forever grateful.

ABSTRACT

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Intimate partner violence (IPV) has garnered the attention of scholars, policy makers, and social justice actors for several decades. Shortcomings in police response to IPV may be related to police attributions of victim culpability. Few empirical studies have assessed police officers' assignment of blame, responsibility, and causality directed toward IPV survivors, particularly those who identify as LGBTQ+. Using a randomly-assigned, experimental vignette design, the current study employed surveys from a sample of 433 police officers commissioned at a sizeable police department in one of the most populous and diverse U.S. cities to: 1) assess culpability attributions directed toward IPV survivors, 2) determine whether culpability attributions differed based on the sexual orientation of the intimate couple, and 3) examine officer demographic, occupational, attitudinal, and experimental predictors of IPV culpability attributions directed toward heterosexual and same-sex couples. Theoretical considerations, policy implications, and future directions for empirical research are discussed.

KEY WORDS: Police attributions of culpability, Intimate partner violence, Heterosexual couples, Same-sex couples

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CHAPTER I

Introduction

Intimate partner violence (IPV) is a serious social, public health, and legal problem because it can produce acute and long-term deleterious consequences for survivors,[1] and has received significant backlash from justice institutions. Studies have consistently demonstrated that IPV is a widespread social problem that has affected millions of individuals in the United States (U.S., Smith et al., 2018; Tjaden & Thoennes, 2000; Truman & Oudekerk, 2019; World Health Organization [Who], 2010).[2] Estimates of IPV demonstrated nearly 25% of women and 10% of men have experienced sexual violence, physical violence, and/or stalking perpetrated by an intimate partner (Center for Disease Control and Prevention [CDC], 2018; Smith et al., 2018; Tjaden & Thoennes, 2000).[3] Additionally, the 2018 National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS) demonstrated 847,230 persons 12 and older experienced violent victimization perpetrated by a current or former spouse, boyfriend, or girlfriend (Truman & Oudekerk, 2019). The aforementioned IPV prevalence rates undoubtedly include people who identify as lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer or non-binary gender conforming (LGBTQ+), however, the sexual identity, gender, and sex diversity were not disentangled. Empirical studies that have assessed IPV prevalence rates among individuals who identify as LGBTQ+ have suggested prevalence rates were similar to or higher than their heterosexual counterparts (Alexander, 2002; Balsam et al., 2005; Decker et al., 2018; Edwards et al.,

[1] For the purpose of this dissertation, I will be using "victim" and "survivor" interchangeably, however, I recognize the importance of allowing individuals who have experienced IPV to have the autonomy to label themselves.
[2] For the sake of parsimony, IPV is used throughout this dissertation to describe partner violence.
[3] Intimate partners often include current and former spouses, girlfriends, boyfriends, people with whom the victim has dated, were seeing, or "hooking up," or any other person otherwise romantically involved (Smith et al., 2018).

2015; Elliott, 1996; Freedner et al., 2002; Halpern et al., 2004; Houston & McKirnan, 2007; Potoczniak et al., 2003; Turell, 2000; West, 2002). For example, lifetime prevalence rates of IPV suggested 4 in 10 lesbian women and 6 in 10 bisexual women experienced rape, physical violence, and/or stalking victimization by an intimate partner as compared to 1 in 3 heterosexual women (Walters et al., 2013). Related, 26% of gay men and 37.3% of bisexual men experienced at least one incident of rape, physical violence, and/or stalking compared to 29.0% of heterosexual men (Walters et al., 2013).

IPV survivors have experienced acute and long-term negative sequelae resulting from their victimization. The duration of these negative health outcomes were associated with increased frequency, severity, and length of partner abuse (Campbell et al., 2002). Research demonstrated, for example, IPV victims suffered from immediate physical injuries including bruises, lacerations, burns, fractured bones, strangulation, head injuries, and internal bleeding, among others (Bohn & Holz, 1996; Brink et al., 1998; Campbell, 2002; Campbell et al., 2002; Coker et al., 2002; Decker et al., 2018; Edwards et al., 2015; Tjaden & Thoennes, 2000; Wu et al., 2010). LGBTQ+ IPV victims were at greater risk of contracting a sexually transmitted infection, such as HIV (Decker et al., 2018). Somatic complaints consisted of chronic pain, discomfort, migraine, frequent headaches, abdominal pain, stomach ulcers, indigestion, and gastrointestinal disorders (Bohn & Holz, 1996; Campbell et al., 2002; Coker et al., 2002; Coker et al., 2000; Díaz-Olavarrieta et al., 1999). Furthermore, IPV victims experienced numerous psychological trauma consequences, such as elevated levels of stress, anxiety, depression, and post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD); all of which have stemmed from IPV victimization (Bohn & Holz, 1996; Campbell et al., 2009; Clum et al., 2000; Coker et al., 2002; Coker

et al., 2000; Edwards et al., 2015; Decker et al., 2018; Golding, 1999; McFarlane et al., 2005; Plichta, 2004; Simmons et al., 2018). Additionally, adverse consequences from IPV have continued to effect survivors' well-being long after the abuse has ended.

Despite high prevalence rates and negative health outcomes related to IPV, relatively few survivors formally report their victimization to law enforcement personnel. Empirical studies suggested about half of all IPV incidents are reported to law enforcement (Coulter et al., 1999; Morgan & Truman, 2018; Rennison & Welchans, 2000; Truman & Oudekerk, 2019). Official statistics, for example, indicated 45% of rape, sexual assault, aggravated assault and robbery perpetrated by a current or former partner were reported to police in 2018 (Morgan & Truman, 2019). Formal reporting rates for LGBTQ+ IPV survivors were similar to heterosexual counterparts (Edwards et al., 2015; Decker et al., 2018), however, there was a gendered effect among same-sex IPV. For example, gay men were significantly less likely to report IPV when compared to lesbian women (Kuehnle & Sullivan, 2003).

Prior studies have also documented numerous reasons as to why IPV victims do not formally report to law enforcement personnel. Oftentimes, IPV survivors experienced high levels of fear, particularly concerning revictimization and reprisal from the perpetrator (Bachman, 1994; Barrett & St. Fierre, 2013; Brookoff et al., 1997; Felson et al., 2002; Fleury et al., 1998; Gover et al., 2013). Perceptions of social stigma and self-worth also reduced the likelihood of reporting. For example, IPV survivors reported heightened levels of shame and guilt, believing they were responsible and culpable for the abuse (Andrews & Brewin, 1990; Beck et al., 2011; Finesmith, 1983; Kim & Gray, 2008; Kubany et al., 1995; Sackett & Saunders, 1999; Street & Arias, 2001). In general,

male IPV survivors, compared to female IPV survivors, were less likely to disclose to formal institutions (Buzawa & Buzawa, 1996). Furthermore, LG IPV victims have encountered additional barriers to reporting, especially if they have not disclosed their sexual identity (Kuehnle & Sullivan, 2003). Additionally, certain case characteristics influenced IPV survivors' decision to report and seek help from police. Formal reporting rates increased when the abuse was more severe, occurred more frequently, and resulted in victim injury (Bachman & Coker, 1995; Johnson, 1990). Related, cases were more likely to be brought to the attention of law enforcement when children or witnesses were present (Berk et al., 1984; Johnson, 1990) or if weapons, alcohol, or drugs were involved (Bachman, 1998; Brookoff et al., 1997; Hirschel & Hutchison, 2003; Johnson, 1990). Finally, beliefs about and prior experiences with the criminal justice system have influenced IPV survivors' decisions to formally report their victimization. For example, some IPV survivors declined to formally report their abuse because of prior negative encounters with police personnel (Gover et al., 2013; Kuehnle & Sullivan, 2003). In addition, IPV survivors believed nothing could or would be done about their victimization (Bachman, 1994; Finesmith, 1983; Gover et al., 2013).

Culpability

An extensive body of research has demonstrated that individuals often perceive survivors to be responsible and blameworthy for their victimization (Finkel, 2001). This is especially true for victims of gendered crimes, or crimes predominately perpetrated by men against women. For example, research suggested survivors of sexual assault (Grubb & Harrower, 2008; Grubb & Turner, 2012), IPV (Harrison & Esqueda, 1990), as well as prostitution and sex trafficking (Franklin & Menaker, 2015; Menaker & Franklin, 2013,

2015; Menaker & Miller, 2013) experienced heightened blame, criticism, and skepticism regarding their victimization. Culpability studies attempting to explain this phenomenon have typically relied on components of various attribution theories, such as *defensive attribution* (Shaver, 1970) and the *just world hypothesis* (Lerner & Simmons, 1966; Lerner, 1980). In general, attributions are explanations people provide to explain why certain events have occurred (Bradbury & Fincham, 1990; Lerner, 1965; Lerner, 1980; Lerner & Miller, 1978; Shaver, 1970). Attribution theories, therefore, have posited that the causality, blame, and responsibility placed on involved parties are heavily based on an observer's attitudes, perceptions, and experiences regarding the actors involved and the type of event that occurred (Bradbury & Fincham, 1990; Howard, 1984a, Howard, 1984b; Lerner & Simmons, 1966; Lerner, 1980; Shaver, 1970; Shaver & Drown, 1986). Within the context of IPV, for example, culpability attributions have reflected cultural and societal attitudes regarding gendered expectations of men and women (Harrison & Esqueda, 1999). Men, for example, should endorse hegemonic masculine values while women are expected to be nurturing and submissive (Johnson, 2014). Consequently, when victims engage in socially proscribed behaviors—violating gender norms, consuming alcohol, staying in abusive relationships—they are assigned greater responsibility and labeled as blameworthy for their victimization (Harrison & Esqueda, 1999; Fox & Cook, 2011). These attributions can have detrimental effects on IPV survivors and criminal justice case processing.

Police Response to IPV

Empirical research demonstrated general deficits in police responses to IPV, which may be attributed to how the criminal justice system has traditionally handled

these cases. Historically, the criminal justice system treated IPV as a family matter that did not require formal intervention (Dicker, 2008; Finesmith, 1983; Freedman, 2002; Martin, 1976; Melton, 1999; Lutze & Symons, 2002) because of societal attitudes and cultural myths regarding men's and women's roles within the public and private spheres (Dicker, 2008; Freedman, 2002; Koss et al., 1994). The existence of traditions and laws afforded men the right to punish and chastise women all while maintaining their power and control within the household through the use of violence (Finesmith, 1983; Freedman, 2002; Lutze & Symons, 2002; Melton, 1999). As an agency of formal social control, the criminal justice system functioned as a mechanism that promoted societal biases and inequalities embedded within the laws that it was designed to enforce (Lutze & Symons, 2002). Consequently, victims were largely ignored, suspects were not punished, and IPV remained behind closed doors.

In the late 1960s and early 1970s, the women's movement and feminist scholarship brought awareness and attention to violence against women by pushing for relevant reforms in policy and law, demanding service provision for survivors, and advocating for increased efforts in prevention and response to victims (Dicker, 2008; Freedman, 2002; Melton, 1999). As a result, IPV survivors were afforded more protections through progressive changes in legislation and implementation of new law enforcement policies such mandatory arrest (Sherman & Berk, 1984) and no-drop prosecution. While the aim of these policies were proactive in nature, empirical evidence has since demonstrated shortcomings including heightened risk of retaliatory abuse (Barner & Carney, 2011; Dayton, 2003; Hanna, 1996), dual arrest, and the arrest of victims (Chesney-Lind, 2002; Miller, 2001). Additionally, the new protections afforded

to survivors were largely limited to IPV victims who identified as heterosexual and female (Aulivola, 2004; Freedman, 2002). Indeed, male and LGBTQ+ IPV victims remained vulnerable to unequal treatment under the law (Aulivola, 2004; Dicker, 2008).

Despite the progress made in criminal justice responses to IPV, many law enforcement personnel continued to demonstrate resistance in responding to IPV calls for service (CFS) and undermined the seriousness of these offenses. IPV survivors have been frequently met with disbelief, stigma, hostility, and blame for their victimization (Alhusen et al., 2010; Bowker, 1982; Brown, 1984; Erez & Belknap, 1998; Stephens & Sinden, 2000; Stewart et al., 2013; Stapel, 2008). Erez and Belknap (1998), for example, employed 50 surveys from battered women to assess their experiences with formal reporting and criminal justice actors. Qualitative findings revealed almost 50% of the sample disclosed their experience of negative comments and victim-blaming attitudes by responding officers. Specifically, police personnel discouraged victims from filing charges, agreed with abusive behavior, unashamedly placed blame on survivors, and minimized injuries (Erez & Belknap, 1998). Additionally, Stephens and Sinden (2000) conducted interviews with 25 IPV survivors to examine perceptions of and experiences with police officers. The majority of IPV victims reported adverse experiences with police that occurred prior to the perpetrator's arrest. Similar to previous findings, Stephens and Sinden (2000) reported police personnel minimized the presenting situation, disbelieved victims, portrayed attitudes of indifference, and displayed rude and arrogant behavior (Stephens & Sinden, 2000). More recently, Alhusen and colleagues (2010) assessed the experiences between 47 female same-sex (FSS) IPV survivors and law enforcement personnel. Police officers reinforced their marginalization, demonstrated

a lack of understanding regarding dynamics of FSS IPV, and compounded the effects of the abuse by exacerbating their trauma responses (Alhusen et al., 2010).

Within the context of IPV, adverse initial first contacts between survivors and police officers can be detrimental to case processing as the likelihood of continued victim participation throughout the formal criminal justice process decreases. Police officers are not immune to negative stereotypes regarding victims, perpetrators, and the dynamics of IPV, which may negatively influenced their responses to victims and perpetrators (Belknap, 1995; Buzawa & Buzawa, 1996). Law enforcement personnel have expected victims to present with expressive emotions (e.g., crying, despair, clear signs of distress) and often use these behaviors as a proxy for the accuracy and truthfulness in their account of the incident (Ask, 2010; Franklin et al., 2019). Conversely, when IPV victims have presented with flat affect, avoidance of eye contact, and other behaviors directly affiliated with trauma (Maddox et al., 2011), police officers have perceived these victims as deceitful (Ask, 2010; Akehurst et al., 1996) and questioned their credibility (Maddox et al., 2012). The callous nature of police responses has produced secondary victimization experiences for IPV survivors (Campbell, 2008; Campbell et al., 1999; Ullman & Filipas, 2001). IPV victims who were blamed, criticized, and doubted by system personnel were often revictimized, which exacerbated deleterious consequences and produced additional trauma for IPV survivors. In contrast, affirming police responses have validated and empowered IPV victims (Brown, 1984), and have had the potential to encourage victim cooperation, increase suspect apprehension, facilitate case processing, and enhance successful prosecution of offenders, which has ultimately increased public safety.

Police Personnel and IPV Culpability Attributions

Shortcomings in the criminal justice response to IPV demonstrated a continued need to assess perceptions of and interactions with survivors to formulate a more trauma- and victim-centered approach to case processing. To date, efforts to understand adverse police response to IPV have predominantly focused on factors affecting arrest decisions (Belknap, 1995; Berk & Loseke, 1980; Berk & Newton, 1985; Blount et al., 1992; Buzawa & Austin, 1993; Dichter et al., 2011; Durfee & Fetzer, 2016; Eigenberg et al., 1996; Eitle, 2005; Feder, 1996; Feder & Henning, 2005; Franklin et al., 2019; Friday et al., 1991; Fyfe et al., 1997; Hall, 2005; Hamilton & Worthen, 2011; Jones & Belknap, 1999; Kane, 1999; Lally & DeMaris, 2012; Lee et al., 2012; Pattavina et al., 2007; Roark, 2015; Robinson & Chandek, 2000; Russell & Sturgeon, 2018; Sherman & Berk, 1984; Sherman et al., 1992; Smith & Klein, 1984; Stith, 1990; Tatum & Pence, 2014). Additionally a growing body of research has assessed police officers' attitudes toward and perceptions of IPV (Belknap, 1995; Cormier & Woodworth, 2008; DeJong et al., 2008; Faris & Holman, 2015; Fröberg, 2015; Gracia et al., 2011; Grover et al., 2011; Lila et al., 2013; Logan et al., 2006; McPhedran et al., 2017; Sinden & Stephens, 1999; Tam & Tang, 2005; Twis et al., 2018; Younglove et al., 2002), however, comparatively less knowledge has surrounded IPV culpability attributions among law enforcement samples (DeJong et al., 2008; Friday et al., 1991; Lavoie et al., 1989; Russell, 2018; Saunders & Size, 1986; Stalans & Finn, 1995; Stewart & Maddren, 1997; Stith, 1990; Tang, 2003; Waaland & Keeley, 1985), particularly as they have been related to LGBTQ+ survivors (but see Russell, 2018).

There is a dearth of research on IPV culpability attributions among police personnel. Even so, empirical studies have assessed the role of victim provocation (Hart, 1993; Lavoie et al., 1989; Saunders & Size, 1986; Waaland & Keeley, 1985), victim injury (Waaland & Keeley, 1985), alcohol use (Lavoie et al., 1989; Stewart & Maddren, 1997; Waaland & Keeley, 1985), history and type of abuse (Lavoie et al., 1989; Tang, 2003; Waaland & Keeley, 1985), and couple sexual orientation (Russell, 2018) in terms of assignment of IPV victim blame and responsibility among police officers. Generally, studies suggested that police personnel may use stereotyped assumptions and misinformation regarding IPV to guide their perceptions of blame, responsibility and causality, or culpability attributions. Related, a rigorous review of the research has produced only five studies examined the effects of officer demographics, occupational characteristics, and attitudes on the assignment of IPV victim blame and responsibility (Russell, 2018; Saunders & Size, 1986; Stewart & Maddren, 1997; Stalans & Finn, 1995; Tang, 2003), but the results of studies have been mixed.

While existing studies have provided a starting point for examining attributions of IPV culpability among law enforcement officials, there are gaps within this program of research. First, prior studies on law enforcement IPV culpability attributions are dated. Much of this research was conducted in the 1980s and 1990s, a time period that may not reflect cultural and societal shifts in attitudes toward women (Freedman, 2002), or current police training and practices. Second, IPV culpability research has relied heavily on police perceptions of wife abuse (Lavoie et al., 1989; Stalans & Finn, 1995; Tang, 2003; Waaland & Keeley, 1985) or female IPV victims (Saunders & Size, 1986; Stewart & Maddren, 1997). Only one study has examined the effect of the couple's sexual

orientation in officers' assignment of blame and responsibility in IPV incidents (Russell, 2018). This is problematic as intersections of structural inequality, sexual identity, and gender may influence criminal justice responses. Additionally, given the importance of improving trauma-informed, victim-centered approaches among law enforcement in response to IPV, it is especially relevant to examine police personnel and their perceptions of IPV culpability attributions directed toward heterosexual and same-sex couples. Finally, several studies have used international samples (Lavoie et al., 1989; Stewart & Maddren, 1997; Tang, 2003), and while instructive, may not necessarily be generalizable to the US context.

Summary

Studies have documented largely negative police responses to IPV. A narrow body of research has assessed factors that influence IPV culpability attributions among police personnel. Broadly, findings have suggested that several victim, suspect, incident, and officer characteristics may affect police assignment of blame, responsibility, and culpability in IPV incidents. Given the dearth of existing research on IPV victim culpability and the implications for criminal justice decision-making, additional efforts are necessary to better understand this phenomenon. The purpose of this dissertation is to address gaps within the research on IPV culpability attributions among police personnel. Using a randomly-assigned, experimental vignette design, the present study employed surveys from a sample of 433 police officers commissioned at a sizeable police department in one of the most populous and diverse U.S. cities to: 1) assess culpability attributions directed toward IPV survivors, 2) determine whether culpability attributions differed based on the sexual orientation of the intimate couple, and 3) examine officer

demographic, occupational, attitudinal, and experimental predictors of IPV culpability among heterosexual and same-sex couples.

CHAPTER II

Review of the Literature

It is common to place blame and responsibility on individual perpetrators and victims of crime, particularly in the context of gendered violence such as sexual assault, IPV, prostitution and human sex trafficking (Belin, 2015; Franklin & Menaker, 2015; Grubb & Harrower, 2008; Grubb & Turner, 2012; Harrison & Esqueda, 1990; Menaker & Franklin, 2013; Menaker & Franklin, 2015; Menaker & Miller, 2013). Feminist theorists, however, have argued that gender violence is not an individual-level phenomenon, but instead, a manifestation and consequence of ideological (e.g., beliefs, norms, and values) and structural gender inequality, otherwise known as patriarchy (Bograd, 1982; Dicker, 2008; Dobash & Dobash, 1979; Freedman, 2002; Koss et al., 1994; Lorber, 2012). In other words, patriarchy is a social system of men's domination and superiority over women (Pilcher & Whelehan, 2017). Broadly, gender inequality promotes male superiority and female oppression and has permeated through political, economic, and structural dimensions of society (Bograd, 1982; Dicker, 2008; Freedman, 2002; Johnson, 2014; Koss et al., 1994; Lorber, 2012). For example, individual behaviors and cognitions are the result of broader gendered dimensions of society. Men and women have been typically socialized and expected to engage in traditional gendered behavior and maintain rigid and narrow views of sexuality (Johnson, 2014). This socialization process has positioned individuals in relation to each other, particularly in the context of gender inequality. This creates an environment conducive to violence, particularly toward women and other oppressed groups, such as LGBTQ+ populations and people of color.

The Structure of Patriarchal Societies

Patriarchy is a complex system in which levels of economic power, influence, and privilege have been traditionally assigned to men at the expense of women. Characteristics of patriarchy permeate through culture, social customs, and are expressed through human behaviors and everyday interactions (Johnson, 2014; Lerner, 1986). Johnson (2014) maintained patriarchal structures have promoted male privilege and are defined as being "male-dominated, male-identified, and male-centered" (p. 15). For example, societies are classified as male-dominated when positions of authority and power are predominately occupied by men. This is evident in the lack of female representation in higher ranks of the military, religious institutions, higher education, and government. Moreover, the favored, embraced, and praised cultural ideas and norms in male-identified societies have largely related to what it means to be male and masculine (Johnson, 2014). Specifically, core values have often reflected qualities such as control, strength, aggressiveness, assertiveness, autonomy, and rationality (Johnson, 2014). Finally, Johnson (2014) posited patriarchal societies are male-centered because celebrated experiences are generally the accomplishments of men—where women's experiences have largely been ignored. Taken together, these characteristics create and facilitate power differences and promote men's superiority over women.

Gendered Expectations of Men and Women

In order to understand patriarchy, there must be a discussion about gender as the foundation of patriarchal societies. Gender refers to the meanings, values, and characteristics assigned to individuals based on their biological sex (Lorber, 2012; Oakley, 1972; Pilcher & Whelehan, 2017; Kilmartin, 2007). Oakley (1972) was one of

the first scholars to make distinctions between gender and sex. Gender parallels biological sex as it creates a dichotomy of masculinity and femininity, similar to male and female (Oakley, 1972). Gender, therefore, is socially constructed as demonstrated by the fact that societies ascribe particular traits, status, or values to individuals based on biological sex (Britton, 2011; Oakley, 1972; West & Zimmerman, 1987). As a result, individuals subconsciously perform or "do gender" (Britton, 2011; Butler, 2007; West & Zimmerman, 1987) based on societal perceptions of appropriate behaviors and interactions between men and women (Butler, 2007; Johnson, 2014).

Within patriarchal societies, men and women have been expected to endorse strict and distinct gender roles. Gender role development has occurred through a socialization process where men and women are taught to engage in stereotypically masculine and feminine behaviors (Johnson, 2014). Masculinity's key features, for example, have encompassed power, status, and hypersexuality (Britton, 2011; Messerschmidt, 1997), which represent the ideal masculine man. Messerschmidt (1991) and Connell (2005) referred to the ideal masculinity as "hegemonic"—masculinity that emphasizes dominance, aggression, heterosexuality, and lack of emotion. As such, men are socialized and expected to be competent, assertive, strong, tough, aggressive, dominant, independent, and non-emotional (Connell, 2005; Johnson, 2014; Kilmartin, 2007; Messerschmidt, 1997). Through the socialization process, boys and men are taught to discover their surroundings and take advantage of opportunities (Kilmartin, 2007). As a result, men who live up to gendered standards may acquire benefits and rewards not similarly available to women, which can include money, status, and privilege (Kilmartin, 2007; Johnson, 2014).

Women, on the other hand, are expected to be weak, submissive, timid, shy, and passive (Britton, 2011; Browmiller, 1975; Johnson 2014). As a subordinate group, women are expected to be nurturing and innocent (Chapleau & Oswald, 2013), often dependent and taught to rely on others (Johnson, 2014). Socially, women are characterized as mothers, primary caregivers, and homemakers who should engage in domestic labor such as cleaning and cooking. Historically, there has been a clear, gendered division of labor in households and when women were able to enter the workforce (Freedman, 2002; Lorber, 2012). Women traditionally held positions related to stereotyped femininity, such as teaching, secretarial work, and nursing (Chapleau & Oswald, 2013; Freedman, 2002; Lorber, 2012) compared to men who were encouraged as builders, managers, and leaders (Lorber, 2012). These differences often reinforced women's continued subordination within society with limited access to resources and blunted mobility.

Patriarchal societies have dictated that men and women must adhere to appropriate gender roles. When men and women deviate, individuals have responded negatively. This has been the case particularly for males (Kilmartin, 2007; McCreary, 1994). Male gender roles are more strongly regulated and enforced compared to female gender roles (Kilmartin, 2007). Men who display or engage in behaviors perceived as feminine have been insulted using antifemininity tactics (Johnson, 2014; Katz, 2006; Kilmartin, 2007). For example, boys and men have used language such as "girl," "sissy," and words associated with female genitalia to humiliate, belittle, and emasculate other boys and men who engage in behaviors outside of those deemed masculine (Johnsonn, 2014; Katz, 2006; Kilmartin, 2007). Additionally, individuals have used homophobic and

derogatory language, such as “fag,” to chastise males who display more feminine or stereotypical female behaviors (Katz, 2006). McCreary (1994) argued that males are punished more severely for violating traditional gender expectations due to the social status and sexual orientation hypothesis. In other words, gender-nonconforming men suffer negative consequences because their feminine behaviors are devalued, perceived as lower status, and affiliated with homosexuality, when compared to masculine behaviors (McCreary, 1994). Indeed, heteronormative assumptions, antifemininity, and homophobic language have been chosen as tools used to regulate, police, and punish gender non-conformity, particularly masculinity.

Sexual Scripts

Cultural norms and expectations have created sexual scripts for men and women and their intimacy interactions (Franklin, 2013). Guided by gendered behavior, sexual scripts assign expectations of appropriate roles to men and women based on their expressed gender (Koss et al., 1994). The sexual scripts have also dictated daily interactions, particularly within intimate relationships (Koss et al., 1994; White & Koss, 1993). For example, expectations surrounding women have promoted romantic relationships with men who are older, smarter, stronger, and more educated, experienced, talented, and confident (Bem, 1993; Koss et al., 1994). When heterosexual scripts have not been met (e.g., men portraying less dominant or assertive roles) men have been emasculated and women have been defeminized. Bem (1993) argued that patriarchal societies have emphasized a heterosexual script that glorifies sexual inequality and supports male dominance as normal and natural. Specifically, heterosexual scripts have portrayed male possessiveness, jealousy, and other problematic behaviors as normal

within romantic relationships (Bem, 1993; Koss et al., 1994). As a result, dating and intimacy expectations have supported and legitimized the use of violence within relationships (Koss et al., 1994; White & Koss, 1993).

Empirical studies have demonstrated the relation between sexual scripts and violence against women through the facilitation of dangerous environments for women (Koss et al., 1994). For example, heterosexual scripts have placed men as the dominant partner responsible for providing money, resources, and initiating sexual intimacy within intimate relationships (Koss et al., 1994; Laner & Ventrone, 2000; Rose & Frieze, 1989, 1993). Conversely, women have been labeled as gatekeepers to their own sexuality and have been expected to resist sexual advances by men, even if they are interested in intimacy (Franklin, 2013; Koss et al., 1994; Peplau et al., 1977). When women violate traditional sexual scripts, research has suggested men interpret these behaviors as a sexual invitation (Koss et al., 1994; Muehlenhard, 1988; Muehlenhard et al., 1985). Additionally, sexual scripts encourage aggression and justify sexual violence within the context of established intimate relationships. For example, prior sexual encounters between a man and woman increase the misconception that a man is entitled to sex at any given time because consent was provided in the past (Johnson & Jackson, 1988; Koss et al., 1994). As a result, men's sexual coercion and aggression have been legitimized when women deny men sexual access (Johnson & Jackson, 1988; Koss et al., 1994). To that end, sexual scripts support violence because they encourage men to engage in sexually coercive and predatory behavior, deprive women of the right to decline sexual advances, and hold women accountable for the extent of sexual involvement that occurs (Koss et al., 1994; White & Koss, 1993).

Consequences of Traditional Gender Roles and Sexual Scripts

The emphasis placed on adherence to gendered expectations and sexual scripts have resulted in detrimental consequences for both males and females. Feminists posited the promotion of traditional gender roles and sexual scripts have facilitated adverse attitudes including misogyny, sexism, sexual stigma, and homophobia (Brownmiller, 1975; Butler, 2007; Finn, 1986; Flood & Pease, 2009; Glick & Fisk, 1996, 2001; Glick et al., 2000; Katz, 2006; Kilmartin, 2007; Koss et al., 1994; Levinson, 1989; O'Neil, 1981; O'Neil & Harway, 1997; Sanday, 1981). In turn, misogyny, sexism, sexual stigma, and homophobia, have had a fundamental relationship to violence against women and among other vulnerable populations, including sexual minorities. Butler (2007), for example, argued that creating a masculine and feminine dichotomy has produced a specific and set number of identities within society. Consequently, individuals who do not adhere to the set of prescribed masculine and feminine identities (e.g., sexual minorities) outlined by traditional gendered expectations have been labeled as other, erased, or ignored (Butler, 2007). Kilmartin (2007) maintained that gender roles serve the purpose of categorizing individuals within society. Specifically, individuals have used stereotypical perceptions gained from gender roles to inform their expectations of how people are supposed to act and behave, which has contributed to adverse attitudes and consequences related to non-conformance (Kilmartin, 2007). Individuals within patriarchal societies, therefore, may display homophobic, misogynistic, and sexist attitudes toward women and sexual minorities, all of which facilitate an environment conducive to interpersonal violence.

Misogyny and Sexism

Gender norms have perpetuated misogyny and sexism within patriarchal societies (Katz, 2006; Johnson, 2014). Misogyny, defined as the hatred of women, has been expressed through numerous outlets within society (Johnson, 2014). Pornography, for example, has largely depicted and encouraged the degradation and use of violence against women (Katz, 2006; Jensen & Dines, 1998), while media outlets have represented and dehumanized women as sexual objects whose sole purpose has been to satisfy and sexually please men (Katz, 2006; Johnson, 2014; Jensen & Dines, 1998). High rates and multiple forms of violence against women including sexual harassment, sexual coercion, sexual assault, and abusive behaviors have demonstrated a culture supportive of misogyny (Johnson, 2014). Feminists have argued that misogyny is a response to men's fear of women and other marginalized groups, used to fuel men's sense of power and superiority, and has continued to keep women and other oppressed groups including non-gender conforming individuals, in subordinate social positions (Johnson, 2014).

In addition to misogyny, gender socialization has facilitated sexist attitudes that produce gender inequalities and tolerance for violence against women (Flood, 2011; Glick & Fiske, 1996, 2001; Glick et al., 2000; Katz, 2006; Kilmartin, 2007; O'Neil, 1981; Schwartz & DeKeseredy, 1997). O'Neil (1981, p. 62) defined sexism as, "any attitude, action, or institutional structure, which subordinates, restricts, or discriminates against a person or group because of their sex, gender role, or sexual preference." Feminists posited the devaluing and continued disrespect of women is one of the most serious forms of sexism and has resulted from male institutional power (Katz, 2006; Kilmartin, 2007). In addition, sexism has occurred at both the institutional and individual

level. Institutional sexism has been demonstrated through the gender pay gap, a phenomenon in which women have traditionally been paid a lower monetary salary compared to men for performing the same job despite holding the same credentials (Kilmartin, 2007). Related, a common use of interpersonal sexism is the language used to describe women—terms including “girl” and “honey” to refer to adult women, which infantizes them, robbing them of their agency, autonomy, and adulthood (Kilmartin, 2007).

In an influential study, Glick and Fisk (1996) developed a theory of sexism that explained overall ambivalence toward women. They argued that ambivalent sexism encompassed two sets of sexism, including hostile and benevolent attitudes toward women. Hostile sexism has referred to sexist antipathy or general prejudice against women or disadvantaged groups (Glick & Fiske, 1996). Hostile attitudes, for example, have depicted women as being manipulative and deceitful (Glick & Fiske, 1996). Conversely, benevolent sexism has been classified as a positive orientation of protection, idealization, and affection directed toward women but has continued to promote and justify women’s subordinate status to men (Glick & Fiske, 1996). Chivalry is a form of benevolent sexism that has manifested itself as courteous behaviors that are supposed to demonstrate the special nature of women (Kilmartin, 2007). These behaviors actually depict women as incompetent and dependent individuals who must rely on men. Taken together, these foci are highly correlated, account for harmful stereotypes toward women, and can be used to explain cultural issues of diminished social power, gender identity and inequality, and sexuality (Glick & Fiske, 1996, 2001; Glick et al., 2000).

Sexual Stigma and Homophobia

As previously mentioned, patriarchal cultures have deeply entrenched gendered expectations of men and women. Gender roles have revolved around the concept of heterosexism—the belief that heterosexuality is the only acceptable form of sexual expression, particularly within masculine ideology (Arnott, 2000; Britton, 2011; Connell, 2005; Johnson, 2014; Kilmartin, 2007; Messerschmidt, 1997). Violations of expected gender norms have facilitated consequences including sexual stigma (Herek, 2004, 2009) and homophobia (Weinberg, 1972; Wright Jr., Adams, & Bernat, 1999). Sexual stigma refers to a, "shared knowledge of society's negative regard for any non-heterosexual behavior, identity, relationship, or community" (Herek, 2004, p. 15), and has mandated that acts and behaviors outside of the heterosexual norm should be viewed as bad, sick, immature, and inferior (Herek, 2004). As a result, sexual stigma has created disparities in power and has perpetuated hierarchal relations between heterosexual and LGBTQ+ individuals (Herek, 2004, 2009). Indeed, the expression of homosexuality or non-gender conformity has been devalued, oppressed, and labeled as inferior when compared to heterosexuality (Herek, 2004, 2009).

Weinberg (1972) originally coined the term "homophobia," which was defined as a phobia, intense fear, hatred, and negative personal reactions toward individuals who identify as homosexual. Since its conception, the term homophobia has been used to capture negative feelings, adverse attitudes, and damaging stereotypes directed toward the LGBTQ+ community (Arnott, 2000; Wright Jr. et al., 1999). Overall, there is prolific evidence that LGBTQ+ individuals have endured oppression including insult and

derogatory language, forms of discrimination (e.g., housing, insurance, employment), and violence (Blumenfeld, 1992; Buist & Lenning, 2016; Kilmartin, 2007).

Myths and Misconceptions of IPV

In addition to facilitating sexual stigma and homophobia, pervasive patriarchal norms and gendered expectations of men and women have perpetuated myths pertaining to violence against women (Brownmiller, 1975; Burt, 1980; Koss et al., 1994; Lonsway & Fitzgerald, 1994; Peters, 2008). Broadly, IPV myths have encompassed stereotypes and misconceptions about IPV that minimize, normalize, and justify the use of violence against an intimate partner (Koss et al., 1994; Peters, 2008). Additionally, IPV myths blame the victim, excuse the behaviors of the perpetrator, and undermine the seriousness of IPV (Koss et al., 1994; Peters, 2008). Koss and colleagues (1994) highlighted common myths and stereotypes pertaining to male violence against women and categorized IPV myths into three groups including "victim masochism," "victim precipitation," and "victim fabrication" (pp. 8-9). Common victim masochism myths include statements such as, "women seek out violent men," and "women don't leave so it can't be that bad," which have captured stereotypical but false beliefs that women enjoy and want pain in their life (Koss et al., 1994, p. 8). Victim precipitation myths refer to misconceptions that women deserve their abuse and abuse only happens to certain types of women or within particular families (Koss et al., 1994). Examples of these IPV myths include, "women provoke men by nagging, not fulfilling household duties, and refusing sex" (p. 8). Finally, statements such as "women lie or exaggerate," "these behaviors are not really harmful," and "the acts are very unusual or deviant" are examples of victim fabrication

myths and have minimalized and trivialized the abusive behaviors experienced by IPV survivors—most often women (Koss et al., 1994, pp. 8-9).

Similar to Koss and colleagues (1994), Peters (2008) used the radical feminist and defensive attribution literature to develop and validate the Domestic Violence Myth Acceptance Scale (DVMAS). The scale assessed similar constructs of prior myth adherence scales (Peters, 2008). Specifically, items that encompassed the scale examined character and behavior blame of the victim, minimalization and seriousness of the abuse, and exoneration of the perpetrator (Peters, 2008). Understanding how IPV myths function has been important because they have enabled and endorsed an environment conducive to violence against intimate partners (Bograd, 1982; Koss et al., 1994; Loseke, 1992; Peters, 2008).

Much of the empirical research that has examined myths of violence against women have dichotomized IPV and sexual assault (SA; Bergen, 2004; Berman, 2004; Tellis, 2010). The separation of IPV and SA has contributed to the invisibility of intimate partner sexual assault (IPSA), which is problematic as myths pertaining to IPSA have been especially salient within broader society. In general, IPSA has been traditionally perceived as less severe compared to assaults perpetrated by strangers (Bergen, 2004; Finkelhor & Yllo, 1985). For example, a common IPSA myth includes “it is not rape if it involves a husband and wife” (Finkelhor & Yllo, 1985). As a result, individuals, including criminal justice personnel, have viewed IPSA as a victimless crime involving a trivial conflict (Buzawa & Buzawa, 1996; Finkelhor & Yllo, 1985; O’Neal et al., 2015).

In addition to facilitating IPV myths, institutionalized heterosexuality, gendered expectations, and sexual scripts have contributed to heteronormative assumptions

surrounding IPV, which have exacerbated misinformation regarding victims, abusers, and the dynamics of IPV. This has been especially prevalent with cases involving LGBTQ+ couples. For example, masculine gender norms have dictated that men are not supposed to be victimized, and a "real" man should able to protect himself in any situation (Letellier, 1994; Potoczniak et al., 2003). Consequently, gay and bisexual male IPV victims have not identified themselves as victims, which has contributed to the decision to stay in an abusive relationship (Letellier, 1994). Additionally, when male IPV victims have sought help, they have been met with disbelief and not seen as "legitimate victims" because of the assumption of self-protection from threats, abuse, and violence (Baker et al., 2013). In addition, gay male IPV victims have also encountered credibility issues, particularly if they were larger in physical physique than their abuser (Merrill & Wolfe, 2000).

Heteronormative stereotypes surrounding women have maintained that they are innately egalitarian, loving, and non-violent (Elliott, 1996; Ristock, 2002), which has facilitated assumptions that lesbian communities form a utopia (Elliott, 1996). Consequently, lesbian IPV victims often encounter personnel who believe in the "lesbian utopia"—a misconception that sexual minority female IPV does not exist because women are inherently nurturing and nonviolent (Elliott, 1996; Island & Letellier, 1991; Gilbert, 2002; Hassauneh & Glass, 2008; Merrill, 1996; Tesch et al., 2010). On a similar note, stereotypes of the lesbian utopia have minimized the seriousness of LB female IPV because women have been portrayed as incapable of inflicting physical harm on others (Hassouneh & Glass, 2008; McLaughlin & Rozee, 2001). Given that gender role ideology has associated violence with masculinity, when FSS IPV has occurred, there has

been a presumption that the more masculine or "butch" partner in lesbian relationships have perpetrated the abuse (Jablow, 1999; Register, 2018; Renzetti, 1992).

Finally, LG IPV has suffered from the misconception of mutual battering (Jablow, 1999; Letellier, 1994; Renzetti, 1992). Specifically, society has largely assumed that both partners in abusive same-sex or sexual minority relationships are equally violent (Jablow, 1999; Letellier, 1994). The narrative of reciprocal violence has facilitated the misconception that both partners are equally capable or willing to commit violence against each other, that each partner is a victim and batterer, and that both parties are responsible and should be held accountable for the abuse (Letellier, 1994; Renzetti, 1992). Heteronormative misconceptions have undermined the seriousness of LGBTQ+ IPV, leaving victims at a disadvantage with limited resources for help.

Supportive Attitudes toward Violence

An extensive body of literature demonstrated that traditional masculine ideology has correlated with increased sexual aggression and predatory sexual behavior among men (Anderson et al., 1999; Anderson et al., 2004; Byers, 1996; DeKeseredy & Kelly, 1995; Franklin et al., 2012; Greendlinger & Byrne, 1987; Murnen et al., 2002; Ryan, 2004; Truman et al., 1996). While fewer studies have examined the relation between traditional gender roles, masculine ideology, and IPV, findings paralleled those of sexual violence research. In other words, theorists have suggested that masculine ideology is often an explanation for men's use of violence, particularly against a woman or intimate partner (Flood & Pease, 2009; Heise, 1998; O'Neil & Harway, 1997). The Backlash Hypothesis, for example, suggested when men's position of power, success, and control are threatened, they may be more likely to respond with threats, verbal abuse, coercive,

and assaultive behavior (Heise, 1998; Koss et al., 1994; O'Neil & Harway, 1997; Santana et al., 2006; White & Koss, 1993).

Empirical studies have demonstrated that adherence to traditional gender roles, compared to egalitarian roles of women and men, have been associated with attitudes supportive of IPV (Finn, 1986; Flood & Pease, 2009; Gage & Lease, 2018). Furthermore, individuals who believe male intimates had more superiority and power within a relationship were more likely to endorse and legitimize the use of physical force within a relationship (Finn, 1986). Additionally, research demonstrated that individuals, particularly men with more traditional gender role attitudes, were significantly more likely to report perpetration of relationship violence (Good et al., 1995; Husnu & Mertan, 2017; Jakupcak et al., 2002; Reed et al., 2018; Santana et al., 2006; Tager et al., 2010).

Culpability

As previously mentioned, attributions are explanations people provide to explain why certain events have occurred (Bradbury & Fincham, 1990; Lerner, 1965; Lerner, 1980; Lerner & Miller, 1978; Shaver, 1970). Bradbury and Fincham (1990), posited that culpability could be reduced into attributions of causality, responsibility, and blame. Attributions of causality are the explanations observers give to the occurrence of an event. An individual's accountability or answerability for an event are provided through attributions of responsibility. Finally, attributions of blame reflect an individual's liability or condemnation for the occurrence of an event (Bradbury & Fincham, 1990). Within the context of IPV, stereotypical gendered expectations, maladaptive attitudes of women and LGBTQ+ individuals, and endorsement of heteronormative myths contribute to ascriptions of culpability. For instance, notions that women are masochistic feed into

misconceptions that IPV victims are blameworthy or responsible for choosing abusive partners (Harrison & Esqueda, 1990). Related, women who violate appropriate gendered behaviors may be perceived as wicked or deviant and thus culpable for their victimization (Deaux & Lewis, 1984). In addition, victims who do not fulfill preconceived narratives of "battered women" or meet stereotypical assumptions of "real" IPV victims may not be labeled as true victims. For example, male-to-female IPV has been considered more serious and more likely to be considered abuse compared to IPV within same-sex relationships or perpetrated by heterosexual females (Seelau & Seelau, 2005; Sorenson & Thomas, 2009; Russell et al., 2012; Russell et al., 2015). As a result, LGBTQ+ and male IPV victims may be viewed as the cause of their own victimization and assigned more responsibility and blame by onlookers or system personnel (Harrison & Esqueda, 1990; Finn & Stalans, 1997; Sorenson & Taylor, 2005; Russell et al., 2012).

Contributions of Postmodern Feminism

While feminist theories of gender have been fruitful in understanding structural inequality, contributions from postmodern feminists have underscored the importance of moving beyond the gender dichotomy (Cannon et al., 2015; Ingraham, 1994). Instead, postmodern feminists have argued that structural inequality is rooted in institutionalized heterosexuality—an organized structure that normalizes, promotes, and governs heterosexism while dictating social interactions or practices related to dating, initiating sex, engagements, weddings, and caring for children (Bunch, 1975; Ingraham, 1994; Ingraham & Saunders, 2016; Jackson, 2006; Rich, 1980; Wittig, 1992). That is, societies abide by principles that link normal behavior to compulsory heterosexuality and male-female dichotomies (see Rich, 1980). These assumptions are enabled by the heterosexual

imaginary—a belief system that conceals the functioning of heterosexual ideology by glorifying and legitimizing standards for romance, sexuality, beauty, and privilege (Ingraham, 1994; Ingraham & Saunders, 2016). Through the heterosexual imaginary, social hierarchies (e.g., gender, race/ethnicity) and structural inequality are regulated and hidden from the social conscious and proceed unchallenged (Ingraham & Saunders, 2016). As a result, institutional heterosexuality rewards abiding individuals with class status, power, and privilege while marginalizing and sanctioning those who do not conform (Ingraham, 1994).

The Importance of Intersectionality

Intersectionality posits that identity categories (e.g., race, class, gender, sexual orientation, etc.) are interconnected in ways that affect how individuals are viewed, understood, and treated (Cannon & Buttell, 2015; Cannon et al., 2015; Crenshaw, 1991; 1997; Potter, 2015). Furthermore, intersectionality acknowledges the overlap of structural inequalities and individuals' social location. In her work on identity politics and violence against women, Crenshaw (1991; 1997), brought attention to the problems of treating all female victims of violence as a homogenous group. Crenshaw (1991; 1997) argued IPV victims may have experienced some form of IPV, however, their experiences of violence, system responses, and available resources were different based on their co-identities. As a result, some IPV victims may have encountered exacerbated barriers or oppression. For example, Black women may identify as both Black and women, but because they are Black women, they endure specific forms of discrimination that Black men or White women may not encounter (Crenshaw, 1991; 1997).

In a similar vein, experiences of violence between female-male, male-male, female-female, bisexual, transgender, and other non-binary individuals will vary, and may be compounded, based on other social identities (Cannon & Buttell, 2015; Woods, 2014). For example, IPV victims may experience continued resistance from the criminal justice system, however, LGBTQ+ IPV survivors have interacted with police officers who have endorsed homophobic attitudes and adhered to heteronormative assumptions of IPV—all of which can exacerbate trauma and contribute to continued marginalization. Intersectional approaches can advance theoretical frameworks and empirical understanding of how social phenomenon and systematic oppression affect communities.

Intimate Partner Violence

Research on IPV has increased and evolved over the past decades. Beginning in the 1970s, the women's movement and feminist scholarship brought awareness and attention to violence against women by pushing for relevant reforms in policy and law, demanding service provision for survivors, and advocating for increased efforts in prevention and responses to victims (Dicker, 2008; Freedman, 2002). During this time, advocates and feminist scholars primarily focused on the issue of "battered women" or "wife-battering;" terms used to highlight the occurrence of marital violence, a phenomenon largely ignored by the criminal justice and public health systems in the U.S. (Nicolaidis & Paranjape, 2009). Martin (1976), for example, provided an in-depth documentation on the pervasive nature, prevalence, and experiences of women abused by their husbands.[4] Similarly, Walker (1979) presented results derived from qualitative

[4] Martin (1976) uses the term "wife" liberally as it generally refers to a woman who is physically abused by her intimate partner, whether legally married or not.

stories of battered women who experienced physical or psychologically abusive behavior perpetrated by husbands or male intimate partners.

As research on violence against women progressed, it became evident that abusive experiences were not limited to married or cohabiting female victims but affected a wide range of relationship dyads. The term "domestic violence" (DV) was adopted and has been largely used in laws that govern society and within criminal justice system policies (Nicolaidis & Paranjape, 2009). Texas state's statute, for example, captures DV through family and dating violence, which are defined as behaviors that are, "intended to result in physical harm, bodily injury, assault, or sexual assault or that is a threat that reasonably places the member in fear of imminent physical harm, bodily injury, assault, or sexual assault, but does not include defensive measures to protect oneself" (Texas Department of Public Safety 2014). In addition, Texas DV laws acknowledge violence that occurs between relationship dyads including blood relatives or those related by marriage, current or former spouses, current or former dating partners, foster parents and foster children, and roommates (Texas Department of Public Safety 2014).

To date, the term DV is still widely used within empirical research and professional settings. The Center for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC), however, has recommended using the term IPV to describe partner violence (Nicolaidis & Paranjape, 2009). Scholars have recommended using the term "IPV" because it has more accurately described the nature of abuse between partners, regardless of marital status, while differentiating these behaviors from other forms of domestic or family violence such as child maltreatment or elder abuse (Nicolaidis & Paranjape, 2009). Furthermore, IPV definitions have generally used gender-neutral language and can therefore capture

abuse occurring within heterosexual and LGBTQ+ intimate couples (but see Cannon & Buttell, 2015; CDC, 2018). Broadly, IPV has included acts of physical aggression, sexual coercion and violence, stalking, and/or psychological abuse perpetrated by a current or former intimate partner (Breiding, 2014; CDC, 2018; Finneran & Stephenson, 2012; Smith et al., 2018; WHO, 2010) with the intent of exercising power and control over their victims (Frankland & Brown, 2014; Hart, 1993; Mason et al., 2014; Stark, 2006, 2007, 2009). Related, scholars have also used "intimate partner abuse" when capturing violence or abusive behaviors between intimate partners (Geffner, 2016). Geffner (2016), for example, has argued that the term "abuse" better represents an ongoing pattern of one or more behaviors designed to control victims, whereas "violence" may simply evoke notions of physical assault.

Prevalence Rates

Studies have consistently demonstrated that IPV is a pervasive social problem that affects millions of persons in the U.S. (Breiding, 2014; Smith et al., 2018; Tjaden & Thoennes, 2000; WHO, 2010). Smith and colleagues (2018) analyzed data from the nationally representative 2015 National Intimate Partner and Sexual Violence Survey (NISVS) of 10,081 persons 18 years and older throughout the U.S. More than 1 in 3 women and about 1 in 3 men have experienced unwanted sexual contact, sexual violence, physical violence, and/or stalking by an intimate partner during their lifetime. Gender differences in IPV victimization are more prominent when including IPV-related consequences (e.g., fear, PTSD, shelter stays, hotline calls, physical injuries, etc.) stemming from abusive behaviors (Smith et al., 2018). To that end, 1 in 4 women and 1 in 10 men have experienced unwanted sexual contact, sexual violence, physical violence,

and/or stalking from an intimate partner that has resulted in an IPV-related negative outcome (Smith et al., 2018). The CDC reported similar findings for IPV prevalence among the general population. Nearly 1 in 4 women and 1 in 10 men have experienced physical violence, sexual violence, and/or stalking by an intimate partner during their lifetime. Additionally, about 43 million women and 38 million men have reported experiencing some form of psychological aggression perpetrated by an intimate partner in their lifetime (CDC, 2018).

Existing research on national IPV prevalence rates likely include experiences of LGBTQ+ populations. Oftentimes, however, as a potential result of heteronormative discourse, or the primary focus on experiences of heterosexual male offenders and heterosexual female victim, these experiences were not disaggregated by sexual identity. Studies focused exclusively on LGBTQ+ IPV have suggested that prevalence rates are similar to or higher than their heterosexual counterparts (Alexander, 2002; Badenes-Ribera et al., 2015; Balsam et al., 2005; Bartholomew et al., 2008; Decker et al., 2018; Edwards et al., 2015; Elliott, 1996; Finneran & Stephenson, 2012; Freedner et al., 2002; Halpern et al., 2004; Houston & McKirnan, 2007; Lewis et al., 2012; Merrill & Wolfe, 2000; Potoczniak et al., 2003; Turell, 2000; West, 2002). Within same-sex relationships, empirical studies demonstrated IPV affects approximately 25% to 50% of couples (Alexander, 2002; Burke et al., 2002; McClennen, 2005). Merrill and Wolfe (2000) analyzed 52 surveys from self-identified gay or bisexual men recruited from DV and HIV-related programs to assess the prevalence and types of abuse, help-seeking behaviors, and reasons victims remained in abusive relationships. Overall, emotional abuse was the most commonly reported form of abuse and included behaviors that were

isolating, harassing, and threatening. Related, 87% of the participants reported severe and recurrent physical abuse including pushing, shoving, restraining, punching, slapping, kicking, thrown objects, and being in a car when their partner was driving recklessly. Finally, 73% of participants indicated they had experienced sexual abuse. Of those who identified experiencing sexual abuse, 39% reported their abuser physically forced sex against their will (Merrill & Wolfe, 2000).

More recently, Finneran and Stephenson (2012) conducted a systematic review of IPV among men who have sex with men (MSM) to assess definitions and the prevalence of different forms of IPV. In order to be included in the review, empirical studies had to be original research conducted in the U.S. and published in a peer reviewed journal. The population had to include MSM as a separate group for analyses and the sample had to consist of at least 50 persons who were 15 years or older. Finally, the studies had to measure IPV and victimization experiences beyond childhood sexual abuse as well as provide prevalence and/or correlates of IPV. Overall, 576 articles were collected, and 28 studies met the inclusion criteria. Across all studies included in the systematic review, 16 different definitions were used to capture IPV victimization. The prevalence rates for experiencing any form of IPV victimization ranged from 29.7% to 78.0%. Physical IPV was the most common reported form of IPV and ranged from 11.8% to 45.1% followed by sexual IPV (5.0% to 30.7%). Psychological IPV behaviors were less frequently measured, however, prevalence ranged from 5.4% to 73.2% (Finneran & Stephenson, 2012).

To synthesize the body of literature on psychological IPV experiences of LGB individuals, Mason and colleagues (2014) reviewed prevalence, correlates, and

measurement issues. Prevalence rates of psychological IPV victimization varied significantly depending on the measure used. For example, estimates of psychological IPV victimization ranged from 12.0% to 100% among GB men. Related, estimates of psychological IPV victimization ranged from 3.0% to 91.7% among LB women (Mason et al., 2014).

Badenes-Ribera and colleagues (2015) conducted a meta-analysis of the prevalence of IPV in self-identified lesbian women in same-sex relationships. Studies included in the meta-analysis were original research and published in a peer reviewed journal between 1990 and 2013. Additionally, the sample consisted of at least 30 self-identified lesbian women, aged 16 years or older, who were victimized by same-sex partners. Finally, the studies had to include measures of IPV and analyzed the lesbian women in a separate group. While 1,184 studies were identified, only 14 primary studies met inclusion criteria and were retained for analysis. Overall, the lifetime mean prevalence of IPV victimization was 48% and the mean prevalence of IPV victimization in current or most recent relationships was 15%. Lifetime mean IPV victimization prevalence for physical IPV was 18%, followed by 43% for psychological/emotional IPV and 14% for sexual IPV respectively (Badenes-Ribera et al., 2015).

Using data from the National Intimate Partner and Sexual Violence Survey (NISVS), Coston (2017) examined prevalence rates of sexual, physical, emotional, and psychological violence as well as intimate stalking among 2,141 heterosexual, 20 lesbian, and 496 bisexual women. Bivariate results indicated that bisexual women experienced significantly higher rates of IPV compared to heterosexual and lesbian women. For example, 77% of bisexual women experienced sexual abuse followed by 64% of

heterosexual and 55% of lesbian women. Additionally, 73% of bisexual women experienced physical violence compared to 65% of lesbian and heterosexual women. Similar trends emerged for emotional, psychological, and stalking violence (Coston, 2017).

The inconsistencies in IPV prevalence rates across sexual identity may be the result of methodological differences across empirical studies using LGBTQ+ samples (Alexander, 2002; Badenes-Ribera et al., 2015; Burke & Follingstad, 1999; Decker et al., 2018; Edwards et al., 2015; Finneran & Stephenson, 2012; Lewis et al., 2012; Mason et al., 2014; Murray & Mobley, 2009; Register, 2018). There has been a lack of consistency in the terminology, definitions, and measurement of IPV (Davis & Glass, 2011; Decker et al., 2018; Finneran & Stephenson, 2012; Mason et al., 2014; Register, 2018). Prior studies have used a range of phases when capturing LBGTQ+ partner violence and have included “domestic abuse,” “partner manipulation,” “physical abuse,” “intimate partner intimidation,” and “sexual violence” (Register, 2018) or language traditionally used to capture heterosexual IPV (Davis & Glass, 2011). This is problematic because heteronormative language can ignore the diversity of IPV experiences among LGBTQ+ persons, which has inadequately captured the magnitude of abuse within this population. Additionally, some of these definitions have focused solely on physical harm, while others have measured more comprehensive abuse (Finneran & Stephenson, 2012; Mason et al., 2014; Register, 2018). Methodological limitations to LGBTQ+ IPV research have also included a focus on cross-sectional approaches, non-random sampling strategies (e.g., reliance on LGBTQ+ community centers and snowball sampling techniques), small sample sizes, collapsing sexual and gender identity groups, as well the use of differing

victimization time frames (Alexander, 2002; Burk & Follingstad, 1999; Decker et al., 2018; Eaton et al., 2008; Finneran & Stephenson, 2012; Freedner et al., 2002; Houston & McKirnan, 2007; Mason et al., 2014; Register, 2018; Stotzer, 2009; West, 2002).

Models Explaining the Dynamics of IPV

As previously mentioned, IPV has been broadly defined as a pattern of abusive behaviors occurring within the context of intimate relationships where one partner perpetrates physical, sexual, psychological, and emotional behaviors (Smith et al., 2018) that are designed to intimidate, restrict, and control the other (Hart, 1986; Mason et al., 2014; Stark 2006, 2007, 2009). Oftentimes embedded in feminist theory, scholars developed and implemented various models that could explain dynamics of IPV (Johnson, 2008; Pence & Paymar, 1986; Stark, 2006; 2007; 2009; Walker, 1979). Lenore Walker (1979) developed the Cycle of Violence to describe the circular motion of violence within heterosexual relationships. Walker (1979) posited abuse was not constant or random. Instead, IPV has occurred in three distinct phases that vary in time and intensity. Phase one or the *tension building stage* has consisted of minor battering incidents over time. Emotional and verbal abuse are common during this stage and the abuse can last days, weeks, or months. During this phase, victims diligently avoid provoking or antagonizing their abuser in hopes of keeping their partner calm. Unfortunately, the abuse escalates into an *acute battering incident*, or phase two. The acute battering incident has generally lasted from two to 24 hours, however, the abuse has resulted in serious physical and psychological harm to the victim. Despite the harm, victims have often rationalized the behavior and may believe the abuse was a one-time occurrence. Victims have often forgiven their perpetrator, have not accurately labeled the

abuse, and generally do not seek help during this phase of violence unless medical attention is warranted. Finally, phase three has consisted of *kindness and contrite loving behavior* and has often been labeled as the *honeymoon* phase. The perpetrator has generally engaged in peaceful, kind, and loving behavior. The abuser asks for forgiveness and promises that the violence and abuse will cease. At the same time, guilt tactics have been employed to convince the victim to stay as this is the time frame in which she has been most likely to leave. If the victim does stay or return to the abuser, the cycle of violence starts again (Walker, 1979).

While Walker (1979) posited IPV was circular in nature, other scholars have maintained that IPV perpetrators engage in a range of tactics throughout the duration of a relationship. Stemming from the Duluth Domestic Abuse Intervention Project, Pence and Paymar (1986) constructed a graphical representation of the themes throughout battered women's testimony and demonstrated the common tactics used by perpetrators to maintain power and control within a relationship. Known as the Duluth Model, the Power and Control Wheel has underscored prevalent types of abusive behaviors to exert power and control, which include 1) economic abuse, 2) male privilege, 3) using children, 4) isolation, 5) emotional abuse, 6) minimizing, denying, and blaming, 7) intimidation and, 8) coercion and threats. When these tactics fail to generate the wanted affects, the abuser then perpetrates physical and sexual violence. The violence conveys a much stronger, powerful, and more fearful meaning because the abuser has demonstrated the lengths he will go to maintain control (Pence & Paymar, 1986).

Patterns of abuse described in Walker's Cycle of Violence and the Duluth Model were similar to elements embedded within Johnson's typologies. Johnson (2008) posited

there was more than one type of IPV. Johnson (2008) argued that violence within heterosexual relationships could be categorized into four distinct categories including *intimate terrorism, violent resistance, situational couple violence*, and *mutual violent resistance*. *Intimate terrorism* captures a form of partner violence where the male abuser exercises a pattern of coercive control and power over his partner. In general, abusers who perpetrate this form of violence have often used tactics reflective in the Duluth Power and Control Wheel (e.g., coercion and threats, minimalizing, denying, and blaming attitudes, male privilege, isolation). In other words, this form of violence is generally reflective of traditional definitions of IPV. *Violent resistance* has been used to capture violence that one partner, usually a female, in which a victim may engage in against her intimate terrorist. Oftentimes, this type of violence is in response to a history of experiencing abuse. *Situational couple violence* has occurred in an incident where tensions or emotions escalate and lead to a partner engaging in or reacting with violence. Furthermore, both men and women can perpetrate situational couple violence. The important distinction in this type of violence is the absence of power and controlling tactics. Finally, *mutual combat* captures relationships where both partners are attempting to exert power and control over each other (Johnson, 2008).[5]

Johnson (2008) argued that coercive control was only evident within intimate terrorism relationships, however, Stark (2006; 2007; 2009) maintained coercive control underlies *all* IPV. Abusers, who have been predominately male, have deployed calculated

[5] While typologies of IPV have been developed to better understand the complex nature of the crime (Johnson, 2008), limited research has successfully replicated the conclusions, particularly within the context of IPSA (see O'Neal et al., 2014). O'Neal and colleagues (2014) demonstrated that IPSA could not be classified exclusively as intimate partner violence or situational couple violence. Furthermore, O'Neal and colleagues maintained that IPSA was inherently coercive and controlling because of the nature of sexual violence (O'Neal et al., 2014).

and malevolent behaviors designed to dominate, isolate, intimidate, and control women. Specifically, men have engaged in exploitive tactics to micromanage women in their everyday lives. Oftentimes, coercive control tactics included deprivation of money, access to means of communication, and limiting other resources to instill fear, exert power, and maintain superiority within a relationship. In addition, coercive control tactics have been classified as gendered in nature because they have relied on women's inherent vulnerability within society as a result of sexual and gender inequalities. To that end, coercive control has not been reciprocal as men cannot be structurally unequal to women at the same time and in the same way (Stark, 2006; 2007; 2009).

A growing body of research has demonstrated perpetrators of LGBTQ+ IPV engage in physical, sexual, and psychological tactics to maintain dominance while exerting control and power in their victims' lives (Alexander, 2002; Edwards et al., 2015; Elliott, 1996; Frankland & Brown, 2014; Jablow, 1999; Murray et al., 2007; Renzetti, 1992, 1996; Register, 2018). Frankland and Brown (2014), for example, used 184 surveys from Australian men and women, over the age of 18, who had ever been in a same-sex relationship to directly assess coercive control tactics within relationships. The authors used the Duluth Power and Control Wheel as a guide and created items reflective of controlling tactics commonly found in heterosexual relationships. Examples of controlling tactics included, "made decisions, ordered around them, expected to obey," "called partner names, put them down, made them feel bad," "controlled or limited partner's access to money," "made partner afraid through looks, actions, or gestures," "complained partner spent too much time with friend," "and threatened to reveal

partner's sexuality to others." Results demonstrated almost 25% of participants experienced high levels of coercively controlling behavior (Frankland & Brown, 2014).

More recently, Register (2018), conducted interviews with lesbian women students and professors from Colorado College. Interviews lasted between 47 to 93 minutes and occurred either in person at a location chosen by the participants or over Skype. The types and forms of abuse experienced by participants were similar to those emphasized in the Duluth Power and Control Wheel. Specifically, the tactics described by participants mirrored those in the Power and Control Wheel designed for LGBTQ+ couples (see Appendix A), which was updated to reflect the use of privilege (e.g., defining each partners role or duty, treating the partner like a servant, making all of the decisions) in relationships as opposed to male privilege. Overall, participants reported experiencing controlling behaviors, coercion, intimidation, emotional abuse, and isolation. Participants reported that their abusers limited and monitored communication with friends and family and controlled who they talked to and where they went. It was also common for participants to receive numerous calls, text messages, phone calls, and FaceTime videos. While not as common, some participants reported their abuser controlled household finances and maintained monetary resources during travel to ensure dependency. Perpetrators often engaged in physical and sexual violence then minimized the abusive behaviors and placed blame on the participants (Register, 2018).

Additionally, empirical evidence has suggested the dynamics of LGBTQ+ IPV align with Walker's (1979) Cycle of Violence model of abuse (Elliott, 1996; Burke & Own, 2006; Merrill & Wolfe, 2000; Murray & Mobley, 2009; Peterman & Dixon, 2003; Renzetti, 1992). Renzetti (1992) assessed IPV experiences of 100 battered lesbian women

and found the abuse to be severe, recurrent, and largely perpetrated by one partner. In addition, 71% of the battered lesbian women disclosed the abuse escalated over time (Renzetti, 1992). Reviews of scholarly research on LGBTQ+ IPV also reflected the circular nature of abuse. The cycle often started with emotional and verbal abuse and progressed to physical and sexual violence (Elliott, 1996; Peterman & Dixon, 2003).

Heterosexual and LGBTQ+ IPV have shared similar patterns of abuse (Bartholomew et al., 2007; Burke & Owen, 2006; McClennen et al., 2002; Murray et al., 2007; Peterman & Dixon, 2003; Potoczniak et al., 2003). Both heterosexual and LGBTQ+ IPV victimization were documented as chronic incidents (Edwards et al., 2015; Bartholomew et al., 2008; McClennen et al., 2002; McClennen et al., 2002; Merrill & Wolfe, 2000), that often began early in a relationship (Edwards et al., 2015; Merrill & Wolfe, 2000), and escalated in frequency and severity over time (Edwards et al., 2015; McDonald, 2012; Renzetti, 1992; Stanley et al., 2006). Finally, LGBTQ+ and heterosexual IPV victims have stayed in abusive relationships for similar reasons including love of the perpetrator, financial and emotional dependence, hope for change, and fear of reprisal (Cruz, 2003; Island & Letellier, 1991; Merrill & Wolfe, 2000).

Since research on LGBTQ+ IPV is still in its infancy, drawing on prior empirical studies has provided a fruitful starting point. That said, using the gender paradigm, heteronormative scripts, and heterogender norms (e.g., Marxist power and control) to explain LGBTQ+ IPV have often ignored broader sociocultural contextual factors, particularly since heterosexism operates as a system of oppression (Cannon & Buttell 2015; Cannon et al., 2015; Sanger & Lynch, 2017). Power, for example, may be evident within heterosexual and LGBTQ+ IPV but the mechanisms for using power differ based

on social location (Cannon et al., 2015). Davis and Glass (2011) used postmodern feminism and intersectionality theoretical frameworks to investigate semi-structured interviews from lesbian women who experienced IPV, and power and control were themes throughout the narratives. Unlike heterosexual IPV where male perpetrators have used power as an exertion of masculine identity or male privilege, power circulated within the entity of the lesbian relationships and was an effect of social intuitions (Davis & Glass, 2011). Consequently, applying language and theoretical frameworks designed for heterosexual IPV to the LGBTQ+ community only alludes to inclusion (see Cannon & Buttell, 2015). In actuality, it obscures and hinders theoretical understanding of the dynamics and experiences among this community (Cannon & Buttell, 2015).

Furthermore, LGBTQ+ IPV victims may encounter unique factors associated with their sexual identity (e.g., extreme isolation, lack of services, silencing of IPV within LGBTQ+ community) that might magnify their experiences. For example, fear of outing and minority stress both interact with IPV to create or exacerbate vulnerabilities for those experiencing IPV. First, LGBTQ+ IPV perpetrators engaged in a manipulative tactic of threatening to "out" their partner as a way to maintain power and control within a relationship, (Elliott, 1996; Jablow, 1999; Parry & O'Neal, 2015; St. Pierre & Senn, 2010; Potoczniak et al., 2003; Ristock, 2005). In other words, perpetrators either threatened or actually disclosed their victims' sexual identity to friends, family, landlords, and employers, among others. As a result of this controlling tactic, LGBTQ+ IPV survivors reported an increased level of fear of being ostracized from family and friends, being fired from a job, losing custody or visitation with children, or experiencing a

variety of other discriminatory consequences (Elliott, 1996; Parry & O'Neal, 2015; St. Pierre & Senn, 2010; Potocznick et al., 2003; Ristock, 2005).

LGBTQ+ IPV survivors have also experienced minority stress (Badenes-Ribera et al., 2019; Carvalho et al., 2011; Edwards et al., 2015; Lewis et al., 2012; Longobardi & Badenes-Ribera, 2017; Stiles-Shields & Carroll, 2015). Meyer (2003) argued there are three underlying assumptions affiliated with minority stress or a series of psychosocial events resulting from being a member of a minority group that has been historically stigmatized. First, minority stress is unique because it is additive to the general stressors experienced by all people. Second, minority stress is chronic because it is a manifestation of the cultural norms and social structures. Finally, minority stress is socially based, meaning that it is derived from the macro-level social processes, institutions, and structures. Stressors experienced by minority individuals have been labeled as internal and external. Internal stressors have included the degree of concealment versus disclose of sexual identity, stigma consciousness, and internalized homophobia while external stressors have included experiences of violence, discrimination, and harassment in everyday life (Meyer, 2003).

Concealment and disclosure of sexual identity has referred to the degree to which family, friends, colleagues, and the broader community know about a person's sexual minority identity (Meyer, 2003; Longobardi & Badenes-Ribera, 2017). Although disclosure of sexual identity has been seen as a positive relationship characteristic, it has led to potential rejection or other negative consequences associated with sexual minority status (Carvalho et al., 2011). Alternatively, concealment of sexual identity has been associated with increased relationship stress stemming from isolation and lack of external

support, which has heightened the risk for IPV (Bartholomew et al., 2008; Carvalho et al., 2011; Edwards & Sylaska, 2013; Longobardi & Badenes-Ribera, 2017; Sophie, 1982).

Related, *stigma consciousness* has reflected the extent to which a stigmatized group, such as LGBTQ+ individuals, expect to experience discrimination (Carvalho et al., 2011; Longobardi & Badenes-Ribera, 2017; Meyer, 2003; Pinel, 1999). Within the context of IPV, LGBTQ+ victims have chosen to remain silent about their abuse in an effort to protect themselves and other victims from experiencing further violence and discrimination (Carvalho, 2006; Carvalho et al., 2011; Elliott, 1996; Lewis et al., 2012; Longobardi & Badenes-Ribera, 2017), particularly from the criminal justice system (Carvalho 2006; Murray et al., 2007; Parry & O'Neal, 2015; Potoczniak et al., 2003). To that end, LGBTQ+ IPV survivors have continuously recounted the criminal justice system's failure to protect them from abuse (Carvalho, 2006; Elliott, 1996; Lambda Legal, 2014; Mallory et al., 2015).

Finally, *internalized homophobia* is defined as the degree to which LGBTQ+ individuals have internalized beliefs, perceptions, stereotypes, negative assumptions, and behaviors related to homosexuality (Badenes-Ribera et al., 2019; Meyer, 2003; Rostosky et al., 2007). Empirical studies documented the positive association between increased levels of internalized homophobia and IPV victimization and perpetration (Badenes-Ribera et al., 2019; Balsam & Szymansk, 2005; Bartholomew et al., 2008; Edwards & Sylaska, 2013; Finnernan & Stephenson, 2012; Kelley et al., 2014; Lewis et al., 2012; Milletich et al., 2014; West, 2002). Specifically, LGBTQ+ individuals may have accepted and believed society's negative assumptions and stereotypes about homosexuality

(Badenes-Ribera, 2019; West, 2002). In turn, they may have incorporated these beliefs into their self-concept, which has contributed to low self-esteem, feelings of powerlessness, difficulty establishing trusting and committed relationships, and denial of group membership (Badenes-Ribera, 2019; West, 2002). As a result, individuals with maladaptive perceptions and assumptions about their own identities may project their negative self-concept onto their partners through the use of violence (Badenes-Ribera, 2019; Finneran & Stephenson, 2014; Renzetti, 1992; West, 2002).

LGBTQ+ IPV survivors encountered a greater number of external stressors including experiences of violence, discrimination, and harassment in everyday life (Meyer, 2003). Homonegativity and heterosexism has contributed to the continued discrimination against sexual minorities. Prior research suggested criminal justice actors have perceived LGBTQ+ individuals as deviant or immoral thus furthering the misconception that survivors are not true victims (Buist & Lenning, 2016; Potoczniak et al., 2003). Consequently, homonegativity and heterosexism have created an environment that disempowers and devalues the experiences of LGBTQ+ individuals to a point where they may not seek help (Buist & Lenning, 2016; Potoczniak et al., 2003).

The Criminal Justice Response to IPV

For much of U.S. history, spousal abuse, domestic violence, and IPV were treated as a private family matter and dismissed by the criminal justice system (Buzawa & Buzawa, 1996; Dobash & Dobash, 1979; Freedman, 2002; Hirschel et al., 1992; Luzte & Symons, 2003; Martin, 1976; Melton, 1999). Few legislative protections for IPV victims existed prior to the 1970s. The extensive efforts of grassroots organizations, advocates, and scholars have led to substantial policy changes. Definitions of IPV, for example, have

been broadened to include multiple types of abuse and various relationship dyads (Jablow, 1999; Smith et al., 2018). Additionally, law enforcement agencies and court systems have implemented mandatory arrest and no-drop prosecution policies (Barner & Carney, 2011; Han, 2003; Melton, 1999; Mills, 1998). Despite progressive changes, empirical research has demonstrated continued resistance to policing IPV, which may be partially explained by the culture of police organizations and individual officers' attitudes and perceptions of IPV (Lutze & Symons, 2003).

The Historical Criminal Justice Response to IPV

Traditionally, laws and doctrines have been in place that promoted and reinforced male privilege, which ultimately protected men who perpetrated abuse against women. First and foremost, existing laws severely restricted the movement and resources of women. Under the doctrine of coverture, for example, men and women were treated as one under the law when they were married (Finesmith, 1983). Specifically, a women's personal rights and property were severely limited or suspended when entering into a marriage contract. Women's ability enter into contracts, retain any earned wages, sue or be sued, own property, make a will, or have autonomy in sexual reproduction were lost when they were married (Finesmith, 1983). Furthermore, women were unable to refuse their husbands sexual advances and held few defenses against sexual and domestic violence (Finesmith, 1983; Lutze & Symons, 2003). For example, marital rape was not illegal in all U.S. states until 1993 and there were still legislative loopholes that hindered prosecution of husbands who sexually assaulted their wives (Bergen, 1996).

In addition to doctrines that limited a woman's resources, laws tolerant and encouraging of abuse were embedded within the governing society. For example, the first

systemization of church law governed women as subordinates of men and have since been an integral part of the institution of marriage (Hirschel et al., 1992). Within the Napoleonic Civil Codes, males were given absolute power within households (Melton, 1999), however, wives were able to seek protection from their husbands, but only if they could demonstrate that the abuse was violent enough to constitute attempted murder (Melton, 1999). Rome adopted *patria potestas,* a law that gave husbands sovereign authority over the family including the power to punish and chastise his wife and other members within the household (Hirschel et al., 1992; Pleck, 1987).

English common law recognized and supported men's use of violence against women, which was subsequently adopted into early American common law. For example, american common law included a modified version of *patria potestas* in which physical chastisement of women was both expected and accepted (Dobash & Dobash, 1979; Hirschel et al., 1992). These laws evolved, often defining the appropriate type, severity, and permissible timing of punishment that should be used. The "rule of thumb," for example, dictated that men were able to legally beat their wives with switches or sticks no wider than their thumb, otherwise the punishment was considered too uncivilized (Erez, 2002; Finesmith, 1983; Lutze & Symons, 2003; Melton, 1999).

Despite challenges to laws promoting male privilege and violence against women, US court decisions in the 1800s repeatedly upheld a man's right to punish within his household. In *Bradley v. State*, for example, the Mississippi Supreme Court ruled that husbands were permitted to exercise moderate chastisement in the household and emphasized that matters inside the home were not appropriate to bring into the court of law (Hirschel et al., 1992; Pleck, 1989). In a similar vein, the court decision in *State v.*

Hussey dictated that a wife could not testify against her husband for abuse unless she sustained a lasting injury or endured great bodily harm as a direct result of the physical violence (Hirschel et al., 1992). Similar rulings were made in *Joyner v. Joyner*, where the courts reaffirmed a husband's power and stated he could use as much or little force as needed to assert his authority. Additionally, the court argued that injuries, such as bruises, stemming from switches or whips did not constitute grounds for a divorce (Hirschel et al., 1992). Finally, in 1864, the decision in *State v. Black* stated courts would not intervene in family matters unless they deemed a husband's force as excessive violence.

Changes in IPV Legislation and Policies

It was not until 1871 (*Fulgham v. State*) that U.S. courts first recognized husbands did not have the right to physically abuse and chastise their wives. In 1882, Maryland was the first state to pass a law that criminalized wife abuse (Jablow, 1999). Most batterers, however, were not arrested or prosecuted, and the legal system continued to ignore the experiences of battered women (Finesmith, 1983). In fact, system responses to violence against women did not change until the later 1960s and early 1970s, stemming from grassroots movements and activism by both women and victims (Dicker, 2008; Freedman, 2002). During this time, battered women came forward, shared their stories, and challenged the structure of male dominance. Additionally, national coalitions against domestic and sexual violence were formed throughout the U.S., along with social services, such as support centers, shelters, and crisis hot lines to aid victims of abuse (Finesmith, 1983; Jablow, 1999). In 1976, legal reform resulted in the introduction of civil protection orders (CPO) for IPV survivors. Sometimes referred to as a "no-contact order," a CPO prohibits an individual accused of IPV perpetration from contacting their

victim (DeJong & Burgess-Proctor, 2006; Jablow, 1999). The purpose of a CPO is to provide protection to the victim while ceasing further potential harm from the perpetrator (DeJong & Burgess-Proctor, 2006). To date, all 50 states and the District of Columbia have CPO legislation (Aulivola, 2004; DeJong & Burgess-Proctor, 2006; Jablow, 1999), however states have differed dramatically in qualifications and accessibility for victims of violence. For example, CPOs have traditionally afforded protections to female survivors victimized by male perpetrators (Aulivola, 2004; Jablow, 1999). As a result, sexual minority IPV victims were not eligible for CPOs thus making them vulnerable to continued abuse (Aulivola, 2004; Jablow, 1999).

At the same time, female IPV survivors sought help from lawyers, brought civil charges against police agencies, and demanded the criminal justice system recognize and respond to violence within the home (Erez, 2002; Jablow, 1999; Melton, 1999). The legal liability of police agencies, for example, spurred change within departmental policies and the broader criminal justice system (Buzawa, 1990; Melton, 1999). Lawsuits were filed against police departments for their failure to protect victims and overall inadequate response to IPV, which resulted in hefty liability awards and agency fines (Buzawa & Buzawa, 1996; Melton, 1999). For example, in *Thurman v. City of Torrington*, lawyers filed a civil lawsuit against the city police department as a result of their negligence and failure to enforce equal protection under the law per the Fourteenth Amendment (Davis & Smith, 1995; Melton, 1999). The police department had received multiple IPV CFS regarding the abuse, however, no assistance was provided to the victim and her husband was never arrested. Additionally, police officers purposefully delayed their response to a call for service, in which time the victim was severally assaulted by her husband. In the

end, the courts ruled in favor of the victim and granted her $2.3 million in liability awards (Davis & Smith, 1995; Melton, 1999).

Research on the criminal justice system's response to violence against women has underscored what appeared to be a superficial response to IPV, particularly among law enforcement officials, which contributed to changes in IPV policies and practices (Buzawa & Buzawa, 1996; Parnas, 1967; Melton, 1999). The Minneapolis Domestic Violence Experiment, one of the most prolific studies in criminal justice, demonstrated the impact research could have on police practice and policy. Sherman and Berk (1984) used a controlled, randomly-assigned experimental design to assess the effects of separation, mediation, and arrest on DV recidivism in 314 incidents of misdemeanor spouse abuse. Responding officers were provided with a packet that contained colored paper arranged in a random sequence. The colored paper indicated the randomly assigned response (i.e., arrest, mediation, and separation) responding officers should make when they encountered an eligible DV case. Initial follow-up interviews were conducted with 205 victims, and 161victims completed all 12 interviews in the sixth month follow-up period, which was used to determine recidivism rates. Results suggested that arrest produced lower recidivism rates when compared to separation and mediation (Sherman & Berk, 1984).

Despite the criticism of and methodological issues with the Minneapolis Domestic Violence Experiment, study results were highly publicized and cited as sufficient evidence for systems to implement new policies, such as mandatory or pro-arrest and no-drop prosecution, for addressing IPV (Barner & Carney, 2011; Erez, 2002; Hanna, 1996; Mills, 1998; Zorza, 1992). Mandatory arrest policies have required police officers to

arrest a suspect when there is probable cause that an assault or battery occurred regardless of whether or not the officer has a warrant or witnessed the offense (Barner & Carney, 2011; Han, 2003; Mills, 1998; Zorza, 1992). Additionally, mandatory arrest policies have also required officers to make an arrest if a protection order was violated, regardless of the victim's preference (Mills, 1998; Zorza, 1992). Related, no-drop or mandatory prosecution policies have required assistant and district attorneys to bring criminal charges against suspects in IPV incidents regardless of victim preference or cooperation (Barner & Carney, 2011; Han, 2003; Hanna, 1996; Mills, 1998). In other words, mandatory prosecution policies have shifted the decision to pursue prosecution from the IPV victim to the court (Barner & Carney, 2011; Han, 2003; Hanna, 1996; Mills, 1998).

To date, mandatory arrest and no-drop prosecution policies have been the primary intervention strategies the criminal justice system has implemented to ensure that IPV was treated as a criminal offense. Subsequent empirical studies on mandatory arrest and no-drop policies have limited effects on IPV recidivism (Berk et al., 1992; Davis et al., 1998; Dixon, 2008; Dunford, 1992; Fagan et al., 1984; Hirschel et al., 1992; Maxwell et a., 2002; Murphy et al., 1998; Pate & Hamilton, 1992; Schmidt & Sherman, 1993; Sherman et al., 1992). Mandatory arrest policies, for example, resulted in a short-term deterrent effect (Sherman et al., 1992) or were ineffective in reducing violence within an intimate relationship (Berk et al., 1992; Dunford, 1992; Hirschel et al., 1992; Maxwell et al., 2002; Pate & Hamilton, 1992; Sherman, 1993). Related, early studies on mandatory prosecution examined the relation between filing decisions and IPV recidivism and the results largely demonstrated no effect (Davis et al., 1998; Dixon, 2008; Fagan et al., 1984; Murphy et al., 1998).

Since their implementation, policies surrounding mandatory arrest and no-drop prosecution have garnered enormous controversy because of their unforeseen consequences. In addition to the ineffectiveness of such policies, feminist scholars have argued that mandatory arrest and no-drop prosecution have contributed to increased abuse within intimate relationships, criminalized IPV victimization, and disempowered survivors (Barner & Carney, 2011; Berk et al., 1992; Chesney-Lind, 2002; Dayton, 2002; Ferraro, 1989; Han, 2003; Hanna, 1996; Lutze & Symons, 2003; Mills, 1998). First, prior studies have suggested that mandatory arrest and no-drop prosecution policies may potentially increase the risk of retaliatory abuse for IPV survivors (Barner & Carney, 2011; Dayton, 2003; Han, 2003; Hanna, 1996; Mills, 1998).

Second, dual arrests and arrests of victims have significantly increased since the implementation of mandatory arrest policies (Chesney-Lind, 2002; Dayton, 2003; Ferraro, 1989). Dual arrests have occurred when officers arrest both the suspect and victim often as a result of the inability to identify a primary aggressor (Buzawa & Buzawa, 1996; Chesney-Lind, 2002; Dayton, 2003). Furthermore, police officers' preconceived notions about the dynamics of IPV, coupled with agency pressure or policies requiring arrests, have led to the arrest of victims (Chesney-Lind, 2002; Dayton, 2003; Han, 2003). Dual and victim arrests have produced secondary victimization for survivors (Ferraro, 1989; Dayton, 2003), facilitated misrepresentations of violent behavior among girls and women (Chesney-Lind, 2002), and criminalized aggressive self-defense behaviors among survivors (Ferraro, 1989).

Finally, proponents of mandatory arrest and no-drop prosecution policies have argued that state intervention has been a necessary tool to protect IPV survivors,

especially given the challenges IPV victims have encountered when trying to extricate themselves from abusive relationships (Han, 2003; Mills, 1998). Mandatory state intervention, therefore, has reduced the power and manipulative influence IPV perpetrators have over victims (Han, 2003; Mills, 1998). Feminist scholars and advocates have challenged this assumption by emphasizing its paternal and condescending nature (Dayton, 2002; Han, 2003; Lutze & Symons, 2003). Indeed, feminist scholars have underscored the disempowering effects mandatory arrest and no-drop prosecution policies have on IPV survivors (Dayton, 2002; Han, 2003; Hanna, 1996; Lutze & Symons, 2003; Mills, 1998). To that end, mandatory polices have removed victims' autonomy and voluntary involvement in criminal justice case processing (Dayton, 2002; Han, 2003; Hanna, 1996). Instead, these policies have failed to address the multifaceted nature of IPV by attempting to solve a complex problem with one solution (Dayton, 2002; Han, 2003; Hanna, 1996; Mills, 1998)

In recent decades, the criminal justice response to IPV has progressed through the implementation of IPV legislation and CPOs. The changes in legislation and availability of CPOs, however, were designed to address IPV within traditional heterosexual relationships (Aulivola, 2004; Elliott, 1996; Jablow, 1999; Murray et al., 2007; Potoczniak et al., 2003). Consequently, states have afforded fewer or a lack of legal protections to LGBTQ+ IPV survivors (Aulivola, 2004; Burke et al., 2002; Elliott, 1996; Jablow, 1999; Murray et al., 2007). Historically, states denied legal protections to LGBTQ+ IPV victims through gender specific language (Aulivola, 2004; Jablow, 1999; Murray et al., 2007). To become more inclusive, many states redrafted IPV legislation to remove gender-specific language and to broaden the types of relationships that qualify for

protections under the law (Aulivola, 2004). The ambiguous language of gender-neutral IPV legislation may have contributed to a more discretionary interpretation by prosecutors and judges. For example, statutes may include vague language such as "family" and "household," but criminal justice actors may equate these to notions of heterosexual relationships and traditional marriages. When LGBTQ+ IPV survivors choose to formally report, the discretionary nature of statute interpretation may result in continued discrimination against LGBTQ+ IPV victims (Aulivola, 2004). Furthermore, updated policies and legislation surrounding IPV still convey a heteronormative narrative where men are always perpetrators and women are always victims subsequently obscuring IPV issues within the LGBTQ+ community (Cannon & Buttell, 2015) and potentially hindering formal responses and survivors' ability to seek help. Overall, laws that do not explicitly protect *all* IPV survivors continue to condone partner violence.

Rooted in compulsory heterosexuality and homophobic culture, the criminal justice system has historically criminalized homosexuality and gender non-conformity through legislation (see Buist & Lenning, 2016), which has exacerbated legal barriers for LGBTQ+ IPV victims. While the U.S. Supreme Court ruled sodomy laws as unconstitutional in *Lawrence v. Texas*, the legislation still exists in many states (Aulivola, 2004; Murray et al., 2007). In essence, LGBTQ+ IPV survivors have had to disclose or admit to "criminal" behavior before receiving legal assistance or protection (Aulivola, 2004; Barnes, 1998; Murray et al., 2007). While criminal enforcement of these statutes has been rare, they have stigmatized certain forms of sexuality and continued to provide justification of institutional homophobia and discrimination when LGBTQ+ survivors come forward (Aulivola, 2004).

Overall, the response to IPV has improved in the past couple of decades, however some police agencies have demonstrated resistance when handling IPV CFS. Despite progressive changes in legislation and mandatory arrest policies, compliance among police personnel has been poor (Sherman, 1998). Therefore, an exploration into the intersection of law enforcement culture, attitudes toward oppressed groups, and responses to IPV may provide context to the complex dynamics surrounding policing IPV.

The Culture and Structure of Police Organizations

Broadly, law enforcement agencies have been formally recognized as gendered institutions resulting from their paramilitary structure entrenched with masculine values (Franklin, 2007; Garcia, 2003; Hunt, 1990; Lutze & Symons, 2003; Martin, 1980, 1990, 1999; Miller & Lilley, 2014; Prokos & Padavic, 2002; Rabe-Hemp, 2009; Somvadee & Morash, 2008). Police agencies, for example, have endorsed state-sanctioned used of force, promoted formal and informal hierarchies of authority and dominance, and exerted hegemonic masculinity, sexism, and aggression (Franklin, 2007; Hunt, 1990; Martin, 1980, 1990, 1999; Miller & Lilley, 2014; Prokos & Padavic, 2002; Rabe-Hemp, 2009; Somvadee & Morash, 2008). Consequently, marginalized individuals including women and members of the LGBTQ+ community have received increased institutional opposition from police personnel (Bernstein & Kostelac, 2002; Buist & Lenning, 2016; Colvin, 2015; Miller, 1980; 1990; 1999; Somvadee & Morash, 2008; Thompson & Nored, 2002).

Police perceptions of appropriate responses to IPV. While progressive movements and policies have contributed to improved IPV responses, existing research has suggested that police officers generally perceive IPV as a crime that does not

necessitate formal intervention and punishment of offenders (Belknap, 1995; Gover et al., 2011; Logan et al., 2006; Martin, 1975; Saunders & Size, 1986; Sherman & Berk, 1984; Sinden & Stephens, 1999; Waaland & Keeley, 1985). For example, law enforcement personnel have disclosed that arrest was not an appropriate response when answering IPV CFS (Belknap, 1995; Blount et al., 1992; Saunders & Size, 1986; Sinden & Stephens, 1999; Toon & Hart, 2005; Waaland & Keeley, 1985). Instead, officers reported IPV CFS were better served by social service personnel (Mehrotra, 1999; Miller, 1999; Pleck, 1987). Waaland and Keeley (1985), for example, used 36 police participant surveys to assess perceptions of appropriate formal responses to a scenario depicting a wife assault. About half of police participants reported they believed arrest was not appropriate in the assault scenario (Waaland & Keeley, 1985). Related, Saunders and Size (1986) assessed surveys of police, victims, and victim advocates to compare attitudes of woman abuse. Findings indicated that police, advocates, and victims perceived the abuse of women to be criminal in nature, however, only 4% of police participants believed that the batterer should be arrested, compared to 63% of victims and 38% of advocates (Saunders & Size, 1986).

Studies have highlighted police officers' preference for using mediation as an alternative to arrest among incidents of IPV (Belknap, 1995; Sinden & Stephens, 1995). In a prominent study on police response to wife abuse, Belknap (1995) used 324 surveys from law enforcement commissioned in a large Midwestern metropolitan area to assess police officers' preferences regarding arrest and mediation and attitudes of victims and offenders. Findings from this study suggested that almost half (46.6%) of the police officers reported a strong preference for mediation over arrest as the best and most

appropriate response to incidents of battering (Belknap, 1995). Using 27 open-ended responses from police officers in small-town police departments in the state of New York, Sinden and Stephens (1999) examined attitudes of and experiences with IPV CFS. Police participant responses indicated that officers could make an arrest if there if there was evidence that a misdemeanor or felony assault occurred. Additionally, police participants were able to make a discretionary arrest for harassment if they witnessed the event or if the victim was willing to press charges. Despite the mandatory arrest policy and discretionary power, police participants reported few arrests were made even though they perceived and defined acts of IPV as serious behaviors (Sinden & Stephens, 1999).

Prior research has suggested police officers' frustrations in handling IPV CFS and perceptions of victims' decisions and behaviors may have contributed to their perceptions of appropriate action in CFS (Belknap, 1995; Johnson 2004; McPhedran et al., 2017; Trujillo & Ross, 2008). Police officers have expressed concerns regarding repeat IPV CFS and the amount of time and resources used in these types of calls (Crime and Misconduct Commission, 2005; Gover et al., 2011; McPhedran et al., 2017; Trujillo & Ross, 2008). Gover and colleagues (2011) assessed 309 surveys from a large urban police department in a Western state to examine attitudes and perceptions of IPV incidents. Bivariate analyses revealed that male officers, compare to female officers, were more likely to agree that IPV CFS took too much time to handle. Related, McPhedran and colleagues (2017) surveyed 396 American and 216 Australian police officers about their attitudes on IPV. Findings indicted that nine out of 10 police officers across jurisdictions felt that repeat calls were a major problem that took too much time and effort for police agencies (McPhedran et al., 2017).

Related, studies on police perceptions of IPV revealed that law enforcement personnel may not take victims' decisions seriously (Belknap, 1995) or have wanted an indication of future victim cooperation before proceeding with arrest (Johnson, 2004; Sinden & Stephens, 1999). Belknap (1995) discovered that police officers did not believe female IPV victims actually wanted their abuser arrested even when this preference was stated to responding officers. Instead, police participants reported being more concerned with violating the perpetrators' rights (Belknap, 1995).

Conversely, Sinden and Stephens (1999) assessed justifications in various responses to IPV and discovered victim preferences mattered. Despite having discretionary power in making an arrest, police officers wanted victims to express their interest in pursuing charges and cooperating with an investigation prior to making an arrest (Sinden & Stephens, 1999). More recently, Johnson (2004) used surveys from a non-random sample of 74 Illinois police officers to assess their frustrations with handling IPV CFS. The greatest frustration pertained to victims. Almost 38% of the police officers gave responses that directly mentioned victims and included statements such as, "victims who are uncooperative and fail to prosecute are the biggest frustration," "lack of victims willing to sign a complaint," and "victims who later recant their statements" (Johnson, 2004, p. 210). In other words, police officers felt their frustrations and responses were often affected by victims who did not want to press charges or participate in the investigative process (Johnson, 2004).

Definitions of IPV. Scholars have examined police officers' definitions of IPV in order to better understand perceptions of and responses to IPV survivors. In general, empirical findings have demonstrated that police have not been consistent in their

definitions of behaviors that constitute IPV (Gill et al., 2019; McPhedran et al., 2017; Sinden & Stephens, 1999; Tam & Tang, 2005), however, the characteristics of the definitions often reflect stereotypical perceptions of IPV. Sinden and Stephens (1999) analyzed 27 open-ended responses from law enforcement participants regarding their definitions of IPV. Based on their experiences with IPV CFS, police officers described incidents that included property damage, verbal arguments, verbal threats, and physical contact by a body or weapon. Police officers often emphasized the importance of injury to the victim (e.g., bruising, redness, swelling, broken bones, pain) from the assault. While police participants highlighted that IPV occurred across various relationship dyads, the majority of officers referred to victims as female and offenders as male (Sinden & Stephens, 1999).

In addition, Tam and Tang (2005) assessed surveys from 74 Chinese police officers and 71 social workers to compare perceptions and definitions of wife abuse. Factor analysis was used to examine the underlying dimensions of wife abuse behaviors, which resulted in two factors including physical wife abuse (e.g., beat up wife, slap wife, grab wife, push or shove wife) and psychological wife abuse (e.g., insult or swear at wife, shout or yell at wife, call wife ugly or fat). Overall, social workers held broader definitions of physical abuse compared to police officers. Social workers, compared to police officers, were also more likely to classify shouting and yelling, isolation from relatives, and insisting on sex as forms of psychological abuse. When accounting for gender, male police officers had the most restrictive definitions of psychological wife abuse followed by female social workers, female police officers, and male social workers (Tam & Tang, 2005).

Related, Gill and colleagues (2019) investigated definitions of IPV among 169 police officers employed at an agency located in the province of New Brunswick, Canada. Qualitative analyses revealed that the majority of police participants adopted a view of IPV that was based the Criminal Code of Canada. Specifically, police officers focused on the single incident of IPV, which limited their understanding of the complex nuances in IPV that may only be evident by examining the continuum of abusive behaviors occurring within the relationship (Gill et al., 2019). Police officers often failed to understand the potential of harm and escalating patterns of abuse overtime (Gill et al., 2019).

Police response to the LGBTQ+ community. Historically, police organizations have maintained an interest in preserving a hegemonic masculine culture by policing gender variance, thus facilitating institutional homophobia and heterosexism (Buhrke, 1996; Letellier, 1994), all of which may contribute to adverse responses to LGBTQ+ populations. Research has demonstrated that law enforcement have portrayed a general opposition of hiring gay men and lesbian women as police officers (Buhrke, 1996; Marotta, 1981; Lyons et al., 2008). In addition, LGBTQ+ people have reported a purposeful avoidance with law enforcement officials due to heightened fear, frustration, distrust, and overall perceptions of inadequate responses (Buist & Lenning, 2016; Letellier, 1994). Empirical studies have demonstrated that police officers have engaged in a spectrum of humiliating and illegal behaviors during citizen interactions and CFS for the LGBTQ+ community (Comstock, 1991; Berrill & Herek, 1990; Herek, 1990; Lambda Legal, 2014; Mallory et al., 2015; Letellier, 1994; Marotta, 1981; Stotzer, 2014; Wolff & Cokely, 2007). For example, LGBTQ+ crime victims have disclosed that police

personnel have used hostile, demeaning, and vulgar language including “fag,” “queer,” and “dyke” during their communications (Lambda Legal, 2014; Mallory et al., 2015; Letellier, 1994; Marotta, 1981; Stotzer, 2014; Wolff & Cokely, 2007). Furthermore, police officers have perpetrated violence against members of the LGBTQ+ community (Comstock, 1991; Herek, 1990; Lambda Legal, 2014; Letellier, 1994; Stotzer, 2014), and intentionally delayed response to CFS (Berrill & Herek, 1990; Lambda Legal, 2014; Letellier, 1994; Mallory et al., 2015). To that end, the deleterious interactions between police officers and LGBTQ+ individuals may be explained by homophobic and heterosexist attitudes as well as maladaptive stereotypes held by police personnel.

A dearth of research exists on police attitudes toward LGBTQ+ individuals, though findings have suggested police have somewhat adhered to homophobic or negative attitudes toward this population (Bernstein, 2004; Bernstein & Kostelac, 2002; Bernstein et al., 2003; Bernstein & Swartwout, 2012; Franklin et al., 2019; Lyons et al., 2005; Lyons et al., 2008). Bernstein and Kostelac (2002) used 222 surveys from heterosexual police participants in a medium-sized Southwestern police department to assess the relation between attitudes, stereotypes, and behaviors directed toward lesbian women and gay men. In general, police participants indicated that sex between the same gender was wrong, homosexuals were disgusting, and homosexuality was not a natural expression of sexuality (Bernstein & Kostelac, 2002).

Correlates and predictors of adverse attitudes toward LGBTQ+ individuals have largely included officer demographics and misconceptions regarding sexual minorities (Bernstein, 2004; Bernstein & Kostelac, 2002; Bernstein et al., 2003; Lyons et al., 2008). For instance, Bernstein (2004) surveyed 295 surveys from police participants to

determine the effects of officer demographics, occupational characteristics, and attitudinal attributions on homophobia. Correlates of homophobia included being married, adhering to stereotypes and heterosexual group think, increased age, a greater number of children, and Protestant religious affiliation. Multivariate findings indicated that adherence to stereotypes of lesbian women and gay men had the strongest and most direct effect on homophobic attitudes. In other words, police officers who believed lesbian and gay police officers were not good role models for the community, did not belong in law enforcement, or put other individuals at risk for contracting AIDS adhered more strongly to homophobic attitudes toward lesbian women and gay men (Bernstein, 2004). Using surveys from 747 police chiefs in the state of Texas, Lyons and colleagues (2008) assessed attitudes toward gay men and lesbian women police officers. Results from bivariate correlations revealed a significant negative association between education, stereotypes about gay men and lesbian women, and workplace receptivity (e.g., sexual minorities should not be police officers).

To date, only one study has examined the relation between attitudes toward same-sex relationships and police response to IPV. Franklin and colleagues (2019) employed a 3 (sexual orientation) x 2 (physical evidence) x 2 (trauma response) between-subjects factorial design to assess predictors of arrest decisions among 476 police personnel commissioned in a large metropolitan police agency. Findings revealed that police participants held average levels of homophobic attitudes. At the bivariate level, homophobic attitudes were positivity related to adherence to IPV myths. While adherence to homophobia was not a significant predictor of arrest decisions, police participants were

less likely to indicate they would make in arrest with IPV scenarios involving same-sex couples (Franklin et al., 2019).

Perceptions of women and police response. Sexism and misogynistic views of women have been associated with attitudes that support and legitimize violence (Glick & Fiske, 2002; Koss et al., 1994). Few studies, however, have examined police officers' perceptions of women (DeJong et al., 2008; Gracia et al., 2011, 2014; Lila et al., 2013; Tam & Tang, 2005) and subsequent police responses (Gracia et al., 2011, 2014; Lila et al., 2013). Overall, empirical evidence has suggested that police adhere to more traditional attitudes of women (DeJong et al., 2008; Tam & Tang, 2005). Tam and Tang (2005), for example, used the Sex-Role Egalitarianism Scale to examine participants' attitudes toward the equality of men and women in marital, parental, and social roles. Male police officers were significantly more likely to hold traditional views of men and women compared to female officers, female social workers, and male social workers. Furthermore, DeJong and colleagues (2008) assessed police officers' perceptions of IPV using observational data collected during 461 IPV CFS in Indianapolis, Indiana and St. Petersburg, Florida. Findings revealed police officers routinely made derogatory and vulgar comments about IPV victims. Additionally, police officers expressed misogynist attitudes toward female IPV victims through the use of name-calling including "bitch" and "damned ugly" (DeJong et al., 2008, p. 689).

Empirical studies have suggested that police officers who endorsed less favorable attitudes of women were less likely to express interest in moving forward with a formal response without requiring victim cooperation in charging and investigation. Using 378 surveys from police officers in Spain, Gracia and colleagues (2011) examined the relation

between psychosocial profiles, including ambivalent sexism, and officers' preference for unconditional law enforcement (i.e., enforce the law regardless of the victims' willingness to cooperate) or conditional law enforcement (i.e., enforce the law depending on the victims' willingness to cooperate). Police officers who preferred unconditional approaches to responding to IPV were more concerned with the rights and welfare of women and had lower levels of adherence to sexist beliefs (Gracia et al., 2011).

In a follow-up study, Lila and colleagues (2013) assessed 404 surveys of male police officers to examine the effects of benevolent sexism, hostile sexism, empathy, and years of service on law enforcement attitudes toward IPV against women. Main effects demonstrated that police officers who scored low on benevolent sexism expressed a greater preference for enforcing the law regardless of victim's willingness to press charges against abusers. Additionally, interaction effects suggested that police officers who scored high on empathy and low on hostile sexism were also more likely to report unconditional law enforcement responses (Lila et al., 2013).

Similarly, Gracia and colleagues (2014) examined 308 male police officers' preferences for law enforcement response across intimate and non-intimate interpersonal violence while accounting for sexist and empathic attitudes. Regardless of the victim-offender relationship, police participants reported a stronger preference for unconditional law enforcement approaches in scenarios of violence against women. While low levels of benevolent sexism were associated with unconditional approaches across all cases of interpersonal violence, relationship type conditioned hostility and empathy levels across police participants. Specifically, unconditional law enforcement responses to incidents for violence against women were present among officers scoring low in hostile sexism

and high in empathy. In other words, high levels of hostile sexism moderated the effects of empathy on police attitudes of violence against women (Gracia et al., 2014).

Myths and misconceptions of IPV. Empirical studies have demonstrated that misconceptions surrounding the context and dynamics of IPV have been embedded among police responses (Brownmiller, 1975; Eigenberg et al., 2012; Lutze & Symons, 2003; Martin, 1975) and have been reflected in police officers' adherence to myths (DeJong et al., 2008; Eigenberg et al., 2012; Farris & Holman, 2015; Gover et al., 2011; Tam & Tang, 2005; Toon & Hart, 2005; Twis et al., 2018) and heteronormative assumptions about victims, offenders, and IPV (Cormier & Woodworth, 2008; Russell & Sturgeon, 2018). Tam and Tang (2005) assessed myth adherence between 145 Chinese police officers and socials workers. Police officers were more likely to endorse wife abuse myths when compared to social workers. There were no gender differences among participants when comparing mean scores on the scale measuring myths of wife abuse. Gender differences, however, emerged when assessing individual items on the myth scale. Men, regardless of profession, were more likely to believe that "husbands have the right to discipline their wives when it is necessary" and "some women seem to ask for beating from their husbands" (Tam & Tang, 2005, p. 32). Related, DeJong and colleagues (2008) reported police officers expressed simplistic views regarding IPV. Specifically, police officers disclosed that IPV incidents were "immature" and "childish" in nature (p. 688). Additionally, prior research has indicated that police officers have perceived battered women to be calculating and deceitful (Rigakos, 1995), and able to easily leave abusive relationships (DeJong et al., 2008; Farris & Holman, 2015; Gover et al., 2011; Toon & Hart, 2005). Eigenberg and colleagues (2012) reviewed current research on IPV

with the intent of informing police training. The authors reported four prominent myths within prior studies that included 1) the belief that there was only one kind of IPV; 2) IPV was relatively minor; 3) IPV was similar to all other crime types; 4) IPV CFS were extremely dangerous for police officers.

In a follow-up study, Twis and colleagues (2018), used Eigenberg et al.'s (2012) framework to explore IPV myth adherence and misconceptions on police officers' decision-making and intervention in 54 police reports collected from 17 police departments in a metropolitan area of the Southwesterm U.S. from 2000 to 2009. Contrary to expectations, qualitative analyses revealed one main theme consistent throughout police reports. Overall, police failed to recognize the presence of coercively-controlling behaviors in the presenting incident. Furthermore, Twis and colleagues (2018) found that undetected coercive control was most apparent in three subthemes throughout reports and included labeling IPV victims as hysterical woman, overt versus subtle coercion, and a focus on injury. Police officers often viewed IPV victims as hysterical, crazy, out-of-control, and overly emotional during their interactions. Second, findings revealed that police personnel were aware of and documented extreme forms of controlling behavior but were generally nonresponsive to more subtle tactics. For example, police officers emphasized the perpetrator's use of isolation, threats, or intimidation, however, less extreme control tactics including name-calling, manipulation, or gaslighting were not recognized. Finally, police personnel explicitly described physical injuries that resulted from an assault. While documented physical injuries have significantly helped case processing, they only provide limited insight into the context of IPV. To that end, IPV victims exposed to IPV and coercive control may never suffer a

physical injury as a result of the abuse (Twis et al., 2018). Overall, this study provided insight into the proliferation of IPV myths within formal police reports. While findings were instructive, less is known about the predictors of IPV myth adherence among police personnel.

Empirical studies have demonstrated that criminal justice actors adhere to heteronormative assumptions about IPV (Cormier & Woodworth, 2008; Fröberg, 2015; Peterman & Dixon, 2003; Merrill & Wolfe, 2000; Russell & Sturgeon, 2018; Younglove et al., 2002). Police personnel, for example, have misidentified primary aggressors and have questioned male IPV victims' credibility when responding to sexual minority male IPV (Peterman & Dixon, 2003; Merrill & Wolfe, 2000). Studies have also examined law enforcement officers' perceptions of severity among same-sex IPV (Cormier & Woodworth, 2008; Fröberg, 2015; Russell & Sturgeon, 2018; Younglove et al., 2002). Younglove and colleagues (2002) used 82 surveys from police participants employed by a law enforcement agency located in a midsize Central California city to ascertain perceptions regarding same sex IPV. Specifically, items used in the survey assessed police participants' adherence to stereotypes regarding sexual minority and heterosexual relationships, with special attention to the legitimacy of same sex IPV. While it was expected that adherence to stereotypes and biases would affect police officers' perceptions regarding the scenarios of IPV, bivariate analyses revealed no significant differences. In other words, results suggested that police participants did not perceive incidents of same-sex and heterosexual IPV differently (Younglove et al., 2002).

Contrary to Younglove and colleagues' (2002) findings, more recent empirical studies have demonstrated general shortcomings in police response to sexual minority

IPV. In general, results have suggested that police officers perceive heterosexual IPV to be more severe when compared to IPV involving sexual minority couples (Cormier & Woodworth, 2008; Fröberg, 2015; Russell & Sturgeon, 2018). Using surveys from 108 undergraduate students and 62 Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) officers, Cormier and Woodworth (2008) assessed adherence to gender stereotypes on perceptions of violence same-sex and heterosexual relationships. Results from the multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVAs) suggested that students and RCMP officers perceived the male-to-female heterosexual IPV scenario as the most severe compared to female-to male, male-to-male, and female-to-female vignettes. The RCMP officers, however, rated the abuse in all scenarios as more severe than the college students (Cormier & Woodworth, 2008).

Related, Fröberg (2015) surveyed 248 Swedish police students to examine perceptions of the seriousness of the abuse by the sexual orientation of the victims. Overall, the scenarios portraying a heterosexual IPV female victim were rated the most serious and same-sex male IPV victims were rated the least serious, relative to other relationship dyads. In addition, police students indicated they were more likely to advise the heterosexual IPV female victims to call the police when compared to other relationship dyads (Fröberg, 2015).

Finally, Russell and Surgeon (2018) used 309 surveys from police participants across 27 states in the U.S. to examine police perceptions of heterosexual and same-sex IPV scenarios. First, the results demonstrated that police participants believed it was more fair to provide informal advice and mediate the incident when the perpetrator was a gay male compared to a heterosexual male. Additionally, police officers reported they

were more likely to separate the couple and have one of the parties leave the premise in the scenario depicting a gay male or heterosexual female IPV perpetrator. Furthermore, findings demonstrated that same-sex IPV perpetrators were more likely to receive a referral to a DV hotline or shelter compared to heterosexual IPV perpetrators. Results also indicated that injuries from male-to-female IPV incidents were rated as most severe compared to other relationship dyads. Overall, results suggested that police officers may consider heterosexual female-to-male and same-sex IPV less serious than their heterosexual male-to-female IPV counterpart (Russell & Surgeon, 2018).

Culpability

Empirical studies have demonstrated victims of gendered crime encounter increased blame and criticism for their victimization (Finkel, 2001; Franklin & Menaker, 2015; Grubb & Harrower, 2008; Grubb & Turner, 2012; Harrison & Esqueda, 1990; Menaker & Franklin, 2013; Menaker & Miller, 2013; Suarez & Gadalla, 2010). Researchers developed attribution theories (Bradbury & Fincham, 1990; Heider, 1958; Lerner 1980; Lerner & Simmons, 1966; Shaver, 1970; Shaver & Drown, 1986), which have been used to explain *why* observers perceive victims as more blameworthy. Prominent culpability theories used as guiding frameworks in IPV studies have included *just world hypothesis* and *defensive attribution theory*. In addition, researchers have argued culpability attributional approaches must account for the motives and attitudes of the observer (Heider, 1958; Hillier & Foddy, 1993; Howard 1984a, 1984b).

Just World Hypothesis

The just world hypothesis assumed that observers believe the world is a just and fair place (Lerner, 1980). The central concern of the just world hypothesis is the tendency

of people to blame victims for their own misfortune and victimization (Lerner, 1965; Lerner, 1980; Lerner & Miller, 1978). In other words, there are no innocent victims (Lerner, 1965; Lerner, 1980; Lerner & Miller, 1978). Observers are motivated to maintain this belief because it provides them with a sense of stability and control over their own lives (Lerner & Miller, 1978). Therefore, believing victims get what they deserve makes the world appear just again (Lerner, 1980). Within the context of IPV, observers perceive the victim to have caused or contributed to their abuse. For example, female IPV victims who swear, drink alcohol, or act in a non-gender conforming fashion may be seen as "provoking" the abuser (Levinson, 1989).

Defensive Attribution Theory

The defensive attribution theory has posited that levels of victim blame will decrease as the similarity between the individual and victim increase (Shaver, 1970). This directional relationship is said to occur as a protective defensive mechanism to the observers' own vulnerability (Shaver, 1970). In other words, individuals who relate to victims may identify with the situation and they would not want to be blamed (Shaver, 1970). Within the context of IPV, defensive attributions would suggest that the observers' sex would predict perceptions of culpability (Hillier & Foddy, 1993). For example, females are more likely to be victims of IPV and should therefore place less blame on IPV victims. Conversely, men are more likely to perceive the IPV victim as blameworthy because they are more likely to perpetrate violence against women (Hillier & Foddy, 1993). Therefore, men relate more closely to perpetrators of abuse.

Culpability Approaches Incorporating Observer Attitudes

In order to account for observer attitudes, Heider (1958) developed the *balance theory*, which posited that egalitarian or gender equality ideologies have influenced levels of blame associated with female victims. The theory hypothesized that observers with more egalitarian or pro-women attitudes attributed less blame to female victims and more blame to male perpetrators (Heider, 1958). In a similar vein, Howard (1984a, 1984b) suggested that gender stereotypes have influenced individuals' reactions to victims. For example, intoxicated female IPV victims may be perceived as violating norms of appropriate behavior thus providing observers the opportunity to assign blame. Indeed, societal attitudes of disapproval toward women's drunkenness have remained stable (Gomberg, 1976; Morrissey, 1986; Rolando et al., 2016). Related, adherence to traditional attitudes would make an observer more likely to blame the female victims of violence (Howard 1984a, 1984b). That is, individuals who endorse a traditional role for men and women would be more likely to blame female victims as opposed to observers with more egalitarian perspectives (Howard, 1984a, 1984b). To that end, endorsement of traditional gender roles has been associated with approval of violence within intimate relationships (Finn, 1986; Flood & Pease, 2009; Gage & Lease, 2018; Levinson, 1989).

Attributions of IPV Culpability

Within the context of IPV, culpability attribution studies have suggested that observer, victim, and case characteristics influence the level of blame, responsibility, and causation ascribed to IPV survivors. Existing studies, however, have predominately relied on college samples (Aramburu & Leigh, 1991; Bethke & DeJoy, 1993; Bryant & Spencer, 2003; Capezza & Arriaga, 2008; Cook & Harris, 1995; Dent & Arias, 1990;

Eigenberg & Policastro, 2016; Esquada & Harrison, 2005; Harris & Cook, 1994; Harrison & Esqueda, 2000; Koepke et al., 2014; Kristiansen & Giulietti, 1990; Little & Terrance, 2010; Locke & Richman, 1999; Nayak, Byrne, Martin, & Abraham, 2003; Nguyen et al., 2013; Pierce & Harris, 1993; Policastro & Payne, 2013; Richardson & Campbell, 1980; Seelau & Seelau 2005; Seelau et al., 2003; Stewart et al., 2012; Sugarman & Cohn, 1986; Summers & Feldman, 1984; Vidal-Fernandez & Megias, 2014; West & Wandrei, 2002; Willis et al., 1996; Witte et al., 2006; Worthen & Varnado-Sullivan, 2005; Yamawaki et al., 2012; Yamawaki, Ostenson, & Brown, 2009) and community samples (Hillier & Foddy, 1993; Lane & Knowles, 2000; Pavlou & Knowles, 2001; Reddy et al., 1996; Rhatigan et al., 2011; Sorenson & Taylor, 2005; Stalans, 1996; Taylor & Sorenson, 2005; Valor-Segura et al., 2011; Worden & Carlson, 2005). In comparison, few studies have assessed IPV culpability attributions among criminal justice actors such as police personnel (DeJong et al., 2008; Friday et al., 1991; Lavoie et al., 1989; Russell, 2018; Saunders & Size, 1986; Stalans & Finn, 1995; Stewart & Maddren, 1997; Stith, 1990; Tang, 2003; Waaland & Keeley, 1985). Noticeably absent from the existing literature has been the effect of victim sexual identity on police attributions of culpability (but see Russell, 2018). This is problematic as LGBTQ+ individuals have experienced exacerbated discrimination and marginalization, particularly from the criminal justice system (Buist & Lenning, 2016). Examining this effect could potentially improve criminal justice processes and response to this vulnerable population.

IPV culpability attributions among community and college samples. The majority of studies that have examined IPV culpability have used college and community

samples, therefore, a brief review of these studies is warranted. Regarding observer characteristics, empirical studies have demonstrated observers' sex, history of violence, attitudes toward women, and just world beliefs influenced attributions of IPV victim culpability (Bryant & Spencer, 2003; Cohn & Sugerman, 1980; Eigenberg & Policastro, 2016; Kristiansen & Giulietti, 1990; Lane & Knowles, 2000; Locke & Richman, 1999; Nayak et al., 2003; Pierce & Harris, 1993; Richardson & Campbell, 1980; Stewart et al., 2012; Sugarman & Cohen, 1986; Stewart et al., 2012; Valor-Segura et al., 2011; Vidal-Fernandez & Magias, 2014; West & Wandrei, 2002; Willis et al., 1996; Witte et al., 2006). First, numerous studies reported male participants blamed IPV victims significantly more than female participants (Bryant & Spencer, 2003; Lane & Knowles, 2000; Locke & Richman, 1999; Nayak et al., 2003; Nguyen et al., 2013; Pierce & Harris, 1993; Richardson & Campbell, 1980; Stewart et al., 2012; Sugarman & Cohen, 1986;Valor-Segura et al., 2011; West & Wandrei, 2002; Witte et al., 2006; Yamawaki et al., 2012). Second, participants with a history of IPV perpetration were also more likely to blame victims that those participants without a history of IPV (Bryant & Spencer, 2003; Erickson et al., 2017). Third, participants who endorsed positive attitudes of women were less likely to blame IPV victims compared to counterparts (Cohn & Sugerman, 1980; Kristiansen & Giulietti, 1990) while adherence to traditional ideological views were associated with heightened victim blame (Eigenberg & Policastro, 2016; Hillier & Foddy, 1993; Pavlou & Knowles, 2001; Stewart et al., 2012; Valor-Segura et al., 2011; Willis et al., 1996) especially among males (Hillier & Foddy, 1993; Stewart et al., 2012; Valor-Segura et al., 2011). Additionally, empirical findings demonstrated that participants who endorsed sexist attitudes and adherence to IPV myths were significantly

more likely to assign culpability attributions to the victim compared to counterparts (Policastro & Payne, 2013; Vidal-Fernandez & Magias, 2014; Yamawaki et al., 2012; Yamawaki et al., 2009). Finally, aligning with the just world hypothesis, adherence to beliefs in a just world predicted increased levels of IPV victim blame (Kristiansen & Giulietti, 1990; Valor-Segura et al., 2011).

Aligning with the tenants of culpability theories, victim characteristics have significantly influenced participant attributions of blame. Existing literature, for example, has suggested participants have placed more blame on intoxicated female IPV victims (Aramburu & Leigh, 1991; Dent & Arias, 1990; Harrison & Esqueda, 2000; Richardson & Campbell, 1980; Taylor & Sorenson, 2005), particularly among intoxicated women of color IPV victims (Harrison & Esqueda, 2000). In addition, observers were more likely to blame female IPV victims who were portrayed as antagonizing or provoking male perpetrators of abuse in scenarios of IPV (Cook & Harris, 1995; Harris & Cook, 1994; Hillier & Foddy, 1993; Kristiansen & Giulietti, 1990; Pierce & Harris, 1993; Sorenson & Taylor, 2005; Stalans, 1996; Taylor & Sorenson, 2005; West & Wandrei, 2002; Witte et al., 2006; Worden & Carlson, 2005). While limited, some evidence has suggested that both heterosexual and gay male IPV victims were perceived as more culpable compared to heterosexual female IPV victims (Taylor & Sorenson, 2005; Worthen & Varnao-Sullivan, 2005).

Few empirical studies have incorporated the effects of case characteristics on assignment of IPV victim culpability. Only three studies have assessed the relation between repeat IPV and blameworthiness (Sugerman & Cohen, 1986; Taylor & Sorenson, 2005; Witte et al., 2006; Yamawaki et al., 2012). Sugerman and Cohen (1986)

reported that participants attributed less blame to the victim if there was a history of IPV within the intimate relationship. Participants may have used a history of abuse as a proxy for severity or seriousness of the offense. When perceptions of offense seriousness increase, participants have attributed less culpability to the IPV victims compared to IPV perpetrators (Lavoie et al., 1989; Sugerman & Cohen, 1986; Waaland & Keeley, 1985). Conversely, other studies have documented an increase in IPV victim culpability if they were previously abused by the perpetrator (Taylor & Sorenson, 2005; Yamawaki et al., 2012). IPV survivors with a history of abuse victimization may be attributed more culpability due to the perceived negligence for tolerating or staying in abusive relationships (Howard, 1984; Taylor & Sorenson, 2005). Related, empirical studies have suggested that IPV victims have been less responsible for their abuse if they sustained an injury (Pierce & Harris, 1993; Taylor & Sorenson, 2005).

IPV culpability attributions among police personnel. Within the broader context, the first point of contact between police personnel and IPV survivors can have a profound impact on victims' well-being and subsequent case processing. For example, attributions of IPV victim culpability may produce secondary victimization. IPV survivors who were met with stigma, hostility, shame, disbelief, and blame have experienced secondary victimization, which exacerbated trauma responses (Campbell, 2008; Campbell et al., 1999; Ullman & Filipas, 2001). As a result, the likelihood of continued victim participation in criminal justice case processing decreases, thus contributing to case attrition. Additionally, IPV culpability attributions can result in policing practices that deny full protection to all victims, excuse the behavior of the perpetrator, and condone IPV (DeJong et al., 2008; Harrison & Esqueda, 1999). To that

end, understanding IPV culpability attributions among police personnel can have substantial implications for criminal justice policy, training, and victim-centered responses to IPV survivors.

Despite important implications, a dearth of research exists on police attributions of victim culpability in incidents of IPV (DeJong et al., 2008; Friday et al., 1991; Lavoie et al., 1989; Russell, 2018; Saunders & Size, 1986; Stalans & Finn, 1995; Stewart & Maddren, 1997; Tang, 2003; Waaland & Keeley, 1985). While limited, existing studies have predominately assessed law enforcement IPV culpability attributions among male-to-female IPV incidents (Lavoie et al., 1989; Stalans & Finn, 1995; Stewart & Maddren, 1997; Tang, 2003; Waaland & Keeley, 1985) and have focused on victim, perpetrator, and case characteristics. Generally, this research has suggested that presence of alcohol, victim antagonism, and type and severity of abuse were salient factors for officers when assigning levels of culpability in incidents of IPV (Lavoie et al., 1989; Stewart & Maddren, 1997; Waaland & Keeley, 1985). Related, studies have also demonstrated officer demographics and attitudinal characteristics influenced perceptions of victim culpability (Saunders & Size, 1986; Tang, 2003).

IPV culpability attributions without officer characteristics. Prior studies assessing victim, perpetrator, and case characteristics have demonstrated that presence of alcohol, victim antagonism, victim injury, and type of abuse effect attributions of victim culpability (Lavoie et al., 1989; Waaland & Keeley, 1985). Waaland and Keeley (1985) were among the first to examine police officers' IPV culpability attributions by focusing on assignment of responsibility. Questionnaires from 36 patrol officers in Oregon were assessed to determine personal and professional decisions regarding 71 mock profiles of

wife assault that were designed to reflect real cases. The mock profiles of wife assault contained manipulated informational cues including occupation, assault history, behavior toward police, presence of injury, alcohol, and antagonism or provocation by the victim. After reading through each profile, police participants were asked to rate husband and wife responsibility for the assault using a 7-point Likert-type scale that ranged from "not at all responsible" to "totally responsible" (Waaland & Keeley, 1985). Results demonstrated police participants held fairly consistent judgements of responsibility on identical cases, where officers placed more emphasis on victim behaviors when assigning responsibility to both the victim and perpetrator of wife assault. Specifically, police participants rated victims as more responsible for abuse when victims drank alcohol or antagonized the perpetrator prior to the assault. Conversely, officers rated victims as less responsible when victims suffered from a more severe injury such as a broken arm, compared to no injury or a black eye (Waaland & Keeley, 1985).

Related, Lavoie and colleagues (1989) examined the degree of responsibility that 235 Canadian police officers assigned to victims, perpetrators, and the socioeconomic status of the couple in vignettes of wife abuse. Police participants were instructed to rate the assignment of responsibility for the wife, husband, and social economic status (SES) on a 5-point Likert-type scale ranging from "not at all responsible," to "very much responsible." In addition, officers were asked to indicate their level of agreement or disagreement that both parties equally contributed to the abuse. Results from the MANOVA, analysis of the discriminate function, and ANOVA demonstrated that alcohol use, type of abuse, and victim antagonism were the strongest predictors of responsibility assignment in scenarios of wife abuse. First, police officers were less likely to hold the

wife responsible for the abuse when the husband was intoxicated compared to being sober. Second, officers assigned more responsibility to the husband when the vignette depicted physical abuse (i.e., slap in the face, shoving, and kicking) that subsequently resulted in marks on the arm and a split lip, as compared to verbal threats. Finally, officers were assigned more responsibility to the wife in vignettes that depicted a husband who claimed the wife was looking for a fight (i.e., victim antagonism) compared to no mention of the wife's role. The marital status of the couple, violence toward children, and the victim's ambivalence toward a legal decision were not related to police attitudes of responsibility in scenarios of wife abuse (Lavoie et al., 1989).

Using survey responses from 80 police officers in a Midwestern community, Friday and colleagues (1991) explored police participant attitudes and experiences with departmental policies regarding arrest in IPV cases. While IPV culpability attributions were not the focus of this study, the researchers measured the level of responsibility officers assigned to victims and perpetrators in IPV. Mean scores suggested that officers assigned greater responsibility to perpetrators compared to IPV victims (Friday et al., 1991).

DeJong and colleagues (2008) assessed police officers' perceptions of IPV and qualitative analyses demonstrated that officers who engaged in victim blaming statements perceived IPV victims to be deserving or at least partially responsible for their abuse. Police participants made statements suggesting that IPV victims deserved the abuse or must enjoy the abuse if they chose to stay with the perpetrator. Additionally, IPV victims with protection orders against their abuser were blamed if they were assaulted after inviting said abuser into their home. Overall, the observations suggested a lack of

understanding regarding IPV dynamics. To that end, police officers could not understand why women stay with their abusers and believed IPV victims enjoyed the abuse (DeJong et al., 2008).

IPV culpability attributions with officer characteristics. To date, only five studies have examined the effects of officer demographics, occupational characteristics, and attitudinal antecedents on IPV culpability attributions (Russell, 2018; Saunders & Size, 1986; Stalans & Finn, 1995; Stewart & Maddren, 1997; Tang, 2003) in addition to case characteristics, however, findings from these studies have been mixed. Saunders and Size (1986) used surveys from 116 police officers, 39 victim advocates, and 52 IPV female survivors in Wisconsin to examine group differences on views of victim causation, reasons victims stay, situations that justify abuse, and arrest. Participants were asked to indicate their level of agreement on three items that were used to measure victim causation including "women who are hit, shoved, or kicked by their husbands or boyfriends usually bring this violence on themselves," "women can avoid being hit by their husbands or boyfriends if they knew when to stop talking," and "women experience pain and no pleasure when struck by their husbands or boyfriends." These items were measured on a 5-point Likert-type scale. Findings indicated that all three groups tended to agree that battered women were not responsible for causing their abuse, however, police officers were significantly more likely than advocates and IPV survivors to attribute culpability to IPV victims. Additionally, police officers who adhered to traditional views of women's roles and displayed approving attitudes of marital violence were more likely to believe IPV victims caused their abuse. This was especially true among male police officers (Saunders & Size, 1986).

Similarly, Stalans and Finn (1995) assessed the effects of training and experience on perceptions and interpretations of wife assault in IPV manipulated vignettes using 128 police participants employed at a department in the North Georgia area. The IPV vignettes depicted a physical wife assault that resulted in moderately severe injuries to the victim. Manipulations included the socio-economic status of the couple (i.e., low or middle-class) and the wife's mental state (normal presentation, delusions, alcoholism, or extreme inappropriate expressions or emotions). The study used police participants' judgement of wrongdoing and justification of violence as a proxy for assessing blameworthiness among IPV victims. Overall, police participants perceived wives who were hallucinating as having a limited ability to control actions and less likely to believe or understand that violence is wrong compared to wives who were depicted as normal, showed signs of alcoholism, or inappropriate emotions. In other words, wives who presented with hallucinations were perceived as less blameworthy. Results demonstrated how knowledge and preconceived notions of mental illness have informed and shaped interpretations of wife assault (Stalans & Finn, 1995).

Using randomly-assigned, 2 (victim sex) x 4 (presence of alcohol) manipulated vignettes, Stewart and Maddren (1997) employed surveys from a sample of 97 Australian police officers commissioned in the Queensland Police Service to examine attributions of assailant and victim blame in scenarios of family violence. Police participants were presented with a scenario of family violence that depicted a verbal altercation escalating into a physical assault. All of the scenarios portrayed a male assailant and a male or female victim who sustained a black eye and considerable bruising. The vignettes manipulated the relationship dyad as the victim was either the assailant's brother or wife.

Furthermore, the vignettes either depicted both parties intoxicated, neither party intoxicated, only the victim intoxicated, or only the assailant intoxicated. After reading the scenarios, police participants were asked to allocate independent levels of blame to both the assailant and the victim ranging from 0 “no blame” to 10 “high blame.” MANOVAs were estimated to examine blame attribution based on officer sex, victim sex, and presence of alcohol. Results demonstrated no significant effects of officer sex on levels of blame attributed to the victim of assault. Police participants were more likely to blame male victims than female victims. Overall, intoxicated victims were blamed more than sober victims, however when the assailant was sober and the victim was intoxicated, they were equally blamed for the assault (Stewart & Maddren, 1997).

Additionally, Tang (2003) used two vignettes depicting wife abuse to assess the relation between attitudes toward women, wife abuse perceptions, and attribution of responsibility among 499 Chinese police officers from three major urban cities. All of the police participants received a non-physical and a physical wife abuse scenario. The non-physical wife abuse scenario depicted a woman in a low-income family who had five children and was scolded by her husband for not having dinner ready on time. The second scenario portrayed a husband who physically beat his wife for having dinner with her ex-boyfriend. After reading each vignette, police participants were prompted to assign responsibility to both the husband and wife. Attribution of responsibility was measured on a Likert-type scale that ranged from 1 “no responsibility” to 4 “all responsibility.” Overall, police participants assigned significantly more responsibility to the husband for both non-physical and physical abuse scenarios. Additional hierarchical linear modeling demonstrated that officer demographic and attitudinal predictors emerged for attribution

of responsibility in non-physical and physical abuse scenarios. Police participants who had higher educational attainment and endorsed more liberal views of women assigned significantly less responsibility to victims in both scenarios of wife abuse. In scenarios of physical wife abuse, female police participants assigned significantly less responsibility to the victims compared to male police participants (Tang, 2003). These findings should be interpreted with caution because China did not have a law against domestic violence at the time of data collection.

Most recently, Russell (2018) used an online survey that included a 2 (sex of perpetrator) x 2 (sexual orientation of the couple) between-subjects design to assess the effect disputants' gender and sexual orientation on perceptions of IPV among 273 police officers from 27 states in the U.S. The scenario presented to police participants portrayed responding officers arriving on scene to find the perpetrator and the victim yelling and screaming. The perpetrator had no physical injury; the victim displayed bruises and cuts to the face and neck area. There was no evidence of weapon use or property destruction and neither party indicated an arrest preference. Police participants were prompted to rate the perpetrator and victim on attributions of culpability, which was assessed with five items including "[victim] is a danger to family members," "[victim] is a danger to others," "[victim] is responsible for the occurrence of the violence act," "[victim] is to blame," and "[victim]'s intent to harm." MANOVAs were used to examine attributions of victim attributions among police participants and results demonstrated that perpetrator gender was significant. Specifically, police participants perceived the victim as more of a danger to family members when the perpetrator was female compared to male. Additionally, victims of male perpetrators were held less responsible for the abuse

compared to victims of female perpetrators. Overall, results demonstrated that sexual orientation of the couple did not play a significant role in police officers' attributions of culpability. This finding suggests that police officers' assignment of culpably were similar across perpetrators and victims regardless of gender or sexual orientation. Demographic characteristics of police officers were not correlated with measures of culpability (Russell, 2018).

Consequences of police officers' attributions of IPV victim culpability. Understanding the perceptions and treatment of victims is critical because of the potential implications they might have on victim well-being, formal reporting, and criminal justice case processing (Hart, 1993; Herek, Cogan, & Gillis, 2002; Saunders & Size, 1986; Stewart & Maddren, 1997). Attributing blame and responsibility to victims, for example, has produced secondary victimization and exacerbated trauma symptoms (Campbell et al., 2001; Ullman, 1995). Additionally, the endorsement of victim blame has affected IPV criminal justice case processing. For example, police officers who ascribed more blame to IPV victims were reluctant to implement formal intervention (DeJong et al., 2008; Harrison & Esqueda, 1999; Saunders & Size, 1986; Stalans & Finn, 1995) leaving IPV victims vulnerable to continued abuse and perpetrators unpunished for their criminal behavior.

Purpose of the Current Study

Despite the important implications on case processing, few studies have assessed law enforcement officials' culpability attributions among IPV victims. Additionally, only one empirical study has examined the relation between culpability attributions and the sexual orientation of the intimate couple. Given the importance intersectionality may

have on decision-making and subsequent case processing within the criminal justice system, the limitations of the current body of literature warrant further empirical assessment into police personnel's attributions of culpability among heterosexual and same-sex IPV. First, using a randomly assigned, experimental vignette design, the present study used a sample of 433 surveys to examine police perceptions of IPV victim culpability among heterosexual and same-sex IPV scenarios. Second, this study examined officer demographic, occupational, attitudinal, and experimental predictors of IPV culpability among heterosexual and same-sex IPV.

Research Questions

RQ1: To what degree do police officers attribute culpability to survivors of IPV?

RQ2: Does victim culpability differ across heterosexual and same-sex couples?

RQ3: Does victim culpability differ across heterosexual, female same-sex, and male same-sex couples?

RQ4: What demographic, occupational, attitudinal, and experimental factors predict police officers' attributions of culpability directed toward IPV survivors?

RQ5: Do demographic, occupational, attitudinal, and experimental predictors of culpability attributions directed toward IPV survivors differ between heterosexual and same-sex victims?

RQ6: Do demographic, occupational, attitudinal, and experimental predictors of culpability attributions directed to IPV victims differ between heterosexual, female same-sex, and male same-sex couples?

CHAPTER III

Methodology

Data Description

Data used for the current study stems from a larger project designed to evaluate a trauma-informed, victim-centered training on police response to sexual and family violence. Online surveys were collected through Qualtrics after police personnel completed an agency-wide mandatory 4-hour training block that addressed best practices for responding to gendered crimes, gender bias, the neurobiology of trauma, and service referral for sexual and family violence survivors during the 2016 to 2017 training cycle. Training began September 1, 2016 and was finished on August 31, 2017. Sessions were held once a week and training was administered by an advocate from the local county women's center and police personnel. Following each training session, training completers were verbally notified about the survey and voluntary and anonymous participation was solicited through the distribution of postcards with instructions and a URL link to access the survey. The survey was described as "Police Attitudes about Crime and Victimization," and participation was incentivized through police legal counsel-approved tiered donations to The Police Foundation. Individual participants did not directly receive any incentive to complete the survey.

Participants who accessed the survey were provided with an Institutional Review Board approved consent statement that highlighted the voluntary and anonymous nature of participation. The survey instrument collected demographic information, police experiences, attitudes toward and perceptions of sexual and family violence survivors, and a 3 x 2 x 2 randomly-assigned manipulated hypothetical vignette depicting both

sexual assault and IPV. The items were presented in a set order and the surveys took approximately 30 minutes to complete. In order to encourage participation and maximize response rates, reminder emails were sent from the Special Victims Division at 2 week-, 4-week, and 8-week intervals following each training session (see Dillman et al., 2014), with the same information that was provided on the distributed post cards. Overall, 5,300 police personnel were invited to participate in the survey and administration produced 1,220 surveys that were opened, partially-, or fully-completed. Of the 1,220 surveys, 933 surveys had partially-, or full-completed data for a response rate of 17.60%. Overall, 433 provided completed data on the variables of interest, for a completion rate of 46.41%, and were retained for analyses.[6] The vignette was reviewed by police personnel in the Special Victims' Division to ensure that the IPV scenario was realistic and one that police officers would likely encounter when responding to IPV CFS.

Missing Data

Several steps were taken to address issues surrounding missing data. First, Little's Missing Completely at Random (MCAR) test was conducted to assess whether data was missing completely at random. The results from the analysis were significant (χ^2 (3930) = 4107.86, p = .024), indicating that data were not missing completely at random. While data were not missing completely at random, bivariate tests were conducted to determine nonresponse bias on the variables of interest (Allison, 2002). As indicated in Table 1,

[6]Volunteer surveys administered online without direct incentive have produced similar or lower response rates (see Couper, 2011; Franklin et al., 2012; Sheehan & McMillan, 1999). In addition, a recent meta-analysis of 497 published police surveys spanning over a 9-year time period demonstrated that response rates have decreased over time and were more problematic when not administered in person (Nix et al., 2017). However, results suggested low response rates among police surveys were not indicative of nonresponse bias and an insufficient rationale to dismiss a study's merit, especially when a survey includes sensitive material (Nix et al., 2017).

there were no significant differences between surveys with missing and non-missing data on dependent and independent variables suggesting nonresponse bias was not a problem.

Table 1

Summary of Assessment of Nonresponse Bias

Variables	Statistical Test	Sig.
Dependent Variables		
Absolute Victim Culpability	t-test	No
Relative Victim Culpability	t-test	No
Independent Variables		
Sex	Chi-Square	No
Race/Ethnicity	Chi-Square	No
Education	Chi-Square	No
Years of Service	t-test	No
FV CFS in the Prior 12 Months	t-test	No
Rank	Chi-Square	No
Homophobia	t-test	No
IPV Victim Precipitation	t-test	No
IPV Neutralization	t-test	No
IPV Deviance	t-test	No
IPV Masochism	t-test	No
Trauma Misperceptions	t-test	No

Note: $p < 0.05$

Finally, the sample demographics of the participants with completed survey data were compared to the overall demographics of the agency in 2017 (see Table 2). The participant demographics were moderately reflective of the demographics of the overall agency demographics. Given that there were no problems with nonresponse bias and the demographics of the sample participants were relatively similar to the overall agency, listwise deletion was used. The final sample employed responses from 433 police participants.

Table 2

Comparison of Sample and Agency Population Demographics

Variables	Sample Demographics	2017 Agency Demographics
Sex		
Male	75.3%	83.77%

Female	24.7%	16.23%
Race/Ethnicity		
White	54.3%	44.06%
Black	15.2%	21.09%
Latinx	21.2%	27.77%
Asian/Pacific Islander	6.5%	6.91%
Native American/Alaskan Native	0.5%	0.17%
Other	2.3%	-
Age (mean)	44.80	42.82
Years of Service (mean)	17.97	18.89
Rank		
Police Officer	62.4%	48.32%
Sergeant	27.0%	18.79%
Lieutenant	8.5%	4.29%
Captain	1.8%	0.85%
Assistant Chief/Above	0.2%	0.22%

Sample Demographics

Table 3 indicates that the mean age of the participants included in the retained data for analysis was 44.80 (*SD* = 8.96) and the majority of the sample were men (n = 326, 75.3%) compared to women (n = 107, 24.7%). The sample was racially and ethnically diverse in that 54.3% (n = 235) were White/Non-Latinx, 21.2% (n = 92) were Latinx, 15.2% (n = 66) were Black, 6.5% (n = 28) were Asian American/Pacific Islander, 2.3% (n = 10) identified as a different race, and 0.5% (n = 2) were Native American/Alaskan Native. Almost two-thirds of participants had obtained either a four-year degree (n = 158) or a graduate degree (n = 128). Participants had an average of 17.97 years of experience in law enforcement (*SD* = 9.57) and 62% (n = 270) of participants reported their current rank as a “police officer.” The majority of participants reported their current assignment as either investigation (n = 163, 37.6%) or patrol (n = 153, 35.3%). Finally, almost 63% (n = 270) of the participants have not responded to a family violence call for service (FV CFS) in the prior 12 months.

Table 3

Demographic Characteristics of Police Participants

Variables	n	%	*M (SD)*	Range
Age			44.80 (8.96)	25.00-64.00
Sex				
Male	326	75.3%		
Female	107	24.7%		
Race/Ethnicity				
White	235	54.3%		
Latinx	92	21.2%		
Black	66	15.2%		
Asian American/Pacific Islander	28	6.5%		
Native American/Alaskan Native	2	0.5%		
Other	10	2.3%		
Educational Attainment				
High School	21	4.8%		
Some College	89	20.6%		
Two-year degree	37	8.5%		
Four-year degree	158	36.5%		
Graduate school	128	29.6%		
Years of Service			17.97 (9.57)	1.00-42.00
Current Rank				
Police officer	270	62.4%		
Sergeant	117	27.0%		
Lieutenant	37	8.5%		
Captain	8	1.8%		
Assist. Chief/Above	1	0.2%		
Current Assignment				
Patrol	153	35.3%		
Investigator	163	37.6%		
Administration	117	27.0%		
Number of IPV CFS in Previous 12 Months				
None	270	62.4%		
1 to 5	57	13.2%		
6 to 10	22	5.1%		
11 to 20	27	6.2%		
21 or more	57	13.2%		

IPV Vignettes

Research has demonstrated the usefulness of using vignettes in victimization research (Schwartz, 2000), including their ability to capture intentions to act, which has predicted actual behavior of participants (Kim & Hunter, 1993). This study used a 3 (sexual orientation) x 2 (presence of evidence) X 2 (victim trauma response) between-

subjects factorial design. Participants were randomly assigned to one of 12 vignettes that were modified (see Menaker & Franklin, 2015) to depict police intervention in an IPV CFS with manipulated variables of interest. The IPV scenario described a 19-year-old victim who called 911 to report a physical attack. Each scenario depicted an intimate couple who were arguing over money, which escalated into a physical assault, followed by pleas for forgiveness from the suspect. The victim filed a formal report with responding officers, and the suspect provided a statement that the victim was at fault and had instigated the altercation (see Appendix B).

Dependent Variable: Victim Culpability Attributions

Three items were used to capture the degree to which the victim was, "to blame for the circumstance," "responsible for the circumstance," and "the cause of the circumstance" (Menaker & Franklin, 2015; Menaker & Miller, 2013), or absolute culpability attributions. Responses were captured on a 6-point, Likert-type scale from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 6 (*strongly agree*). The three items were subjected to exploratory factor analysis (EFA) with maximum likelihood estimation (MLE) and varimax rotation (Gorsuch, 1983; Osborne, 2015), which produced one factor with an eigenvalue greater than 1, accounting for 77.04% of the variance. Factor loadings ranged from .871 to .905 and were summed. Mean scores were calculated, and higher scores indicated stronger victim culpability attributions. Mean values for the three items ranged from 1.98 to 2.31 and standard deviations ranged from 1.22 to 1.40, indicating adequate variability. Internal consistency reliability was excellent ($\alpha = .907$). Appendix C presents the absolute victim culpability items and factors loadings.

Independent Variables

Officer Demographics

Three variables captured police participant demographic characteristics including officer sex, officer race/ethnicity, and educational attainment. *Officer sex* was captured as a binary variable (Male = 0 [n = 326, 75.3%], Female = 1 [n = 1, 24.7%]). *Officer race/ethnicity* was originally measured as a categorical variable (White = 0 [n = 235, 54.3%], Black = 1 [n = 66, 15.2%], Latinx = 2 [n = 93, 21.2%], Asian American/Pacific Islander = 3 [n = 28, 6.5%], Native American/Alaskan Native = 4 [n = 2, 0.5%], and Other = 5 [n = 10, 2.3%]) and was recoded into four dummy variables: "White" (n = 235, 54.3%), "Latinx" (n = 92, 21.2%), and "Black" (n = 66, 15.2%), and "Other" (n = 40, 9.2%). *Educational attainment* was an ordinal variable that captured an officer's highest level of educational attainment (High school = 0 [n = 21, 4.8%], Some college = 1 [n = 89, 20.6%], Two year college degree = 2 [n = 37, 8.5%], Four year college degree = 3 [n = 158, 36.5%], and Graduate school = 4 [n = 128, 29.6%]).

Occupational Characteristics

Three variables were included to capture occupational characteristics: years of experience, number of FV CFS in the previous 12 months, and rank. *Years of experience* was a continuous variable that captured years employed in law enforcement (M = 17.96, SD = 9.57). *Number of FV CFS* was an ordinal variable that captured how many "family violence" calls police participants had responded to in the previous 12 months (None = 0 [n = 270, 62.4%], 1 to 5 = 1 [n = 57, 13.3%], 6 to 10 = 2 [n = 22, 5.1%], 11 to 20 = 3 [n = 27, 6.2%], 21 or more = 4 [n = 57, 13.2%]). *Rank* was captured

as a binary variable (Police officer = 0 [n = 270, 62.4%%], Higher rank = 1 [n = 163, 37.6%]).

Job Role Perceptions

An initial pool of 9-items was generated from a modified version of Stalans and Finn's (2006) Objectives for Handling Domestic Violence Scale (OHDVS),[7] which captured police participants' ideas about how to approach FV CFS. The items were measured on a 6-point Likert-type scale from 1 (*extremely unimportant*) to 6 (*extremely important*). Items were subjected to EFA with MLE and varimax rotation (Gorsuch, 1983; Osborne, 2015), which produced two factors with Eigenvalues greater than 1, accounting for 53.05% of the variation. The first factor was comprised of 6-items and loadings ranged from .368 to .903. This factor was labeled *IPV policing processes* and included statements such as, "to remain objective as possible," "to determine if there has been wrongdoing," "to enforce the law," and "to handle disputes with an even-handed assessment of the facts." The 6-items were summed and mean scores were calculated with higher values indicating increased importance placed on process objectives. The mean values for the six items that comprised the *IPV policing processes* ranged from 4.80 to 5.76 and standard deviations ranged from 0.84 to 1.35. Internal consistency reliability was satisfactory ($\alpha = .862$). The second factor comprised 3-items with loadings that ranged from .478 to .702 and was labeled as *IPV policing operations.* Example statements included "to handle disputes in a timely manner," and "to handle disputes with

[7] The original OHDVS contained 5-items relating to officers' perceived importance of objectives for handling IPV. Four of the five items in the original OHDVS contained confounding constructs that measured more than one objective in a single statement. In order to account for this error in measurement, these four items were modified and separated into eight separate items. As a result, a 9-item measurement tool was used in the present study.

minimal resources needed." The three items were summed and mean scores were calculated with higher scores indicating increased importance placed on policing operations. Mean values for the three items ranged from 4.07 to 4.83 and standard deviations ranged from 1.34 to 1.58. Internal consistency reliability was adequate (α = .621). Appendix D presents the objectives in IPV response items and factors loadings.

Attitudinal Characteristics

Homophobia. An initial pool of five items was generated from the Cognitive Negativism Subscale (CNS) of Wright and colleagues' (1999) 24-item Homophobia Scale. The CNS measured adverse cognitions toward sexual minorities. Items were captured on a 6-point, Likert-type scale from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 6 (*strongly agree*), and included statements such as, "homosexuality is acceptable to me," "marriage between same-sex individuals is all right with me," and "organizations that promote gay rights are necessary." Four of the 5-items were reverse coded for ease of interpretation so that items measured negative cognitions toward sexual minorities. The 5-items were subjected to EFA with MLE and varimax rotation (Gorsuch, 1983; Osborne, 2015), which produced one factor that comprised five items with an eigenvalue greater than 1 that accounted for 59.27% of the variance. Factor loadings ranged from .521 to .958 and were summed. Mean scores were calculated and scores higher scores represented increasingly negative cognitions toward sexual minorities. The mean values for the five items that comprised the CNS ranged from 2.47 to 3.44 and standard deviations ranged from 1.69 to 1.92. Cronbach's alpha indicated adequate variability (α = .869). Appendix E presents the homophobia items and factors loadings.

Heteronormative IPV myths. An initial pool of 18-items generated from the DVMAS (Peters, 2008) was used to capture attitudes that blame the victim, excuse the perpetrator, and justify partner abuse. Items were measured on a 6-point, Likert-type scale from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 6 (*strongly agree*). The 18-items were subjected to EFA with MLE and varimax rotation (Osborne, 2015), which produced four factors with Eigenvalues greater than 1, accounting for 45.83% of the variance. The first factor comprised 4-items, with loadings from .477 to .759 and was labeled *IPV victim precipitation*. Items included statements: "women who flirt are asking for it," "women can avoid physical abuse if they give in occasionally," "women instigate most family violence," and "making men jealous is asking for it." The four items were summed and mean scores were calculated, with higher values indicating stronger adherence to perceptions of victim precipitation in IPV incidents. Mean values for the four items ranged from 1.32 to 1.67, and standard deviations ranged from 0.81 to 1.02. Internal consistency reliability was satisfactory ($\alpha = .812$). The second factor consisted of 5-items, with factor loadings from .439 to .730. This factor was labeled *IPV neutralization of violence* and included statements such as, "I don't have much sympathy for a battered woman who keeps going back to the abuser," "if a woman goes back to the abuser, that is the result of her character," and "if a woman continues living with a man who beats her, then it is her own fault if she is beaten again." The five items were summed, mean scores were calculated, and higher scores indicated stronger adherence to neutralization of IPV. Mean values for these five items ranged from 1.59 to 2.09, and standard deviations ranged from 1.02 to 1.38. Internal consistency reliability was excellent ($\alpha = .837$). The third factor comprised 4-items, with factor loadings from .419 to .597 and was labeled

IPV deviance. Items included statements such as, “abusive men lose control of themselves so much that they don’t know what they are doing,” “when a man is violent toward his partner, it is because he lost control of his temper,” and “domestic violence results from a momentary loss of temper.” The four items were summed, mean scores were calculated, and higher values indicated increased beliefs that psychopathologize perpetration of IPV. Mean values for the four items ranged from 2.15 to 3.21, and standard deviations ranged from 1.37 to 1.81, indicating adequate variability ($\alpha = .623$). The fourth factor included 2-items, with loadings ranging from .599 to .738 and was labeled *IPV masochism*. Items included statements “some women unconsciously want their partners to control them,” and “many women have an unconscious wish to be dominated by their partners.” The two items were summed, mean scores were calculated, and higher values indicated increased adherence to beliefs that IPV survivors enjoy the abuse. Mean values for the two items ranged from 1.61 to 1.89, and standard deviations ranged from 1.03 to 1.13. Internal consistency reliability was acceptable ($\alpha = .705$). Appendix F presents the IPV myth items and factors loadings.

Misperceptions of trauma. Empirical studies have demonstrated police assignment of credibility and truthfulness relate to victims’ expressive emotions (Ask, 2010; Franklin et al., 2019; Maddox et al., 2011; Maddox et al., 2012), which may affect attributions of culpability. Therefore, an initial pool of 9-items was generated from Ask’s (2010) Beliefs About Crime Victim Behavior Scale that captured common misconceptions regarding trauma response among survivors. Items were measured on a 6-point, Likert-type scale from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 6 (*strongly agree*) and included statements such as, “a crime victim’s inability to report details about the event shortly

after the crime is reason to question the accuracy of the statement," and "a crime victim who displays positive emotions during his/her statement is not likely to be telling the truth." The 9-items were subjected to EFA with MLE and varimax rotation (Gorsuch, 1983; Osborne, 2015), which produced one factor comprised of seven items with an Eigenvalue greater than 1, accounting for 38.83% of the variance. Factor loadings ranged from .621 to .769 and were summed. Mean scores were calculated and higher values represented increased adherence to misperceptions of trauma (see also Franklin et al., 2019). Mean values for the seven items that comprised the trauma misperceptions scale ranged from 2.40 to 3.20 and standard deviations ranged from 1.22 to 1.51. Internal consistency reliability was excellent ($\alpha = .873$). Appendix G presents the trauma misconception items and factors loadings.

Experimental Conditions

The experimental conditions include sexual orientation of the couple, victim trauma response, and physical evidence. The *sexual orientation* of the couple was manipulated to depict same-sex and heterosexual IPV. Specifically, four of the scenarios portrayed a same-sex male couple (Jimmy and Mike), four scenarios portrayed a same-sex female couple (Briana and Diane) and four scenarios depicted a heterosexual couple involving a female victim and male suspect (Briana and Mike). First, a binary variable captured the sexual orientation of the couple (Heterosexual couple = 0 [n = 143, 32.9%], Same-sex couple = 1 [n = 292, 67.1%]). A categorical variable of sexual orientation was also created (Heterosexual couple = 0 [n = 143, 32.9%], Female same-sex = 1 [n = 142, 32.6%], Male same-sex = 2 [n = 150, 34.5%]). *Stereotypical trauma symptoms* of victims were also manipulated. All of the scenarios portrayed a victim who filed a formal police

report with responding officers, however, six scenarios depicted a victim who presented with stereotypical trauma symptoms. In other words, victims displayed expressive emotionality, behavior displays of upset, and a clear recollection of events—all of which have been documented as stereotypical assumptions about how victims should act following a traumatic event and have been cited among law enforcement officials as indicators of victim credibility (Ask, 2010; Maddox et al., 2011, 2012). Stereotypical trauma response was described as, "[victim][8] was crying, shaking while s/he recalled the detailed of the event." The other six scenarios depicted a victim who reports to police with flat affect, is unemotional, and has fragmented memory regarding the incident. Specifically, "[victim] was unemotional. Her/his story was disjointed, and s/he had a difficult time providing a clear description of the events that took place during the incident." A binary variable captured stereotypical trauma response (No = 0 [n = 214, 49.2%], Yes = 1 [n = 221, 50.8%]). *Physical evidence* was depicted in six of the scenarios, which portrayed a victim who suffered a physical injury because of the physical assault. Scenarios depicting physical injury included "the police noticed that [victim] had a bloody lip and a red mark on the side of his or her face." The other six vignettes indicated, "no obvious signs of bruising on [victim]." A binary variable captured the presence of physical injury (No = 0 [n = 227, 52.2%], Yes = 1 [n = 208, 47.9%]).

Analytic Strategy

The analysis proceeded in three stages. First, means and standard deviations were calculated for each of the study variables addressing research question 1. Second, *t*-test

[8] The methodology section uses "[victim]" to identify the person being described in the vignette.

and Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) statistics were conducted to determine significant differences between attributions of absolute victim culpability and sexual orientation of the depicted intimate partner, addressing research questions 2 and 3. Research question 4 was assessed using multivariate ordinary least squares (OLS) regression. Semipartial correlation coefficients were calculated and reported to estimate the unique variance accounted for by each significant variable on absolute and relative victim culpability. Finally, research questions 5 and 6 were assessed in two stages. The first stage uses a stepwise split-samples OLS regression approach (see Hosmer & Lemeshow, 1989; Menard, 2002) to determine if predictors of absolute victim culpability attributions directed toward IPV survivors differed based on the victim sexual orientation (i.e., heterosexual and same-sex couple). The second stage used stepwise split-sample OLS regression models to determine if predictors of absolute victim culpability attributions differed between heterosexual, FSS, and male same-sex (MSS) IPV survivors. Given the smaller sample sizes and the large number of independent variables included in the analyses, the stepwise split-samples approach was appropriate because it alleviated oversaturation of the model (Hosmer & Lemeshow, 1989; Menard, 2002). Variables were entered at stages in forward inclusion in the following order: officer demographics, occupational characteristics, job role perceptions, officers' attitudes, and experimental conditions. Additionally, Hosmer and Lemeshow (1989) recommended retaining variables in each stage, or model, with a liberal statistical significance level of $p < 0.15$. This strategy allowed for inclusion of potential predictors and the final model in each stepwise split-sample series was then interpreted at the statistical significance level of $p < 0.05$ (Hosmer & Lemeshow, 1989).

CHAPTER IV

Results

Data Screening

Prior to estimating the statistical models, SPSS, Version 22.0 was used to screen the data for skewness and kurtosis. Estimates fell within the acceptable range and did not exceed the recommended cutoff values of 3.0 and 8.0, respectively (Kline, 2005). The Durban-Watson estimation was 1.99, indicating no problems with autocorrelation. Multicollinearity diagnostics were also evaluated; tolerances ranged from .397 to .969 and variance inflation factors (VIF) ranged from 1.032 to 2.465, indicating multicollinearity was not a problem (Belsey et al., 1980). Acceptable tolerance values are generally greater than 0.2 but less than 4.0 (Belsey et al., 1980), while acceptable VIF values fall below 2.5, respectfully (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2007).

Univariate Statistics

Table 4 presents the descriptive statistics for the dependent variable. The mean levels of absolute victim culpability were slightly below the scale midpoint (M = 2.12, SD = 1.19).

Table 4

Summary of Spearman Correlations, Means, and Standard Deviations for Absolute Victim Culpability (N = 433)

	Measures										0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1.	Absolute Victim Culpability																		
2.	Female	0.08																	
3.	White	.14*	0.11*																
4.	Black	0.04	.22*	0.46*															
5.	Latinx	0.22*	0.01	0.57*	0.22*														
6.	Other Race/Ethnicity	.12*	0.07	0.35*	0.14*	0.17*													
7.	Educational Attainment	.03	.19*	.03	.06	0.14*	.06												
8.	Years of Service	0.05	0.20*	.18*	0.05	0.09	0.11*	0.08											
9.	FV CFS in the Past 12 Months	.01	0.02	0.12*	.09	.04	.03	0.11*	0.28*										
10.	Higher Rank	0.01	0.04	.09	0.05	0.09	.03	.32*	.32*	0.11*									
11.	IPV Policing Processes	0.06	.01	0.15*	.13*	.07	0.01	0.02	0.05	.03	0.05								
12.	IPV Policing Operations	.02	.07	0.14*	.09	.04	.07	.06	0.07	.06	0.04	.45*							
13.	Homophobia	.22*	0.35*	.02	.04	0.06	.00	0.11*	.27*	0.05	.06	.05	.07						
14.	IPV Victim Precipitation	.40*	0.17*	0.01	0.05	0.06	.18*	0.04	0.03	.01	0.06	0.12*	.01	.26*					
15.	IPV Neutralization	.48*	0.11*	.09	0.12*	0.08	.11*	0.01	0.11*	0.01	0.10*	0.15*	0.03	.27*	.70*				
16.	IPV Deviance	.25*	0.04	0.06	0.08	.08	.08	0.03	0.15*	.01	0.14*	.03	.12*	.13*	.43*	.45*			
17.	IPV Masochism	.31*	0.25*	.04	0.11*	0.05	.14*	0.04	0.04	0.08	0.04	0.13*	0.06	.17*	.53*	.53*	.30*		
18.	Trauma Misperceptions	.23*	0.16*	0.08	0.05	.03	.15*	0.01	0.10*	0.02	0.16*	.05	.22*	.19*	.29*	.29*	.45*	.25*	
	M	.12							7.97			.46	.40	.08	.42	.87	.58	.75	.82
	SD	.19							.57			.80	.08	.46	.72	.95	.05	.95	.01
	Range																		

.00-6.00	.00-6.00	.00-6.00	.00-6.00	.00-5.25	.00-5.60	.00-6.00	.00-5.00	.00-6.00

Note: For all scales, higher scores are indicative of more extreme responding in the direction of the constructed assessment.

*$p < 0.05$

Bivariate Analyses

Bivariate Correlation Matrix

Table 4 also presents the results of the Spearman bivariate correlation matrix and demonstrates several significant and substantively important relations between the dependent and independent variables. There was a statistically significant, positive relation between absolute victim culpability and white officers $r_s(431) = 0.14$, $p = 0.004$. There was a statistically significant, positive relationship between absolute victim culpability and other race/ethnicity $r_s(431) = 0.12$, $p = 0.012$. There was a statistically significant, negative relation between absolute victim culpability and Latinx officers, $r_s(431) = -0.22$, $p = 0.000$. Absolute victim culpability was significantly and positively related to homophobia, $r_s(431) = 0.22$, $p = 0.000$. Absolute victim culpability was significantly and positively related to myths of IPV victim precipitation, $r_s(431) = 0.40$, $p = 0.000$, IPV neutralization, $r_s(431) = 0.48$, $p = 0.000$, IPV deviance, $r_s(431) = 0.25$, $p = 0.000$, and IPV masochism, $r_s(431) = 0.30$, $p = 0.000$. Finally, there was a statistically significant and positive relation between absolute victim culpability and trauma misperceptions $r_s(431) = 0.23$, $p = 0.000$.

In assessing relations between independent variables, several findings emerged. A statistically significant, positive relation emerged between officer sex (0 = Male, 1 = Female) and educational attainment $r_s(431) = 0.19$, $p = 0.000$. Additionally, there were statistically significant, negative relations between officer sex (0 = Male, 1 = Female) and years of service, $r_s(431) = -0.20$, $p = 0.000$, homophobia, $r_s(431) = -0.35$, $p = 0.000$, trauma misperceptions, $r_s(431) = -0.16$, $p = 0.001$, and myths of IPV victim precipitation, $r_s(431) = -0.17$, $p = 0.000$, IPV neutralization $r_s(431) = -0.11$, $p = 0.017$, and IPV

masochism $r_s(431) = -0.25$, $p = 0.000$. There was a statistically significant, positive relation between educational attainment and rank (0 = Patrol Officer, 1 = Higher Rank), $r_s(431) = 0.32$, $p = 0.000$. Educational attainment was statistically significant and negatively related to FV CFS in the previous 12 months, $r_s(431) = -0.11$, $p = 0.021$, and homophobia, $r_s(431) = -0.11$, $p = 0.019$. Years of service was statistically significant and negatively related to the FV CFS in the previous 12 months, $r_s(431) = -0.28$, $p = 0.000$, trauma misconceptions, $r_s(431) = -0.10$, $p = 0.044$, and myths of IPV neutralization $r_s(431) = -0.11$, $p = 0.019$ and IPV deviance $r_s(431) = -0.15$, $p = 0.002$. Statistically significant, positive relations emerged between years of service and rank, $r_s(431) = 0.32$, $p = 0.000$, and years of service and homophobia, $r_s(431) = 0.27$, $p = 0.000$. There were statistically significant, negative relations between rank and myths of IPV neutralization, $r_s(431) = -0.10$, $p = 0.040$, and IPV deviance, $r_s(431) = -0.15$, $p = 0.003$. Rank was also statistically significant and negatively related to trauma misperceptions, $r_s(431) = -0.16$, $p = 0.001$. IPV policing processes was statistically significant and positively related to IPV policing operations, $r_s(431) = 0.45$, $p = 0.000$, but negatively related myths of IPV victim precipitation, $r_s(431) = -0.12$, $p = 0.012$, IPV neutralization, $r_s(431) = -0.15$, $p = 0.002$, and IPV masochism, $r_s(431) = -0.13$, $p = 0.006$. IPV policing operations was statistically significant and positively related to myths of IPV deviance, $r_s(431) = 0.12$, $p = 0.014$, and trauma misperceptions, $r_s(431) = 0.22$, $p = 0.000$. Homophobia was statistically significant and positively related to trauma misperceptions, $r_s(431) = 0.19$, $p = 0.000$, and myths of IPV victim precipitation, $r_s(431) = 0.26$, $p = 0.000$, IPV neutralization, $r_s(431) = 0.27$, $p = 0.00$, IPV deviance, $r_s(431) = 0.13$, $p = 0.006$, and IPV masochism, $r_s(431) = 0.17$, $p = 0.000$. Myths of IPV victim precipitation was statistically significant and

positively related to myths of IPV neutralization, $r_s(431) = 0.70$, $p = 0.000$, IPV deviance, $r_s(431) = 0.43$, $p = 0.000$, and IPV masochism, $r_s(431) = 0.53$, $p = 0.000$, as well as trauma misperceptions, $r_s(431) = 0.29$, $p = 0.000$. There were statistically significant and positive relations between myths of IPV neutralization and myths of IPV deviance, $r_s(431) = 0.45$, $p = 0.000$, and IPV masochism, $r_s(431) = 0.53$, $p = 0.000$. There was also a statistically significant, positive relation between myths of IPV neutralization and trauma misperceptions, $r_s(431) = 0.29$, $p = 0.000$. Myths of IPV deviance was statistically significant and positively related to myths of IPV masochism, $r_s(431) = 0.30$, $p = 0.000$, and trauma misperceptions, $r_s(431) = 0.45$, $p = 0.000$. Finally, there was a statistically significant, positive relation between IPV masochism myths and trauma misperceptions, $r_s(431) = 0.25$, $p = 0.000$.

T-tests and ANOVAs

An independent samples *t*-test and ANOVA were estimated to assess the relation between absolute victim culpability and the sexual orientation of the intimate couple portrayed in the IPV vignette. Table 5 presents the results of the independent samples *t*-test. There was not a significant relation between the sexual orientation (i.e., heterosexual and same-sex) of the intimate couple and absolute victim culpability, $t(431) = -0.79$, $p = 0.43$.

Table 5

T-test Examining Absolute Victim Culpability and Sexual Orientation

	Heterosexual Couple (N = 143)		Same-Sex Couple (N = 290)		
	M	*SD*	*M*	*SD*	*t*-test
Absolute Victim Culpability	2.05	1.15	2.15	1.22	-0.79

*$p < 0.05$

One-way ANOVA was conducted to examine mean levels of absolute victim culpability across different types of intimate relationships (i.e., heterosexual, FSS, and MSS). The results from the one-way ANOVA demonstrate mean levels of absolute victim culpability were not significantly different across different types of intimate relationships, $F(2, 430) = 1.32$, $p = 0.27$.

Full Sample Multivariate Ordinary Least Squares Regression Models

Table 6 presents the results of the multivariate OLS regression model predicting attributions of absolute victim culpability. The regression equation was statistically significant, $R^2 = 0.31$, $F(19, 413) = 9.68$, $p = 0.000$. Latinx race/ethnicity was a statistically significant, negative predictor of absolute victim culpability, $b = -0.56$, $t(413) = -4.32$, $p = 0.000$, indicating that Latinx police participants attributed less absolute victim culpability to IPV victims compared to White police participants. Myths of IPV victim precipitation were a statistically significant, positive predictor of absolute victim culpability, $b = 0.22$, $t(413) = 2.06$, $p = 0.040$, suggesting stronger adherence to myths of IPV victim precipitation produced increased attributions of absolute victim culpability toward IPV survivors. Myths of IPV neutralization was a statistically significant, positive predictor of absolute victim culpability, $b = 0.31$, $t(413) = 3.70$, $p = 0.000$, indicating that increased adherence to myths of IPV neutralization produced increased attributions of absolute victim culpability toward IPV survivors. The sexual orientation of the intimate couple was a statistically significant, positive predictor of absolute victim culpability, $b = 0.21$, $t(413) = 2.01$, $p = 0.045$, suggesting police participants attributed increased absolute victim culpability to same-sex IPV victims compared to heterosexual IPV victims. Finally, presence of physical evidence was a statistically significant, negative predictor of

absolute victim culpability, b = -0.42, $t(413)$ = -4.25, p = 0.000, indicating that police participants attributed lower levels of absolute victim culpability to IPV survivors when they presented with visible physical injury, compared to no visible injury. To further clarify these relations, semipartial correlations were calculated and indicated that Latinx race/ethnicity accounted for 3% of the unique variance in absolute victim culpability attributions. Approximately 1% of the unique variance in absolute victim culpability attributions was accounted for by myths of IPV victim precipitation. IPV neutralization accounted for approximately 2% of the unique variance in attributions of absolute victim culpability. The sexual orientation of the intimate couple accounted for 1% of the unique variance in attributions of absolute victim culpability. Finally, 3% of the unique variance in absolute victim culpability attributions was accounted for by presence of physical evidence.

Table 6

Multivariate OLS Regression Predicting Absolute Victim Culpability (N = 433)

Variables	*b*	β	*t*-Ratio	sr^2
Female	0.07	0.03	0.53	0.00
Black	-0.09	-0.03	-0.59	0.00
Latinx	-0.60	-0.19	-4.32*	0.03
Other Race/Ethnicity	0.04	0.01	0.21	0.00
Educational Attainment	0.02	0.03	0.54	0.00
Years of Service	-0.00	-0.02	-0.46	0.00
FV CFS in the Past 12 Months	-0.00	-0.00	-0.03	0.00
Higher Rank	-0.02	-0.01	-0.18	0.00
IPV Policing Processes	0.05	0.03	0.65	0.00
IPV Policing Operations	-0.01	-0.01	-0.13	0.00
Homophobia	0.06	0.07	1.54	0.00
IPV Victim Precipitation	0.22	0.13	2.06*	0.01
IPV Neutralization	0.31	0.25	3.78*	0.02
IPV Deviance	0.01	0.01	0.23	0.00
IPV Masochism	0.12	0.09	1.77+	0.01
Trauma Misperceptions	0.09	0.08	1.57	0.00
Same-Sex Couple	0.21	0.08	2.01*	0.01
Trauma Response	-0.07	-0.03	-0.66	0.00
Presence of Physical Evidence	-0.42	-0.18	-4.25*	0.03

Constant	0.52	1.18
Model R	0.56	
R^2	0.31	
Adjusted R^2	0.28	
F	9.68*	

Note: a = White is the reference category, sr^2 = semipartial correlations
+$p < 0.10$, *$p < 0.05$

Prior research has suggested there were moderating effects between participant sex and attitudinal predictors on attributions of absolute victim culpability directed toward IPV survivors (Saunders & Size, 1986). While there were no statistically significant main effects of police participant sex in the full model, additional analyses were conducted to investigate the moderating effects of participant sex and attitudes on IPV absolute victim culpability. Table 7 presents the results of the full sample OLS regression moderation analyses that include two-way interactions terms accounting for officer sex and attitudes. The regression equation was statistically significant, $R^2 = 0.32$, $F(25, 407) = 7.75$, $p = 0.000$, though results indicated no significant moderating effects based on interaction terms.

Table 7

Multivariate OLS Regression Predicting Absolute Victim Culpability with Two-Way Interactions Accounting for Officer Sex and Attitudes (N = 433)

Variables	*b*	β	*t*-Ratio	sr^2
Female	-0.44	-0.16	-1.01	0.00
Black[a]	-0.09	-0.03	-0.57	0.00
Latinx[a]	-0.56	-0.19	-4.30*	0.03
Other Race/Ethnicity[a]	0.05	0.01	0.28	0.00
Educational Attainment	0.03	0.03	0.60	0.00
Years of Service	-0.00	-0.03	-0.54	0.00
FV CFS in the Past 12 Months	-0.01	-0.01	-0.31	0.00
Higher Rank	-0.06	-0.02	-0.48	0.00
IPV Policing Processes	0.05	0.03	0.68	0.00
IPV Policing Operations	-0.01	-0.01	-0.10	0.00
Homophobia	0.08	0.09	1.76+	0.00
IPV Victim Precipitation	0.15	0.09	1.22	0.00
IPV Neutralization	0.33	0.27	3.53*	0.02
IPV Deviance	-0.06	-0.05	-0.91	0.00
IPV Masochism	0.17	0.13	2.31*	0.01
Trauma Misperceptions	0.08	0.07	1.29	0.00

Same-Sex Couple	0.20	0.08	1.82+	0.00
Trauma Response	-0.02	-0.01	-0.23	0.00
Presence of Physical Evidence	-0.42	-0.18	-4.27*	0.03
Female x Homophobia	-0.06	-0.06	-0.65	0.00
Female x IPV Victim Precipitation	0.40	0.20	1.50	0.00
Female x IPV Neutralization	-0.11	-0.08	-0.60	0.00
Female x IPV Deviance	0.23	0.23	1.73+	0.00
Female x IPV Masochism	-0.20	-0.11	-1.07	0.00
Female x Trauma Misperceptions	0.02	0.02	0.12	0.00
Constant	0.65		1.44	
Model *R*	0.57			
R^2	0.32			
Adjusted R^2	0.28			
F	7.75*			

Note: a = White is the reference category, sr^2 = semipartial correlations
+$p < 0.10$, *$p < 0.05$

Additional analyses were performed to account for the potential interactive effects the experimental conditions may have on police participants' attributions of IPV absolute victim culpability. Table 8 presents the results of the full sample OLS regression moderation analyses that include two-way interaction terms accounting for the three vignettes. The regression equation was statistically significant, $R^2 = 0.31$, $F(22, 410) = 8.41$, $p = 0.000$, however no significant findings emerged among the interaction terms.

Table 8

Multivariate OLS Regression Predicting Absolute Victim Culpability with Two-Way Interactions Accounting for Vignette Manipulations (N = 433)

Variables	*b*	β	*t*-Ratio	sr^2
Female	0.06	0.02	0.48	0.00
Black[a]	-0.09	-0.03	-0.61	0.00
Latinx[a]	-0.57	-0.20	-4.35*	0.03
Other Race/Ethnicity[a]	0.02	0.01	0.11	0.00
Educational Attainment	0.02	0.03	0.55	0.00
Years of Service	-0.03	-0.03	-0.52	0.00
FV CFS in the Past 12 Months	-0.00	-0.00	-0.02	0.00
Higher Rank	-0.03	-0.01	-0.26	0.00
IPV Policing Processes	0.05	0.03	0.65	0.00
IPV Policing Operations	-0.01	-0.01	-0.20	0.00
Homophobia	0.06	0.07	1.53	0.00
IPV Victim Precipitation	0.22	0.13	2.08*	0.01
IPV Neutralization	0.30	0.24	3.70*	0.02
IPV Deviance	0.01	0.01	0.22	0.00

IPV Masochism	0.12	0.09	1.77+	0.00
Trauma Misperceptions	0.09	0.08	1.55	0.00
Same-Sex Couple	0.15	0.06	0.80	0.00
Trauma Response	-0.11	-0.04	-0.53	0.00
Presence of Physical Evidence	-0.30	-0.13	-1.52	0.00
Sexual Orientation x Trauma Response	0.19	0.07	0.88	0.00
Sexual Orientation x Physical Evidence	-0.05	-0.02	-0.25	0.00
Trauma Response x Physical Evidence	-0.18	-0.06	-0.88	0.00
Constant	0.57		1.25	
Model *R*	0.56			
R^2	0.31			
Adjusted R^2	0.27			
F	8.41*			

Note: a = White is the reference category, sr^2 = semipartial correlations
+$p < 0.10$, *$p < 0.05$

Stepwise Split-Sample Ordinary Least Squares Regressions

Heterosexual and Same-Sex IPV Victims

A series of stepwise split-samples OLS regression models were performed to determine if predictors of absolute victim culpability were similar across the sexual orientation of the intimate couple.

Heterosexual female IPV victims. Table 9 presents results for the multivariate OLS regression models computed to determine predictors of absolute victim culpability attributed to heterosexual female IPV victims (n = 143). The regression equation in Model 1, which estimated the effects of officer demographics on absolute victim culpability attributed to heterosexual female IPV victims, was not statistically significant, $R^2 = 0.08$, $F(5, 137) = 2.22$, $p = 0.056$. Model 2 estimated the effects of occupational characteristics on attributions of absolute victim culpability directed toward heterosexual female IPV survivors. The regression equation was not statistically significant, $R^2 = 0.01$, $F(3, 139) = 0.29$, $p = 0.831$. Importantly, the regression equation in Model 2 demonstrated a negative adjusted R^2. Model 3 regressed job role perceptions on absolute

victim culpability directed toward heterosexual female IPV victims, however the regression equation was not statistically significant, $R^2 = 0.02$, $F(2, 140) = 1.31$, $p = 0.273$. Variables that were significant, approaching significance, or within the appropriate significance level range in the aforementioned models were not retained because substantively meaningful results could not be drawn with poor model fit.[9]

[9] Negative adjusted R2 and poor model fit may be the result of small cell sizes, particularly within the race/ethnicity dummy variables. The race/ethnicity dummy variables were recoded into a binary measure (0 = White [n = 72 50.3%], 1 = Person of Color [n = 71, 49.7%]) to try and improve cell size and model fit. The regression equation, however, remained non-significant, $R^2 = 0.02$, $F(3, 139) = 0.85$, $p = 0.471$ and the adjusted R^2 was -0.00.

Table 9

Stepwise Split-Sample Multivariate OLS Regression Predicting Absolute Victim Culpability (Heterosexual Couple = 143)

	Model 1			Model 2			Model 3			Model 4			Model 5			Model 6		
Variables	***b***	**β**	***t*-Ratio**	***b***	**β**	***t*-Ratio**	***b***	**β**	***t*-Ratio**	***b***	**β**	***t*-Ratio**	***b***	**β**	***t*-Ratio**	***b***	**β**	***t*-Ratio**
Female	0.04	0.02	0.17															
Black[a]	-0.01	-0.00	-0.05															
Latinx[a]	-0.58	-0.21	-2.35**															
Other Race/Ethnicity[a]	0.39	0.11	1.26															
Educational Attainment	0.09	0.09	1.06															
Years of Service				-0.01	-0.08	-0.84												
FV CFS in the Past 12 Months				-0.04	-0.06	-0.61												
Higher Rank				-0.02	-0.01	-0.08												
IPV Policing Processes							-0.28	-0.15	-1.60+									
IPV Policing Operations							0.08	0.08	0.86									
Homophobia										0.01	0.02	0.18						
IPV Victim Precipitation										0.12	0.09	0.72						
IPV Neutralization										0.38	0.34	2.86**	0.56	0.49	6.76**	0.56	0.49	6.73**
IPV Deviance										0.04	0.04	0.40						
IPV Masochism										0.08	0.07	0.69						
Trauma Misperceptions										0.07	0.06	0.70						
Trauma Response													-0.15	-0.06	-0.88			
Presence of Physical Evidence													-0.34	-0.15	-2.03**	-0.33	-0.14	-1.99*
Constant	1.89		7.19**	2.28		8.65**	3.24		3.60**	0.62		2.05*	1.17		5.34**	1.10		6.34**
Model *R*	0.27			0.08			0.14			0.51			0.52			0.51		
R^2	0.08			0.01			0.02			0.26			0.27			0.26		
Adjusted R^2	0.04			-0.01			0.00			0.23			0.25			0.25		
F	2.22*			0.29			1.31			8.01**			16.82**			24.88**		

Note: a = White is the reference category
+$p < 0.15$, *$p < 0.10$, **$p < 0.0$

The regression equation in Model 4, which estimated the effects of police participant attitudes on attributions of absolute victim culpability directed toward heterosexual female IPV survivors, was statistically significant, $R^2 = 0.26$, $F(6, 136) = 8.01$, $p = 0.000$. Myths of IPV neutralization was a statistically significant, positive predictor of absolute victim culpability, $b = 0.38$, $t(136) = 2.86$, $p = 0.005$, indicating stronger adherence to myths of IPV neutralization produced increased attributions of absolute victim culpability directed toward heterosexual female IPV survivors. Adherence to homophobia, trauma misperceptions, and myths of IPV victim precipitation, deviance, and masochism were not statistically significant predictors of absolute victim culpability and were not retained for further analyses.

Model 5 estimated the effects of myths of IPV neutralization and experimental control (i.e., trauma response and presence of physical evidence) on absolute victim culpability attributed to heterosexual female IPV survivors. The regression equation was statistically significant, $R^2 = 0.27$, $F(3, 139) = 16.82$, $p = 0.000$. IPV neutralization remained a statistically significant, positive predictor of absolute victim culpability attributions directed toward heterosexual female IPV survivors, $b = 0.56$, $t(140) = 6.76$, $p = 0.000$. Additionally, the presence of physical evidence was a statistically significant, negative predictor of absolute victim culpability, $b = -0.34$, $t(140) = -2.03$, $p = 0.044$, suggesting that police participants attributed lower levels of absolute victim culpability to heterosexual female IPV survivors when they presented with visible physical injury, compared to no visible injury. Stereotypical trauma response was not a statistically significant predictor of absolute victim culpability and was not retained for further analyses.

Model 6 presents the results from the final model, which estimated the effects of IPV neutralization and presence of physical evidence on absolute victim culpability. The regression equation was statistically significant, $R^2 = 0.26$, $F(2, 140) = 24.88$, $p = 0.000$. IPV neutralization remained a statistically significant, positive predictor of absolute victim culpability attributions directed toward heterosexual female IPV survivors, $b = 0.56$, $t(141) = 6.73$, $p = 0.000$. Similarly, presence of physical evidence remained a statistically significant, negative predictor of absolute victim culpability attributions directed toward heterosexual female IPV survivors, $b = -0.33$, $t(141) = -1.99$, $p = 0.045$.

Same-sex IPV victims. Table 10 presents the results of the stepwise split-sample multivariate OLS regression models predicting absolute victim culpability directed toward same-sex IPV survivors ($n = 290$). Model 7 regressed officer demographics on absolute victim culpability attributions directed toward same-sex IPV survivors, and the equation was statistically significant, $R^2 = 0.06$, $F(5, 284) = 3.70$, $p = 0.003$. Latinx race/ethnicity was a statistically significant, negative predictor of absolute victim culpability, $b = -0.57$, $t(285) = -3.21$, $p = 0.002$, indicating that Latinx police participants attributed less culpability to same-sex IPV victims, compared to white police participants. Officer sex approached significance $b = -0.29$, $t(285) = -1.74$, $p = 0.082$ and was retained for additional analyses. The remaining variables were not significant predictors of absolute victim culpability directed toward same-sex IPV survivors.

Table 10

Stepwise Split-Sample Multivariate OLS Regression Predicting Absolute Victim Culpability (Same-Sex Couple = 290)

	Model 7			Model 8			Model 9			Model 10			Model 11			Model 12		
Variables	***b***	**β**	***t*-Ratio**	***b***	**β**	***t*-Ratio**	***b***	**β**	***t*-Ratio**	***b***	**β**	***t*-Ratio**	***b***	**β**	***t*-Ratio**	***b***	**β**	***t*-Ratio**
Female	-0.29	-0.10	-1.74*	-0.39	-0.14	-2.35**	-0.40	-0.14	-2.44**	-0.06	-0.02	-0.37						
Black[a]	-0.26	-0.07	-1.23															
Latinx[a]	-0.57	-0.19	-3.21**	-0.61	-0.21	-3.55**	-0.62	-0.21	-3.58**	-0.52	-0.18	-3.28**	-0.47	-0.16	-3.11**	-0.47	-0.16	-3.12**
Other Race/Ethnicity[a]	0.33	0.07	1.24															
Educational Attainment	0.01	0.01	0.11															
Years of Service				-0.01	-0.10	-1.60+	-0.01	-0.11	-1.82*	-0.01	-0.08	-1.28						
FV CFS in the Past 12 Months				-0.01	-0.01	-0.13												
Higher Rank				-0.05	-0.02	-0.29												
IPV Policing Processes							-0.03	-0.02	-0.33									
IPV Policing Operations							0.08	0.07	1.04									
Homophobia										0.08	0.09	1.56+	0.06	0.08	1.47+	0.06	0.08	1.47
IPV Victim Precipitation										0.24	0.12	1.68*	0.29	0.15	2.14**	0.29	0.15	2.15**
IPV Neutralization										0.31	0.24	3.06**	0.29	0.22	3.03**	0.29	0.22	3.05**
IPV Deviance										0.01	0.01	0.16						
IPV Masochism										0.16	0.12	1.99**	0.18	0.13	2.29**	0.18	0.13	2.29**
Trauma Misperceptions										0.10	0.08	1.32						
Trauma Response													0.01	0.00	0.07			
Presence of Physical Evidence													-0.45	-0.19	-3.62**	-0.45	-0.19	-3.64**
Constant	2.34		13.29**	2.62		14.03**	2.43		5.18**	0.73		2.44**	1.03		4.73**	1.03		4.96**
Model *R*	0.25			0.25			0.25			0.52			0.54			0.54		
R^2	0.06			0.06			0.06			0.27			0.29			0.29		
Adjusted R^2	0.05			0.04			0.05			0.24			0.27			0.27		
F	3.70**			3.62**			3.86**			11.32**			16.31**			19.09**		

Note: a = White is the reference category

+$p < 0.15$, *$p < 0.10$, **$p < 0.05$

Model 8 estimated the effects of officer sex, Latinx race/ethnicity, and occupational characteristics on absolute victim culpability directed toward same-sex IPV survivors. The regression equation was statistically significant, $R^2 = 0.06$, $F(5, 284) = 3.62$, $p = 0.003$. Officer sex was a statistically significant, negative predictor of absolute victim culpability, $b = -0.39$, $t(285) = -2.35$, $p = 0.020$, such that female police participants, compared to male police participants, attributed lower levels of absolute victim culpability to same-sex IPV survivors. Latinx remained a statistically significant, negative predictor of absolute victim culpability, $b = -0.61$, $t(285) = -3.55$, $p = 0.000$. The significance level of years of service fell within the appropriate range, $b = -0.01$, $t(285) = -1.60$, $p = 0.111$, and was retained for the next multivariate OLS regression model. Officer sex,

Latinx race/ethnicity, years of service, and job role perceptions were regressed on absolute victim culpability attributions directed toward same-sex IPV survivors in Model 9. The regression equation was statistically significant, $R^2 = 0.06$, $F(5, 284) = 3.86$, $p = 0.002$. Officer sex remained a statistically significant, negative predictor of absolute victim culpability $b = -0.40$, $t(285) = -2.44$, $p = 0.015$. Latinx race/ethnicity remained a statistically significant, negative predictor of absolute victim culpability, $b = -0.62$, $t(285) = -3.58$, $p = 0.000$. Years of service approached significance, $b = -0.01$, $t(285) = -1.82$, $p = 0.069$, and was retained for the next OLS regression model. Job role perceptions, measured as policing processes and policing operations, were not statistically significant predictors of absolute victim culpability attributions directed toward same-sex IPV survivors.

The regression equation in Model 10, which estimated the effects of office sex, Latinx race/ethnicity, years of service, and attitudinal variables on absolute victim culpability, was statistically significant, $R^2 = 0.27$, $F(9, 280) = 11.32$, $p = 0.000$. Latinx race/ethnicity remained a statistically significant, negative predictor of absolute victim culpability, $b = -0.52$, $t(282) = -3.28$, $p = 0.001$. IPV neutralization was a statistically significant, positive predictor of absolute victim culpability, $b = 0.31$, $t(282) = 3.06$, $p = 0.002$, suggesting stronger adherence to myths of IPV neutralization increased absolute victim culpability attributions directed toward same-sex IPV survivors. IPV masochism was statistically significant, positive predictor of absolute victim culpability, $b = 0.16$, $t(282) = 1.99$, $p = 0.048$, indicating stronger adherence to myths of IPV masochism increased absolute victim culpability attributions directed toward same-sex IPV survivors. IPV victim precipitation approached significance, $b = 0.244$, $t(282) = 1.68$, $p = 0.094$, and the significance level of homophobia fell within the appropriate range, $b = 0.08$, $t(282) = -1.56$, $p = 0.120$, therefore they were retained for the next OLS regression model. Officer sex, years of service, IPV deviance, and trauma misperceptions were not statistically significant.

Model 11 regressed Latinx race/ethnicity, homophobia, IPV victim precipitation, IPV neutralization, IPV masochism, and the experimental conditions on absolute victim culpability, and the regression equation was significant, $R^2 = 0.29$, $F(7, 282) = 16.31$, $p = 0.000$. Latinx race/ethnicity remained a statistically significant, negative predictor of absolute victim culpability, $b = -0.47$, $t(283) = -3.11$, $p = 0.002$. IPV neutralization, $b = 0.29$, $t(283) = 3.03$, $p = 0.003$, and IPV masochism, $b = 0.18$, $t(283) = 2.29$, $p = 0.023$, also remained statistically significant, positive predictors of absolute victim culpability.

IPV victim precipitation was now a statistically significant, positive predictor of absolute victim culpability, $b = 0.29$, $t(283) = 2.14$, $p = 0.033$, such that stronger adherence to myths of IPV victim precipitation increased attributions of absolute victim culpability directed toward same-sex survivors. Presence of physical evidence was a statistically significant, negative predictors of absolute victim culpability, $b = -0.45$, $t(283) = -3.63$, $p = 0.000$, indicating police participants attributed lower levels of absolute victim culpability to same-sex victims when they presented with visible physical injury, compared to no physical injury. Homophobia remained within the acceptable range, $b = 0.06$, $t(283) = 1.47$, $p = 0.143$, and was retained for the final model. Stereotypical trauma response was not statistically significant.

The final model, which estimated the effects of Latinx race/ethnicity, homophobia, IPV victim precipitation, IPV neutralization, IPV masochism, and physical evidence on absolute victim culpability. The regression equation was statistically significant, $R^2 = 0.29$, $F(7, 282) = 16.31$, $p = 0.000$ (see Table 10, Model 12). Latinx race/ethnicity remained a statistically significant, negative predictor of absolute victim culpability, $b = -0.47$, $t(284) = -3.12$, $p = 0.043$, such that Latinx police participants attributed less absolute victim culpability toward same-sex IPV survivors, compared to White police participants. IPV victim precipitation remained a statistically significant, positive predictor of absolute victim culpability, $b = 0.29$, $t(283) = 2.15$, $p = 0.033$, indicating stronger adherence to myths of IPV victim precipitation produced increased attributions of absolute victim culpability directed toward same-sex IPV survivors. IPV neutralization remained a statistically significant, positive predictor of absolute victim culpability, $b = 0.29$, $t(283) = 3.05$, $p = 0.003$), suggesting that stronger adherence to

myths of IPV neutralization increased absolute victim culpability attributions directed toward same-sex IPV survivors. IPV masochism also remained a statistically significant, positive predictor of absolute victim culpability, $b = 0.18$, $t(283) = 2.29$, $p = 0.023$), indicating that stronger adherence to myths of IPV masochism produced increased attributions of absolute victim culpability directed toward same-sex IPV survivors. Finally, presence of physical evidence remained a statistically significant, negative predictor of absolute victim culpability, $b = -0.45$, $t(283) = -3.64$, $p = 0.000$, such that police participants attributed lower levels of absolute victim culpability to same-sex IPV victims when they presented with visible physical injury, compared to no physical injury. Homophobia was not a statistically significant in the final model.

Female and Male Same-Sex IPV Victims

A series of stepwise split-samples multivariate OLS regression models were conducted to disentangle police participants attributions of absolute victim culpability directed toward FSS and MSS IPV survivors.

Female same-sex IPV victims. Table 11 presents the results of the stepwise split-sample multivariate OLS regression models predicting absolute victim culpability directed toward FSS IPV survivors ($n = 140$). Model 13 estimated the effects of officer demographics on absolute victim culpability. The regression equation was statistically significant, $R^2 = 0.10$, $F(5, 134) = 3.00$, $p = 0.013$. Latinx race/ethnicity was a statistically significant, negative predictor of absolute victim culpability, $b = -0.77$, $t(135) = -3.25$, $p = 0.001$, indicating that Latinx police participants attributed less culpability to FSS IPV victims, compared to White police participants. Officer education was a statistically significant, negative predictor of absolute victim culpability, $b = -0.17$, $t(135) = -2.12$, p

= 0.036, suggesting higher educational attainment produced lower attributions of absolute victim culpability directed toward FSS IPV survivors. The remaining measures of officer demographics were not statistically significant.

Table 11

Stepwise Split-Sample Multivariate OLS Regression Predicting Absolute Victim Culpability (Female Same-Sex Couple = 140)

	Model 13			Model 14			Model 15			Model 16			Model 17			Model 18		
Variables	***b***	**β**	***t*-Ratio**	***b***	**β**	***t*-Ratio**	***b***	**β**	***t*-Ratio**	***b***	**β**	***t*-Ratio**	***b***	**β**	***t*-Ratio**	***b***	**β**	***t*-Ratio**
Female	-0.06	-0.03	-0.26															
Black[a]	-0.22	-0.07	-0.76															
Latinx[a]	-0.77	-0.28	-3.25**	-0.78	-0.28	-3.26**	-0.75	-0.27	-3.29**	-0.59	-0.22	-2.84**	-0.55	-0.20	-2.86**	-0.53	-0.19	-2.77**
Other Race/Ethnicity[a]	0.22	0.05	0.53															
Educational Attainment	-0.17	-0.18	-2.12**	-0.17	-0.19	-2.13**	-0.18	-0.19	-2.31**	-0.08	-0.09	-1.18						
Years of Service				-0.00	-0.03	-0.29												
FV CFS in the Past 12 Months				0.06	0.08	0.94												
Higher Rank				0.03	0.01	0.23												
IPV Policing Processes							0.13	0.12	1.10									
IPV Policing Operations							-0.04	-0.04	-0.33									
Homophobia										0.04	0.05	0.65						
IPV Victim Precipitation										0.45	0.22	2.21**	0.54	0.26	2.72**	0.51	0.25	2.58**
IPV Neutralization										0.31	0.25	2.40**	0.33	0.26	2.66**	0.35	0.28	2.86**
IPV Deviance										0.07	0.06	0.74						
IPV Masochism										0.16	0.12	1.54+	0.15	0.11	1.47+	0.17	0.13	1.67
Trauma Misperceptions										0.02	0.01	0.18						
Trauma Response													-0.20	-0.09	-1.26			
Presence of Physical Evidence													-0.22	-0.09	-1.32			
Constant	2.71		11.04**	2.68		7.46**	2.14		3.93**	0.66		1.67*	0.86		3.26**	0.62		2.68**
Model *R*	0.32			0.32			0.32			0.60			0.61			0.59		
R^2	0.10			0.10			0.10			0.37			0.37			0.35		
Adjusted R^2	0.07			0.07			0.08			0.33			0.34			0.33		
F	3.00**			3.00**			3.84**			9.57**			13.02**			18.50**		

Note: a = White is the reference category

+$p < 0.15$, *$p < 0.10$, **$p < 0.05$

The regression equation in Model 14 was statistically significant, $R^2 = 0.10$, $F(5, 134) = 3.00$, $p = 0.013$, which regressed Latinx race/ethnicity, educational attainment, and occupational characteristics on absolute victim culpability. Latinx race/ethnicity remained a statistically significant, negative predictor of absolute victim culpability, $b = -0.78$, $t(135) = -3.26$, $p = 0.001$. Similarly, educational attainment remained a statistically significant, negative predictor of absolute victim culpability, $b = -0.17$, $t(135) = -2.13$, $p = 0.035$. Occupational characteristics were not statistically significant and were not retained for further analyses.

Model 15 estimated the effects of Latinx race/ethnicity, educational attainment, and job role perceptions on absolute victim culpability. The regression equation was statistically significant, $R^2 = 0.10$, $F(4, 134) = 3.84$, $p = 0.005$. Latinx race/ethnicity, $b = -0.75$, $t(136) = -3.29$, $p = 0.001$, and educational attainment, $b = -0.18$, $t(136) = -2.31$, $p = 0.023$, remained statistically significant, negative predictors of absolute victim culpability.

Latinx race/ethnicity, educational attainment, and attitudinal variables were regressed on absolute victim culpability in Model 16. The regression equation was statistically significant, $R^2 = 0.37$, $F(8, 131) = 9.47$, $p = 0.000$. Educational attainment was no longer statistically significant. Latinx race/ethnicity remained a statistically significant, negative predictor of absolute victim culpability, $b = -0.59$, $t(132) = -2.84$, $p = 0.005$. IPV victim precipitation was a statistically significant, positive predictor of absolute victim culpability, $b = 0.45$, $t(132) = 2.21$, $p = 0.029$, suggesting stronger adherence to myths of IPV victim precipitation produced increased attributions of absolute victim culpability directed toward FSS IPV survivors. IPV neutralization was a

statistically significant, positive predictor of absolute victim culpability, $b = 0.31$, $t(132) = 2.40$, $p = 0.018$, such that stronger adherence to myths of IPV neutralization produced increased attributions of absolute victim culpability directed toward FSS IPV survivors. IPV masochism fell within the acceptable range, $b = 0.16$, $t(132) = 1.54$, $p = 0.126$, and was retained for the next model. The remaining variables were not statistically significant.

The regression equation in Model 17, which estimated the effects of Latinx race/ethnicity, the retained attitudinal variables, and experimental conditions on absolute victim culpability, was statistically significant, $R^2 = 0.37$, $F(6, 133) = 13.02$, $p = 0.000$. Latinx race/ethnicity remained a statistically significant, negative predictor of absolute victim culpability, $b = -0.55$, $t(134) = -2.86$, $p = 0.005$. Related, IPV victim precipitation, $b = 0.54$, $t(134) = 2.72$, $p = 0.007$, and IPV neutralization, $b = 0.33$, $t(134) = 2.66$, $p = 0.009$, remained statistically significant, positive predictors of absolute victim culpability. IPV masochism fell within the acceptable range and was retained for the final model, $b = 0.15$, $t(132) = 1.47$, $p = 0.144$. Stereotypical trauma response and presence of physical evidence were not retained because they were not statistically significant.

Model 18 was the final model and estimated the effects of Latinx race/ethnicity, IPV victim precipitation, IPV neutralization, and IPV masochism on absolute victim culpability. The regression equation was statistically significant, $R^2 = 0.35$, $F(4, 135) = 18.46$, $p = 0.000$. Latinx race/ethnicity remained a statistically significant, negative predictor of absolute victim culpability, $b = -0.53$, $t(136) = -2.77$, $p = 0.006$, such that Latinx police participants attributed less absolute victim culpability toward FSS IPV survivors, compared to White police participants. IPV victim precipitation remained a

statistically significant, positive predictor of absolute victim culpability, $b = 0.51$, $t(136) = 2.58$, $p = 0.011$, indicating stronger adherence to myths of IPV victim precipitation produced increased attributions of absolute victim culpability directed toward FSS IPV survivors. IPV neutralization also remained a statistically significant, positive predictor of absolute victim culpability, $b = 0.35$, $t(136) = 2.86$, $p = 0.005$, suggesting stronger adherence to myths of IPV neutralization produced increased attributions of absolute victim culpability directed toward FSS IPV survivors. The remaining measure was not significant.

Male same-sex IPV victims. The results of the stepwise split-sample multivariate OLS regression models predicting absolute victim culpability directed toward MSS IPV survivors ($n = 150$) are presented in Table 12. The regression equation in Model 19, which estimated the effects of officer demographics on absolute victim culpability, was statistically significant, $R^2 = 0.08$, $F(5, 144) = 2.62$, $p = 0.027$. While no measures were statistically significant, Officer sex, $b = -0.47$, $t(145) = -1.97$, $p = 0.051$, and educational attainment, $b = 0.16$, $t(145) = 1.95$, $p = 0.054$, approached significance and were retained. Additionally, Latinx race/ethnicity, $b = -0.44$, $t(145) = -1.65$, $p = 0.101$, fell within the appropriate significance range and was retained for the next model.

Table 12

Stepwise Split-Sample Multivariate OLS Regression Predicting Absolute Victim Culpability (Male Same-Sex Couple = 150)

	Model 19			Model 20			Model 21			Model 22			Model 23			Model 24		
Variables	***b***	**β**	***t*-Ratio**	***b***	**β**	***t*-Ratio**	***b***	**β**	***t*-Ratio**	***b***	**β**	***t*-Ratio**	***b***	**β**	***t*-Ratio**	***b***	**β**	***t*-Ratio**
Female	-0.47	-0.16	-1.97*	-0.57	-0.20	-2.42**	-0.57	-0.20	-2.40**	-0.11	-0.04	-0.43						
Black[a]	-0.29	-0.08	-0.96															
Latinx[a]	-0.44	-0.14	-1.65+	-0.41	-0.13	-1.63+	-0.43	-0.14	-1.70*	-0.43	-0.14	-1.79*	-0.32	-0.10	-1.43			
Other Race/Ethnicity[a]	0.30	0.07	0.86															
Educational Attainment	0.16	0.16	1.95*	0.19	0.19	2.11**	0.18	0.18	2.18**	0.13	0.13	1.68*	0.12	0.12	1.62*	0.11	0.11	1.55
Years of Service				-0.02	-0.12	-1.32												
FV CFS in the Past 12 Months				-0.06	-0.07	-0.86												
Higher Rank				-0.28	-0.11	-1.17												
IPV Policing Processes							-0.25	-0.14	-1.57+	-0.06	-0.03	-0.44						
IPV Policing Operations							0.16	0.13	1.42									
Homophobia										0.11	0.13	1.53+	0.08	0.09	1.24			
IPV Victim Precipitation										-0.02	-0.01	-0.09						
IPV Neutralization										0.33	0.24	1.99**	0.28	0.20	2.28**	0.29	0.21	2.40**
IPV Deviance										-0.06	-0.05	-0.47						
IPV Masochism										0.19	0.14	1.46+	0.22	0.17	1.86*	0.23	0.17	1.93
Trauma Misperceptions										0.25	0.19	2.14**	0.23	0.17	2.29**	0.23	0.17	2.32**
Trauma Response													0.15	0.06	0.83			
Presence of Physical Evidence													-0.64	-0.25	-3.50**	-0.72	-0.28	-3.98**
Constant	2.05		8.27**	2.43		6.58**	2.66		3.43**	0.54		0.65	0.47		1.16	0.72		2.04**
Model *R*	0.29			0.32			0.30			0.49			0.55			0.53		
R^2	0.08			0.10			0.09			0.24			0.30			0.28		
Adjusted R^2	0.05			0.07			0.06			0.19			0.26			0.25		
F	2.62**			2.73**			2.84**			4.38**			7.58**			11.17**		

Note: a = White is the reference category

+$p < 0.15$, *$p < 0.10$, **$p < 0.05$

Model 20 regressed the retained officer demographics and occupational characteristics on absolute victim culpability. The regression equation was statistically significant, $R^2 = 0.10$, $F(6, 143) = 2.73$, $p = 0.015$. Officer sex was now a statistically significant, negative predictor of absolute victim credibility, $b = -0.57$, $t(144) = -2.42$, $p = 0.017$, such that female police participants, compared to male police participants, attributed less absolute victim culpability to MSS IPV survivors. Educational attainment was a statistically significant, positive predictor of absolute victim culpability, $b = 0.19$, $t(144) = 2.11$, $p = 0.037$, suggesting higher educational attainment produced lower attributions of absolute victim culpability directed toward MSS IPV survivors. Latinx race/ethnicity approached statistical significance, $b = -0.41$, $t(144) = -1.63$, $p = 0.105$, and was retained. Measures of occupational characteristics were not statistically significant.

The retained officer demographics and job role perceptions were regressed on absolute victim culpability in Model 21. The regression model was statistically significant, $R^2 = 0.09$, $F(5, 144) = 2.84$, $p = 0.018$. Officer sex, $b = -0.57$, $t(145) = -2.40$, $p = 0.018$, and educational attainment, $b = 0.18$, $t(145) = 2.18$, $p = 0.031$, remained statistically significant. Additionally, Latinx race/ethnicity, $b = -0.43$, $t(145) = -1.70$, $p = 0.091$, and IPV policing processes, $b = -0.25$, $t(145) = -1.57$, $p = 0.120$, were retained because they fell within the acceptable significance level.

The regression equation in Model 22, which estimated the effects of officer sex, Latinx race/ethnicity, educational attainment, IPV policing processes, and attitudinal variables on absolute victim culpability, was statistically significant, $R^2 = 0.24$, $F(10, 139) = 4.38$, $p = 0.000$. Officer sex and IPV policing processes were no longer statistically significant. Educational attainment was no longer statistically significant,

however, it approached significance and was retained, $b = 0.13$, $t(140) = 1.68$, $p = 0.095$. Latinx race/ethnicity continued to approach significance, $b = -0.43$, $t(140) = -1.79$, $p = 0.076$, and was retained. IPV neutralization was a statistically significant, positive predictor of absolute victim culpability, $b = 0.33$, $t(140) = 1.99$, $p = 0.049$, suggesting stronger adherence to myths of IPV neutralization produced increased attributions of absolute victim culpability directed toward MSS IPV survivors. Trauma misconceptions was a statistically significant, positive predictor of absolute victim culpability, $b = 0.25$, $t(140) = 2.14$, $p = 0.035$, indicating stronger adherence to trauma misconceptions increased attributions of absolute victim culpability directed toward MSS IPV survivors. Homophobia, $b = 0.11$, $t(140) = 1.53$, $p = 0.128$, and IPV masochism, $b = 0.19$, $t(140) = 1.46$, $p = 0.148$, fell within the acceptable significance range and were retained. The remaining attitudinal measures were not significant.

Model 23 regressed Latinx race/ethnicity, educational attainment, homophobia, IPV neutralization, IPV masochism, trauma misperceptions, and the experimental conditions on absolute victim culpability. The regression equation was statistically significant, $R^2 = 0.30$, $F(8, 141) = 7.58$, $p = 0.000$. IPV neutralization remained a statistically significant, positive predictor of absolute victim culpability, $b = 0.28$, $t(142) = 2.28$, $p = 0.024$. Trauma misperceptions also remained a statistically significant, positive predictor of absolute victim culpability $b = 0.23$, $t(142) = 2.28$, $p = 0.024$. Presence of physical evidence was a statistically significant, negative predictor of absolute victim culpability, $b = -0.64$, $t(142) = -3.50$, $p = 0.001$, suggesting that police participants attributed less absolute victim culpability to MSS IPV victims who presented with visible physical injury, compared to no visible injury. IPV masochism approached

significance, $b = 0.22$, $t(142) = 1.86$, $p = 0.065$, and was retained. Educational attainment fell within the acceptable significance range, $b = 0.12$, $t(142) = 1.62$, $p = 0.108$, and was retained for the final model. The remaining measures were not statistically significant and were not retained for further analysis.

Model 24, the final model, estimated the effects of educational attainment, IPV neutralization, IPV masochism, trauma misperceptions, and physical evidence on absolute victim culpability. The regression equation was statistically significant, $R^2 = 0.28$, $F(5, 144) = 11.17$, $p = 0.000$. IPV neutralization remained a statistically significant, positive predictor of absolute victim culpability, $b = 0.29$, $t(145) = 2.40$, $p = 0.018$, suggesting stronger adherence to myths of IPV neutralization produced increased attributions of absolute victim culpability directed toward MSS IPV survivors. Trauma misperceptions remained a statistically significant, positive predictor of absolute victim culpability, $b = 0.23$, $t(145) = 2.32$, $p = 0.022$, indicating stronger adherence to trauma misconceptions produced increased attributions of absolute victim culpability directed toward MSS IPV survivors. Finally, presence physical evidence remained a statistically significant, negative predictor of absolute victim culpability, $b = -0.72$, $t(145) = -3.98$, $p = 0.000$, suggesting that police participants attributed less absolute victim culpability to MSS IPV victims who presented with visible physical injury, compared to no visible injury. Educational attainment and IPV masochism were not statistically significant.

Paternoster's Coefficient Comparison

Coefficient comparisons were computed to determine significant differences between the variables in the stepwise split-sample OLS regression models for heterosexual and same-sex couples. Specifically, coefficient comparisons were computed

for IPV neutralization of violence and presence of physical evidence because these variables were significant in the final heterosexual and same-sex models. Results from the coefficient comparisons suggested the effect of IPV neutralization of violence myths significantly differed across groups ($z = 2.10$, $p < 0.05$). The coefficient comparison test for presence of physical evidence was not significant ($z = 0.58$, $p > 0.05$). Additionally, coefficient comparisons were computed to determine significant differences between variables in the stepwise split-sample OLS regression models for FSS and MSS couples. While IPV neutralization of violence myths were significant predictors of absolute culpability for female and male same-sex victims, the coefficient comparison test was not significant ($z = 0.36$, $p > 0.05$) suggesting the effect was not statistically different across groups.

Supplemental Analyses

Supplemental analyses were conducted to account for victim culpability relative to their perpetrator counterparts. Statistical analyses were conducted to address the same six research questions of the current study with regard to relative victim culpability attributions.

Relative Culpability Attributions

The same three absolute culpability attribution variables were calculated for the perpetrator. Responses were captured on a 6-point, Likert-type scale from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 6 (*strongly agree*). The three items were subjected to exploratory factor analysis (EFA) with maximum likelihood estimation (MLE) and varimax rotation (Gorsuch, 1983; Osborne, 2015), which produced one factor with an eigenvalue greater than 1, accounting for 91.19% of the variance. Factor loadings ranged from .939 to .965,

items were added together, mean scores were calculated, and higher scores indicated stronger perpetrator culpability attributions. Mean values for the three items ranged from 4.84 to 4.92 and standard deviations ranged from 1.40 to 1.47 indicating adequate variability. Internal reliability for the scale was excellent ($\alpha = .968$). Appendix H presents the perpetrator culpability items and factor loadings.

Once the perpetrator culpability scale was computed, a relative culpability attribution score was calculated. A value of 0 equates to equal levels of culpability attributed to the victim and perpetrator (i.e., the same level of culpability was attributed to the victim as the perpetrator). Negative values reflect stronger attributions of culpability toward the perpetrator while positive values reflect stronger attributions of culpability toward the victim.

Univariate Statistics

On average, participants attributed less culpability to the victim relative to the perpetrator ($M = -2.77$, $SD = 2.01$, range = -5.00 – 3.33).

Bivariate Analyses

A t-test and ANOVA were computed to determine significant associations between variables of interest.

***T*-test and ANOVA**. An independent samples *t*-test and ANOVA were estimated to assess the relation between relative culpability and the sexual orientation of the intimate couple portrayed in the IPV vignette. Table 13 presents the results of the independent samples *t*-test and demonstrates there was not a significant relation between the sexual orientation of the couple and relative culpability, $t(431) = -0.75$, $p = 0.45$.

Table 13

T-Test Examining Relative Culpability and Sexual Orientation

	Heterosexual Couple (N = 143)		Same-Sex Couple (N = 290)		
	M	*SD*	*M*	*SD*	*t*-test
Relative Victim Culpability	-2.87	2.00	-2.72	2.02	-0.75

A one-way ANOVA was conducted to examine mean levels of relative culpability across different types of intimate relationships (i.e., heterosexual, FSS, and MSS couples). Results from the one-way ANOVA and indicates mean levels of relative culpability were not significantly different across different types of intimate relationships, $F(2, 430) = 0.96$, $p = 0.38$.

Full Sample Multivariate Ordinary Least Squares Regressions

Table 14 presents the results of the multivariate OLS regression model predicting attributions of relative culpability. IPV victim precipitation was a statistically significant, positive predictor of relative culpability, $b = 0.44$, $t(413) = 2.24$, $p = 0.03$, suggesting stronger adherence to myths of IPV victim precipitation produced increased attributions of relative culpability toward IPV survivors. Presence of physical evidence was a statistically significant, negative predictor of relative culpability, $b = -0.79$, $t(413) = -4.33$, $p = 0.000$, indicating that police participants attributed greater levels of culpability toward IPV perpetrators when IPV victims presented with visible physical injury, compared to no visible injury. Semipartial correlations were calculated to further clarify these relations. Approximately 1% of the unique variance in relative culpability attributions was accounted for by myths of IPV victim precipitation. Finally, 3% of the unique variance in relative culpability attributions was accounted for by presence of physical evidence.

Table 14

Multivariate OLS Regression Predicting Relative Culpability (N = 433)

Variables	*b*	β	*t*-Ratio	sr^2
Female	0.08	0.02	0.34	0.00
Black	0.16	0.03	0.59	0.00
Latinx	-0.46	-0.09	-1.92+	0.01
Other Race/Ethnicity	0.38	0.06	1.14	0.00
Educational Attainment	-0.02	-0.01	-0.21	0.00
Years of Service	-0.00	-0.02	-0.32	0.00
FV CFS in the Past 12 Months	0.05	0.04	0.75	0.00
Higher Rank	0.07	0.02	0.33	0.00
IPV Policing Processes	0.11	0.04	0.80	0.00
IPV Policing Operations	0.06	0.03	0.56	0.00
Homophobia	0.11	0.08	1.50	0.00
IPV Victim Precipitation	0.44	0.16	2.24*	0.01
IPV Neutralization	0.24	0.12	1.61	0.00
IPV Deviance	0.00	0.00	0.04	0.00
IPV Masochism	0.09	0.04	0.73	0.00
Trauma Misperceptions	0.08	0.04	0.74	0.00
Same-Sex Couple	0.30	0.07	1.52	0.00
Trauma Response	0.06	0.02	0.35	0.00
Presence of Physical Evidence	-0.79	-0.20	-4.33*	0.04
Constant	-5.21*		1.18	
Model *R*	0.42			
R^2	0.17			
Adjusted R^2	0.14			
F	4.58*			

Note: a = White is the reference category, sr^2 = semipartial correlations
$+p < 0.10$, $*p < 0.05$

Table 15 presents the results of the full sample OLS regression moderation analyses that include two-way interaction terms accounting for officer sex and attitudes. The regression equation was significant, $R^2 = 0.19$, $F(25, 407) = 3.73$, $p = 0.000$, however no significant findings emerged among the interaction terms.

Table 15

Multivariate OLS Regression Predicting Relative Culpability with Two-Way Interactions Accounting for Officer Sex and Attitudes (N = 433)

Variables	*b*	β	*t*-Ratio	sr^2
Female	-1.33	-0.29	-1.65+	0.00
Black[a]	0.15	0.03	0.52	0.00
Latinx[a]	-0.45	-0.09	-1.90+	0.01

Other Race/Ethnicity[a]	0.41	0.06	1.21	0.00
Educational Attainment	-0.01	-0.01	-0.13	0.00
Years of Service	-0.00	-0.01	-0.26	0.00
FV CFS in the Past 12 Months	0.04	0.03	0.57	0.00
Higher Rank	0.02	0.01	0.11	0.00
IPV Policing Processes	0.12	0.05	0.86	0.00
IPV Policing Operations	0.05	0.02	0.43	0.00
Homophobia	010	0.07	1.21	0.00
IPV Victim Precipitation	0.36	0.13	1.61	0.00
IPV Neutralization	0.30	0.14	1.69+	0.01
IPV Deviance	-0.09	-0.05	-0.73	0.00
IPV Masochism	-0.14	0.07	1.04	0.00
Trauma Misperceptions	0.03	0.01	0.22	0.01
Same-Sex Couple	0.29	0.07	1.44	0.00
Trauma Response	0.12	0.03	0.64	0.00
Presence of Physical Evidence	-0.80	-0.20	-4.38*	0.04
Female x Homophobia	0.08	0.04	0.43	0.00
Female x IPV Victim Precipitation	0.50	0.15	1.02	0.00
Female x IPV Neutralization	-0.25	-0.10	-0.74	0.00
Female x IPV Deviance	-/28	0.17	1.14	0.00
Female x IPV Masochism	-0.20	-0.07	-0.59	0.00
Female x Trauma Misperceptions	0.23	0.14	0.89	0.00
Constant	-4.85		-5.80*	
Model *R*	0.43			
R^2	0.19			
Adjusted R^2	0.14			
F	3.73*			

Note: a = White is the reference category, sr^2 = semipartial correlations
+$p < 0.10$, *$p < 0.05$

Table 16 presents the results of the full sample OLS regression moderation analyses that include two-way interaction terms accounting for the three vignettes. Again, the regression model was significant $R^2 = 0.17$, $F(22, 410) = 3.94$, $p = 0.000$, though results indicated no significant moderating effects based on the interaction terms included in the analysis.

Table 16

Multivariate OLS Regression Predicting Relative Culpability with Two-Way Interactions Accounting for Vignette Manipulations (N = 433)

Variables	***b***	**β**	***t*-Ratio**	sr^2
Female	0.09	0.02	0.35	0.00
Black[a]	0.17	0.03	0.59	0.00
Latinx[a]	-0.46	-0.09	-1.93+	0.01
Other Race/Ethnicity[a]	0.38	0.05	1.12	0.00

Educational Attainment	-0.02	-0.01	-0.19	0.00
Years of Service	-0.00	-0.02	-0.32	0.00
FV CFS in the Past 12 Months	0.05	0.04	0.76	0.00
Higher Rank	0.07	0.02	0.33	0.00
IPV Policing Processes	0.11	0.04	0.82	0.00
IPV Policing Operations	0.06	0.03	0.52	0.00
Homophobia	0.11	0.08	1.51	0.00
IPV Victim Precipitation	0.45	0.16	2.25*	0.01
IPV Neutralization	0.24	0.12	1.61	0.00
IPV Deviance	0.00	0.00	0.03	0.00
IPV Masochism	0.09	0.04	0.71	0.00
Trauma Misperceptions	0.08	0.04	0.74	0.00
Same-Sex Couple	0.21	0.05	0.61	0.00
Trauma Response	0.01	0.00	0.01	0.00
Presence of Physical Evidence	-0.89	-0.22	-2.43*	0.01
Sexual Orientation x Trauma Response	0.06	0.02	0.17	0.00
Sexual Orientation x Physical Evidence	0.12	0.03	0.31	0.00
Trauma Response x Physical Evidence	0.03	0.01	0.08	0.00
Constant	-5.16		-6.18*	
Model R	0.42			
R^2	0.17			
Adjusted R^2	0.13			
F	3.94*			

Note: a = White is the reference category, sr^2 = semipartial correlations
$+p < 0.10$, $*p < 0.05$

Stepwise Split-Sample Ordinary Least Squares Regressions

A series of stepwise split-samples OLS regression models were performed to determine if predictors of relative culpability were similar across heterosexual and same-sex intimate couples. To further disentangle relations between predictor variables and relative culpability, same-sex couples were separated into FSS and MSS groups.

Heterosexual and same-sex IPV victims. A series of stepwise split-samples OLS regression models were performed to determine if predictors of relative culpability were similar across the sexual orientation of the intimate couple.

Heterosexual female IPV victims. Table 17 presents the results for the multivariate OLS regression models computed to determine predictors of relative culpability attributed to heterosexual female IPV victims (n = 143). The regression

equation in Model 25, which estimated the effects of officer demographics on relative culpability attributed to heterosexual female IPV victims, was not statistically significant, $R^2 = 0.03$, $F(5, 137) = 0.86$, $p = 0.511$. Additionally, the adjusted R^2 was negative. Model 26 estimated the effects of occupational characteristics on attributions of relative victim culpability directed toward heterosexual female IPV survivors. The regression equation was not statistically significant, $R^2 = 0.00$, $F(3, 139) = 0.15$, $p = 0.930$, and the adjusted R^2 was negative. Model 27 regressed job role perceptions on relative culpability directed toward heterosexual female IPV victims, however the regression equation was not statistically significant, $R^2 = 0.01$, $F(2, 140) = 0.77$, $p = 0.467$. Similar to Models 25 and 26, the adjusted R^2 was negative. Due to poor model fit, substantively meaningful results could not be interpreted and variables were not retained for further analysis.

Table 17

Stepwise Split-Sample Multivariate OLS Regression Predicting Relative Culpability (Heterosexual Couple = 143)

	Model 25			Model 26			Model 27			Model 28			Model 29			Model 30		
Variables	***b***	**β**	***t*-Ratio**	***b***	**β**	***t*-Ratio**	***b***	**β**	***t*-Ratio**	***b***	**β**	***t*-Ratio**	***b***	**β**	***t*-Ratio**	***b***	**β**	***t*-Ratio**
Female	0.29	0.06	0.71															
Black[a]	0.25	0.05	0.52															
Latinx[a]	-0.18	-0.04	-0.40															
Other Race/Ethnicity[a]	0.91	0.14	1.62+															
Educational Attainment	0.07	0.04	0.50															
Years of Service				0.01	0.02	0.26												
FV CFS in the Past 12 Months				0.04	0.03	0.35												
Higher Rank				-0.20	-0.05	-0.57												
IPV Policing Processes							-0.12	-0.04	-0.39									
IPV Policing Operations							0.21	0.11	1.23									
Homophobia										-0.07	-0.05	-0.56						
IPV Victim Precipitation										0.23	0.10	0.70						
IPV Neutralization										0.33	0.17	1.30						
IPV Deviance										-0.11	-0.06	-0.56						
IPV Masochism										0.14	0.07	0.66						
Trauma Misperceptions										0.20	0.10	1.05						
Trauma Response													0.10	0.02	0.29			
Presence of Physical Evidence													-0.82	-0.21	-2.49**	-0.83	-0.21	-2.52**
Constant	-3.25		-6.93**	-2.93		-6.35**	-3.12		-1.98*	-4.22		-7.27**	-2.51		-8.73**	-2.46		-10.63**
Model *R*	0.17			0.06			0.10			0.32			0.21			0.21		
R^2	0.03			0.00			0.01			0.10			0.04			0.04		
Adjusted R^2	-0.01			-0.02			-0.00			0.06			0.03			0.04		
F	0.86			0.15			0.77			2.55**			3.19**			6.34**		

Note: a = White is the reference category
+$p < 0.15$, *$p < 0.10$, **$p < 0.05$

The regression equation in Model 28, which estimated the effects of attitudinal variables on relative culpability, was statistically significant, $R^2 = 0.10$, $F(6, 136) = 2.55$, $p = 0.023$. None of the attitudinal variables were statistically significant. Model 29 estimated the effects of the experimental conditions on relative culpability, and the regression equation was statistically significant, $R^2 = 0.04$, $F(2, 140) = 3.19$, $p = 0.044$. Presence of physical evidence was a statistically significant, negative predictor of relative culpability, $b = -0.82$, $t(141) = -2.49$, $p = 0.014$, indicating that police participants attributed greater levels of culpability to IPV perpetrators when heterosexual female IPV victims presented with visible physical injury, compared to no visible injury. The only variable included in Model 30, which was the final model, was presence of physical evidence. The regression equation was statistically significant, $R^2 = 0.04$, $F(1, 141) = 6.34$, $p = 0.013$. Presence of physical evidence remained a statistically significant, negative predictor of relative culpability directed toward heterosexual female IPV survivors, $b = -0.83$, $t(142) = -2.52$, $p = 0.013$.

Same-sex IPV victims. Table 18 presents the results of the stepwise split-sample multivariate OLS regression models predicting relative culpability directed toward same-sex IPV survivors ($n = 290$). Model 31 estimated the effects of officer demographics on relative culpability, but the regression equation was not statistically significant, $R^2 = 0.04$, $F(5, 284) = 2.20$, $p = 0.055$. The regression equation in Model 32, which estimated the effects of occupational characteristics on relative culpability was not statistically significant, $R^2 = 0.01$, $F(3, 286) = 0.65$, $p = 0.584$. The adjusted R^2 for this regression equation was also negative. Job role perceptions were regressed on relative culpability in Model 33. The regression equation was not statistically significant, $R^2 = 0.01$, $F(2, 287) =$

0.74, $p = 0.477$, and the adjusted R^2 was negative. Variables that approached significance or fell within the appropriate significant level range in the aforementioned models were not retained because substantively meaningful results could not be drawn with the poor model fit.

Table 18

Stepwise Split-Sample Multivariate OLS Regression Predicting Relative Culpability (Same-Sex Couple = 290)

	Model 31			Model 32			Model 33			Model 34			Model 35			Model 36		
Variables	***b***	**β**	***t*-Ratio**	***b***	**β**	***t*-Ratio**	***b***	**β**	***t*-Ratio**	***b***	**β**	***t*-Ratio**	***b***	**β**	***t*-Ratio**	***b***	**β**	***t*-Ratio**
Female	-0.48	-0.10	-1.70*															
Black[a]	0.05	-0.01	0.14															
Latinx[a]	-0.57	-0.12	-1.89*															
Other Race/Ethnicity[a]	0.73	0.10	1.66*															
Educational Attainment	-0.03	-0.02	-0.26															
Years of Service				-0.01	-0.07	-1.05												
FV CFS in the Past 12 Months				0.06	0.04	0.67												
Higher Rank				0.19	0.05	0.72												
IPV Policing Processes							0.02	0.01	0.14									
IPV Policing Operations							0.12	0.07	0.91									
Homophobia										0.20	0.15	2.60**	0.20	0.15	2.66**	0.20	0.15	2.66**
IPV Victim Precipitation										0.57	0.18	2.28**	0.93	0.29	5.27**	0.92	0.29	5.27**
IPV Neutralization										0.25	0.12	1.40						
IPV Deviance										0.03	0.01	0.22						
IPV Masochism										0.11	0.05	0.72						
Trauma Misperceptions										0.06	0.03	0.48						
Trauma Response													0.11	0.03	0.49			
Presence of Physical Evidence													-0.76	-0.19	-3.46**	-0.76	-0.19	-3.46**
Constant	-2.48		-8.39**	-2.60		-9.26**	-3.39		-4.55**	-5.00		-11.67**	-4.29		-11.82**	-4.23		-12.34**
Model *R*	0.19			0.08			0.07			0.38			0.41			0.41		
R^2	0.04			0.01			0.01			0.14			0.17			0.16		
Adjusted R^2	0.02			-0.00			-0.00			0.12			0.15			0.16		
F	2.20			0.65			0.74			7.76**			14.04**			18.69**		

Note: a = White is the reference category
+$p < 0.15$, *$p < 0.10$, **$p < 0.05$

Model 34 regressed attitudinal variables on victim culpability. The regression equation was statistically significant, $R^2 = 0.14$, $F(6, 283) = 7.76$, $p = 0.000$. Homophobia was a statistically significant, positive predictor of relative culpability, $b = 0.20$, $t(284) = 2.60$, $p = 0.010$, suggesting stronger adherence to homophobia increased attributions of culpability directed toward same-sex IPV survivors. IPV victim precipitation was a statistically significant, positive predictor of relative culpability, $b = 0.57$, $t(284) = 2.28$, $p = 0.024$, suggesting stronger adherence to myths of IPV victim precipitation produced increased attributions of culpability directed toward same-sex IPV survivors.

Homophobia, IPV victim precipitation, and experimental conditions were regressed on relative culpability in Model 35. The regression equation was statistically significant, $R^2 = 0.17$, $F(4, 285) = 14.04$, $p = 0.000$. Homophobia remained a statistically significant, positive predictor of relative culpability, $b = 0.20$, $t(286) = 2.66$, $p = 0.008$. IPV victim precipitation also remained a statistically significant, positive predictor of relative culpability, $b = 0.93$, $t(286) = 5.27$, $p = 0.000$. Presence of physical evidence was a statistically significant, negative predictor of relative culpability, $b = -0.76$, $t(286) = -3.46$, $p = 0.001$, indicating that police participants attributed greater levels of culpability toward same-sex IPV perpetrators when same-sex IPV victims presented with visible physical injury, compared to no visible injury.

Model 36, the final model, estimated the effects of homophobia, IPV victim precipitation, and presence of physical evidence on relative culpability. The regression equation was statistically significant, $R^2 = 0.16$, $F(3, 286) = 18.69$, $p = 0.000$. Homophobia remained a statistically significant, positive predictor of relative culpability, $b = 0.20$, $t(287) = 2.66$, $p = 0.008$, suggesting stronger adherence to homophobia

increased attributions of culpability directed toward same-sex IPV survivors. IPV victim precipitation remained a statistically significant, positive predictor of relative culpability, $b = 0.92$, $t(287) = 5.27$, $p = 0.000$, suggesting stronger adherence to myths of IPV victim precipitation produced increased attributions of culpability directed toward same-sex IPV survivors. Finally, presence of physical evidence remained a statistically significant, negative predictor of relative culpability, $b = -0.76$, $t(287) = -3.46$, $p = 0.001$, indicating that police participants attributed greater levels of culpability toward same-sex IPV perpetrators when same-sex IPV victims presented with visible physical injury, compared to no visible injury.

Female and male same-sex IPV victims. A series of stepwise split-samples multivariate OLS regression models were conducted to disentangle police participants attributions of relative culpability directed toward FSS and MSS IPV survivors.

Female same-sex IPV victims. Table 19 presents the results of the stepwise split-sample multivariate OLS regression models predicting relative culpability directed toward FSS IPV survivors ($n = 140$). The regression equation in Model 37, which estimated the effects of officer demographic on relative victim culpability, was not statistically significant, $R^2 = 0.07$, $F(5, 134) = 1.87$, $p = 0.104$. Model 38 regressed occupational characteristics on relative culpability. The regression equation was not statistically significant, $R^2 = 0.02$, $F(3, 136) = 0.79$, $p = 0.502$, and the adjusted R^2 was negative. The regression equation in Model 39 estimated the effects of job role perceptions on relative culpability, however, it was not statistically significant, $R^2 = 0.01$, $F(2, 137) = 0.46$, $p = 0.635$. Additionally, the adjusted R^2 was negative. Substantively meaningful findings could not be interpreted because of the poor model fit

Table 19

Stepwise Split-Sample Multivariate OLS Regression Predicting Relative Culpability (Female Same-Sex Couple = 140)

	Model 37			Model 38			Model 39			Model 40			Model 41			Model 42		
Variables	***b***	**β**	***t*-Ratio**	***b***	**β**	***t*-Ratio**	***b***	**β**	***t*-Ratio**	***b***	**β**	***t*-Ratio**	***b***	**β**	***t*-Ratio**	***b***	**β**	***t*-Ratio**
Female	-0.23	-0.05	-0.54															
Black[a]	0.06	0.01	0.10															
Latinx[a]	-1.01	-0.20	-2.31**															
Other Race/Ethnicity[a]	0.41	0.05	0.53															
Educational Attainment	-0.26	-0.15	-1.75*															
Years of Service				-0.01	-0.06	-0.64												
FV CFS in the Past 12 Months				0.15	0.11	1.20												
Higher Rank				0.12	0.03	0.29												
IPV Policing Processes							0.16	0.08	0.72									
IPV Policing Operations							0.00	0.00	0.02									
Homophobia										0.21	0.15	1.81*	0.23	0.17	2.09**	0.22	0.17	2.08**
IPV Victim Precipitation										0.74	0.20	1.81*	1.27	0.34	4.25**	1.26	0.34	4.23**
IPV Neutralization										0.30	0.13	1.18						
IPV Deviance										0.21	0.11	1.14						
IPV Masochism										0.13	0.05	0.62						
Trauma Misperceptions										0.00	0.00	0.00						
Trauma Response													-0.24	-0.06	-0.76			
Presence of Physical Evidence													-0.53	-0.13	-1.64+	-0.54	-0.13	-1.67
Constant	-1.92		-4.27**	-2.83		-6.90**	-3.76		-3.91**	-5.76		-8.93**	-4.84		-9.00**	-4.95		-9.59**
Model *R*	0.26			0.13			0.08			0.45			0.44			0.43		
R^2	0.07			0.02			0.01			0.20			0.19			0.19		
Adjusted R^2	0.03			-0.00			-0.00			0.16			0.17			0.17		
F	1.87			0.79			0.46			5.54**			8.02**			10.54**		

Note: a = White is the reference category
+$p < 0.15$, *$p < 0.10$, **$p < 0.05$

Model 40 estimated the effects of attitudinal variables on relative culpability. The regression equation was statistically significant, $R^2 = 0.20$, $F(6, 133) = 5.54$, $p = 0.000$. Attitudinal variables were not statistically significant predictors of relative culpability. Homophobia, however, approached statistical significance, $b = 0.21$, $t(134) = 1.81$, $p = 0.072$, and was retained for the next model. Similarly, IPV victim precipitation approached statistical significance, $b = 0.74$, $t(134) = 1.81$, $p = 0.073$, and was retained for further analysis.

The regression equation in Model 41, which estimated the effects of homophobia, IPV victim precipitation, and experimental conditions on relative culpability, was statistically significant, $R^2 = 0.19$, $F(4, 135) = 8.02$, $p = 0.000$. Homophobia was a statistically significant, positive predictor of relative culpability, $b = 0.23$, $t(136) = 2.09$, $p = 0.038$, suggesting stronger adherence to homophobia increased attributions of culpability directed toward FSS IPV survivors. IPV victim precipitation was a statistically significant, positive predictor of relative culpability, $b = 1.27$, $t(136) = 4.25$, $p = 0.000$, indicating stronger adherence to myths of IPV victim precipitation produced increased attributions of culpability directed toward FSS IPV survivors. Presence of physical evidence fell within the appropriate significance range, $b = -0.53$, $t(136) = -1.64$, $p = 0.103$, and was retained for inclusion in the final model.

Model 42, the final model of the series, regressed homophobia, IPV victim precipitation, and presence of physical evidence on relative culpability. The regression equation was statistically significant, $R^2 = 0.17$, $F(3, 136) = 10.54$, $p = 0.000$. Homophobia remained a statistically significant, positive predictor of relative culpability, $b = 0.22$, $t(137) = 2.09$, $p = 0.039$, such that stronger adherence to homophobia increased

attributions of culpability directed toward FSS IPV survivors. IPV victim precipitation remained a statistically significant, positive predictor of relative culpability, $b = 1.26$, $t(137) = 4.23$, $p = 0.000$, suggesting stronger adherence to myths of IPV victim precipitation produced increased attributions of culpability directed toward FSS IPV survivors. Presence of physical evidence was not a statistically significant predictor of relative culpability.

Male same-sex IPV victims. Table 20 presents the results of the stepwise split-sample multivariate OLS regression models predicting relative culpability directed toward MSS IPV survivors ($n = 150$). Model 43 regressed officer demographics on relative culpability, but the regression equation was not statistically significant, $R^2 = 0.05$, $F(5, 144) = 1.57$, $p = 0.173$. The regression equation in Model 44, which estimated the effects of occupational characteristics on relative culpability, was not statistically significance, $R^2 = 0.01$, $F(3, 146) = 0.25$, $p = 0.861$. Additionally, the adjusted R^2 was negative. Model 45 estimated the effects of job role perceptions on relative culpability. The regression equation was not statistically significant, $R^2 = 0.01$, $F(2, 144) = 0.851$, $p = 0.429$. The adjusted R^2 for this regression equation was also negative. Substantively meaningful findings could not be interpreted due to poor model fit.

Table 20

Stepwise Split-Sample Multivariate OLS Regression Predicting Relative Culpability (Male Same-Sex Couple = 150)

	Model 43			Model 44			Model 45			Model 46			Model 47			Model 48		
Variables	***b***	**β**	***t*-Ratio**	***b***	**β**	***t*-Ratio**	***b***	**β**	***t*-Ratio**	***b***	**β**	***t*-Ratio**	***b***	**β**	***t*-Ratio**	***b***	**β**	***t*-Ratio**
Female	-0.64	-0.14	-1.70*															
Black[a]	0.06	0.01	0.12															
Latinx[a]	-0.20	-0.04	-0.47															
Other Race/Ethnicity[a]	0.81	0.13	1.51+															
Educational Attainment	0.17	0.11	1.33															
Years of Service				-0.01	-0.06	-0.71												
FV CFS in the Past 12 Months				-0.03	-0.02	-0.27												
Higher Rank				0.22	-0.05	0.62												
IPV Policing Processes							-0.16	-0.06	-0.66									
IPV Policing Operations							0.23	0.12	1.31									
Homophobia										0.24	0.17	2.13**	0.24	0.17	2.18**	0.23	0.17	2.12**
IPV Victim Precipitation										0.44	0.16	1.34						
IPV Neutralization										0.19	0.09	0.74						
IPV Deviance										-0.18	-0.09	-0.95						
IPV Masochism										0.11	0.05	0.51						
Trauma Misperceptions										0.19	0.09	1.00						
Trauma Response													0.37	0.09	1.19			
Presence of Physical Evidence													-0.90	-0.23	-2.88**	-0.91	-0.23	-2.90**
Constant	-2.92		8.27**	-2.41		-6.24**	-2.72		-2.27**	-4.53		-7.70**	-3.06		-6.92**	-2.85		-7.02**
Model *R*	0.23			0.07			0.11			0.34			0.32			0.31		
R^2	0.05			0.01			0.01			0.11			0.10			0.10		
Adjusted R^2	0.02			-0.02			-0.00			0.08			0.09			0.08		
F	1.57			2.73**			2.84**			3.03**			5.61**			7.68**		

Note: a = White is the reference category
+$p < 0.15$, *$p < 0.10$, **$p < 0.05$

Model 46 estimated the effects of attitudinal variables on relative victim culpability. The regression equation was statistically significant, $R^2 = 0.11$, $F(6, 143) = 3.03$, $p = 0.008$. Homophobia was a statistically significant, positive predictor of relative victim culpability, $b = 0.24$, $t(144) = 2.13$, $p = 0.035$, indicating stronger adherence to homophobia increased attributions of culpability directed toward MSS IPV survivors. The remaining variables were not statistically significant and were not retained for additional analysis.

Homophobia and the experimental conditions were regressed on relative culpability in Model 47. The regression equation was statistically significant, $R^2 = 0.10$, $F(3, 146) = 5.61$, $p = 0.001$. Homophobia remained a statistically significant, positive predictor of relative culpability, $b = 0.24$, $t(147) = 2.18$, $p = 0.031$. Presence of physical evidence was a statistically significant, negative predictor of relative culpability, $b = -0.90$, $t(147) = -2.88$, $p = 0.005$, such that police participants attributed greater levels of culpability toward MSS IPV perpetrators when MSS IPV victims presented with visible physical injury, compared to no visible injury.

Model 48, the final model, estimated the effects of homophobia and presence of physical evidence on relative culpability. The regression equation was statistically significant, $R^2 = 0.10$, $F(2, 147) = 7.68$, $p = 0.001$. Homophobia remained a statistically significant, positive predictor of relative culpability, $b = 0.23$, $t(148) = 2.12$, $p = 0.036$, suggesting that stronger adherence to homophobia increased attributions of culpability directed toward MSS IPV survivors. Presence of a physical evidence also remained a statistically significant, negative predictor of relative culpability, $b = -0.91$, $t(148) = -2.900$, $p = 0.004$, indicating police participants attributed greater levels of culpability

toward MSS IPV perpetrators when MSS IPV victims presented with visible physical injury, compared to no visible injury.

CHAPTER V

Discussion

Summary of the Research

IPV remains a pervasive social problem that affects millions of persons in the U.S. (Decker et al., 2018; Edwards et al., 2015; Smith et al., 2018; Tjaden & Thoennes, 2000; Truman & Oudekerk, 2019). Few IPV survivors, however, formally report their victimization to law enforcement personnel (Coulter et al., 1999; Decker et al., 2019; Edwards et al., 2015; Morgan & Truman, 2018; Rennison & Welchans, 2000; Truman & Oudekerk, 2019). IPV survivors, for example, have reported experiencing increased levels of fear regarding revictimization and retaliatory behaviors from the perpetrator (Bachman, 1994; Barrett & St. Fierre, 2013; Brookoff et al., 1997; Felson et al., 2002; Fleury et al., 1998; Gover et al., 2013), adverse perceptions of social stigma and self-worth (Andrews & Brewin, 1990; Beck et al., 2011; Finesmith, 1983; Kim & Gray, 2008; Kubany et al., 1995; Sackett & Saunders, 1999; Street & Arias, 2001), and negative experiences with police personnel (Gover et al., 2013; Kuehnle & Sullivan, 2003). Empirical studies have also disentangled additional barriers IPV survivors may encounter based on sexual identity. Specifically, LGBTQ+ IPV victims have experienced minority stress (Badenes-Ribera et al., 2019; Carvalho et al., 2011; Edwards et al., 2015; Lewis et al., 2012; Longobardi & Badenes-Ribera, 2017; Stiles-Shields & Carroll, 2015), heightened isolation (Elliott, 1996; Parry & O'Neal, 2015; St. Pierre & Senn, 2010; Potocznick et al., 2003; Ristock, 2005), lack of services (Parry & O'Neal, 2015), and the silencing of IPV within their community. Finally, LGBTQ+ people have experienced gender regulation from formal institutions including the criminal justice system (Buist &

Lenning, 2016), and IPV survivors historically encountered fewer or no legal protections (Aulivola, 2004; Burke et al., 2002; Elliott, 1996; Jablow, 1999; Murray et al., 2007) compared to heterosexual female IPV victims.

Prior studies have underscored general deficits in the criminal justice response to IPV, which may, in part, be attributed to the culture of law enforcement and individual officers' attitudes toward IPV. Broadly, police organizations have been rooted in compulsory heterosexuality, hegemonic masculinity, and sexism (Buist & Lenning, 2016; Franklin, 2007; Hunt, 1990; Martin, 1980; 1990; 1999; Miller & Lilley, 2014; Prokos & Padavic, 2002; Rabe-Hemp, 2009; Somvadee & Morash, 2008). As a result, marginalized communities including women and LGBTQ+ persons may encounter increased institutional discrimination and oppression (Bernstein & Kostelac, 2002; Buist & Lenning, 2016; Colvin, 2015; Miller, 1980; 1990; 1999; Somvadee & Morash, 2008; Thompson & Nored, 2002).

Within the context of IPV, empirical research has documented police officers' adherence to maladaptive attitudes toward women and LGBTQ+ people. Law enforcement personnel, for example, have expressed sexism and misogyny toward female IPV victims (DeJong et al., 2008; Gracia et al., 2011, 2014; Lila et al., 2013; Tam & Tang, 2005), adhered to myths and heteronormative assumptions of IPV (Cormier & Woodworth, 2008; DeJong et al., 2008; Eigenberg et al., 2012; Farris & Holman, 2015; Franklin et al., 2019; Gover et al., 2011; Russell & Sturgeon, 2018; Tam & Tang, 2005; Toon & Hart, 2005; Twis et al., 2018), and endorsed homophobic attitudes (Franklin et al., 2019), all of which may affect formal responses to IPV survivors. Relatively few studies, however, have assessed IPV culpability attributions among police personnel.

Existing studies have suggested IPV survivor and case characteristics, including victim provocation (Hart, 1993; Lavoie et al., 1989; Saunders & Size, 1986; Waaland & Keeley, 1985), victim injury (Waaland & Keeley, 1985), and alcohol use (Lavoie et al., 1989; Stewart & Maddren, 1997; Waaland & Keeley, 1985), were salient in police officers attributions of IPV culpability toward survivors. Only five studies have assessed the effects of officer demographics, occupational characteristics, and attitudes on IPV victim culpability attributions (Russell, 2018; Saunders & Size, 1986; Stewart & Maddren, 1997; Stalans & Finn, 1995; Tang, 2003), but the results of the studies are inconsistent. Finally, findings from the current literature are dated and have largely ignored IPV across sexual identity (but see Russell, 2018). The current study used 433 online surveys administered to police officers commissioned at an agency located in one of the fifth largest and most diverse U.S. cities to assess the effect of officer demographics, occupational characteristics, attitudinal characteristics, and experimental conditions (e.g., sexual orientation of the intimate couple, stereotypical trauma response, and physical evidence) on police officers' attributions of IPV victim culpability. In addition, this study contributed to the broader program of research on IPV culpability attributions by investigating whether predictors differed across the sexual orientation of the victim. Several findings are worthy of additional discussion.

Summary and Discussion of Results

First, concerning Research Question 1, results from the study indicate police participants attributed relatively low levels of absolute culpability toward IPV survivors. This finding is somewhat inconsistent with prior research that has provided quantified results of mean levels of absolute IPV victim culpability attributions among police.

Empirical studies, for example, have demonstrated that police officers attribute culpability to IPV victims (DeJong et al., 2008; Friday et al., 1991; Lavoie et al., 1989; Saunders & Size, 1986; Tang, 2003; Waaland & Keeley, 1985), however, only two studies (Saunders & Size, 1986; Tang, 2003) provided average scores of assigned responsibility directed toward female IPV victims. Saunders and Size (1986) suggested police officers scored around the midpoint of assigning responsibility to female IPV victims. Tang (2003) reported Chinese police officers scored above the midpoint when assigning responsibility to wife abuse victims. Given the cultural differences between China and the U.S., these results may not be generalizable to the U.S. context. Any attributions of IPV victim culpability, however, is problematic for survivors who formally report to law enforcement. Police officers hold a unique position as they are often viewed as gatekeepers to the criminal justice process (Kernstetter, 1990; LaFree, 1989). Indeed, police are often victims' first point of contact with the criminal justice system and an officer's tone and interactions with a survivor can have a profound impact on subsequent well-being and decisions for case processing. For example, law enforcement personnel who place blame on IPV victims may engage in practices that deny protections to IPV victims, justify behaviors of perpetrator, and condone abuse (DeJong et al., 2008; Harrison & Esqueda, 1999). This has produced feelings of invalidation, experiencing secondary victimization, and exacerbated trauma response (Campbell, 2008; Campbell et al., 1999; Ullman & Filipas, 2001). As a result, IPV victims may decline to participate in the formal justice process, which can lead to case attrition.

Second, Research Questions 2 and 3 were answered by conducting an independent samples *t*-test and ANOVA. The results from the bivariate analyses demonstrated that mean levels absolute IPV victim culpability attributions did not significantly differ across sexual orientation of the victim. These findings reiterate past research that has used police samples to assess the relation between IPV victim sexual orientation and culpability at the bivariate level (Russell, 2018).

Third, Research Question 4 was concerned with determining whether demographic, occupational, attitudinal, and experimental factors predicted police officers' attributions of absolute IPV victim culpability. Findings from the multivariate OLS regression model indicated officer race/ethnicity, IPV myth adherence, sexual orientation of the victim, and presence of physical evidence significantly predicted police participants' attributions of absolute culpability directed toward IPV victims. Latinx police participants, compared to White police participants, attributed decreased culpability toward IPV victims. This study was the first to assess the effects of police officer race/ethnicity on attributions of absolute IPV victim culpability. Empirical research using police samples to examine attributions of absolute IPV victim culpability have failed to account for the effects of officer race/ethnicity (DeJong et al., 2008; Friday et al., 1991; Lavoie et al., 1989; Russell, 2018; Saunders & Size, 1986; Stalans & Finn, 1995; Stewart & Maddren, 1997; Tang, 2003; Waaland & Keeley, 1985). This finding, however, was inconsistent with prior studies that have used community and college samples (Eigenberg & Policastro, 2016; Taylor & Sorenson, 2005). Eigenberg & Policastro (2016) assessed 482 responses from surveys administered to college students attending a southern metropolitan university to examine attitudes associated with

assigning blame to female heterosexual victims. Participant race/ethnicity was included as a binary control variable (0 = White, 72.0%; 1 = Person of color, 28.0%) and there were no significant relations with IPV victim culpability (Eigenberg & Policastro, 2016). Among community samples, Taylor and Sorenson (2005) used responses from six samples of adult populations in California, totaling 3,679 participants, to assess assignment of fault to IPV survivors. Overall, Black, Hispanic, and Korean American community members attributed more fault (i.e., causal responsibility) to IPV victims compared to White community members net of controls. This result was consistent with research on Latinx cultures, which has highlighted the patriarchal nature of families and double standards exerted on men and women (Casas et al., 1994; Diaz-Guerrero, 1986; Goldwert, 1985) all of which may have contributed to increased blame placed on IPV survivors.

The inconsistencies in the race/ethnicity result between the present study and past empirical studies could relate to potential differences in the samples and warrant additional exploration. Bivariate analyses were conducted to try to provide a better understanding of why Latinx participants, compared to White participants, attributed lower levels of absolute culpability to IPV victims. Culpability research has suggested that female participants generally attribute less blame toward IPV survivors (Bryant & Spencer, 2003; Hiller & Foddy, 1993; Lane & Knowles, 2000; Locke & Richman, 1999; Nayak et al., 2003; Nguyen et al., 2013; Pierce & Harris, 1993; Richardson & Campbell, 1980; Stewart et al., 2012; Sugarman & Cohen, 1986;Valor-Segura et al., 2011; West & Wandrei, 2002; Witte et al., 2006; Yamawaki et al., 2012). While officer sex was not a significant predictor in the full model a *t*-test was conducted to determine if differences

emerged in mean levels of absolute victim culpability between male and female Latinx officers as a potential explanation. Results indicated there were no significant differences in mean levels of absolute victim culpability between male (M = 1.70, SD = 1.00) and female (M = 1.48, SD = 0.81) Latinx participants $t(90) = 0.94$, $p = 0.31$.

Additionally, the Spearman's bivariate correlation matrix (see Table 4) demonstrated no significant relations between Latinx race/ethnicity and attitudinal variables. IPV myth adherence, however, was salient in explaining attributions of absolute victim culpability. One-way ANOVAs were computed to determine if there were significant differences in mean levels of IPV myth adherence (i.e., IPV victim precipitation, IPV neutralization of violence, IPV deviance, and IPV masochism) across White, Black, Latinx, and Other race/ethnicity groups. Of specific interest was potential differences in mean levels of IPV myths adherence between White and Latinx participants because White was the reference group for the multivariate OLS regression models. Results from the one-way ANOVAs demonstrated significant differences in mean levels of IPV myth adherence between racial/ethnic groups. Tukey post hoc tests, however, revealed no significant differences in mean levels of IPV myth adherence between Latinx and White participants.

Stronger adherence to IPV myths of victim precipitation and neutralization significantly increased attributions of absolute culpability directed toward IPV victim. These findings align with existing research using police officer samples (DeJong et al., 2008; Saunders & Size, 1986; Tang, 2003) and more generally, among college and community samples (Policastro & Payne, 2013; Vidal-Fernandez & Magias, 2014; Yamawaki et al., 2012; Yamawaki et al., 2009). As previously mentioned, police officers

have reported that IPV female victims have often provoked perpetrators (Tang & Tang, 2005), were manipulative and deceitful (Rigakos, 1995), or immature (DeJong et al., 2008). Related, law enforcement officers disclosed IPV female victims could easily leave abusive relationships (DeJong et al., 2008; Farris & Holman, 2015; Gover et al., 2011; Toon & Hart, 2005), a view that ignores the complexities of abuse. Taken together, IPV myth endorsement among police personnel has contributed to stereotypes and misconceptions of abuse that may justify and excuse perpetrators while transferring blame and culpability to victims (DeJong et al., 2008; Eigenberg et al., 2012; Farris & Holman, 2015; Gover et al., 2011; Saunders & Size, 1986; Tam & Tang, 2005; Tang, 2003; Toon & Hart, 2005; Twis et al., 2018).

In addition, the study's findings indicated police participants attributed increased absolute culpability directed toward same-sex IPV victims compared to heterosexual female IPV victims. This result refutes findings from empirical studies that have used police samples (Russell, 2018) but lends support to research using college and community samples (Taylor & Sorenson, 2005; Worthen & Varnao-Sullivan, 2005). Among police officers, prior research has demonstrated similar levels of culpability were directed toward IPV victims, regardless of their sexual orientation (Russell, 2018). This contradiction could be, in part, related to the methodological differences between the studies. For example, Russell (2018) operationalized victim culpability as dangerousness, responsibility, blame, and intent to harm. The present study operationalized victim culpability by capturing blame, responsibility, and causality. Additionally, Russell (2018) used a series of ANOVAs and Multivariate Analysis of Variance/Covariance (MANOVA/MANCOVA) to evaluate victim culpability. Russell's (2018) study,

however, did not include multiple predictors or controls, which is how the current study improved upon this work. By incorporating demographics, occupational characteristics, police participants' attitudes, and experimental conditions, this study's analysis could capture confounding variables. Furthermore, results presented here lends support to findings from empirical studies that have used college and community samples to assess the relation between IPV victim sexual orientation and culpability (Taylor & Sorenson, 2005; Worthen & Varnao-Sullivan, 2005). Indeed, prior research has demonstrated that same-sex IPV survivors were perceived as more responsible for their victimization (Harris & Cook, 1994; Taylor & Sorenson, 2005; Worthen & Varnao-Sullivan, 2005), potentially resulting from institutionalized heterosexuality, gendered expectations, and sexual scripts—all of which contribute to heteronormative assumptions surrounding IPV and produce misinformation pertaining to "real" or legitimate victims, perpetrators, and abuse (Seelau & Seelau, 2005; Sorenson & Thomas, 2009; Russell et al., 2012; Russell et al., 2015).

Consistent with prior research using law enforcement samples (Lavoie et al., 1989; Waaland & Keeley, 1985), findings demonstrated that presence of victim physical injury decreased police participants' attributions of absolute victim culpability directed toward IPV survivors. Empirical studies have demonstrated that police officers often focus on presence of injury as a way to comprehend and understand IPV (Twis et al., 2018). Law enforcement have used victim injury as an indicator of crime seriousness because it tangibly reflects the severity of violence (Dichter et al., 2011; Franklin et al., 2019; Gill et al., 2019; Tatum & Pence, 2015). Police officers, therefore, may perceive

the abuse as less justifiable and victims as less culpable (Lavoie et al., 1989; Waaland & Keeley, 1985).

Fourth, Research Questions 5 was concerned with determining whether demographic, occupational, attitudinal, and experimental predictors of absolute victim culpability differed across heterosexual female and same-sex IPV victims. Results from the stepwise split-samples multivariate OLS regression models suggested officer race/ethnicity, police participants' attitudes, and presence of physical evidence significantly predicted the outcome of interest. Officer race/ethnicity emerged as a significant predictor of absolute victim culpability directed toward same-sex IPV victims but not heterosexual female IPV victims. Specifically, Latinx police participants, compared to White police participants, attributed decreased levels of absolute victim culpability toward same-sex IPV survivors.

Among both heterosexual female and same-sex sub-samples, stronger adherence to myths of IPV neutralization of violence increased police officers' attributions of absolute victim culpability directed toward both heterosexual female and same-sex IPV survivors and reiterates results from prior studies with law enforcement personnel (DeJong et al., 2008; Eigenberg et al., 2012; Farris & Holman, 2015; Gover et al., 2011; Toon & Hart, 2005). Specifically, myths of neutralization of violence largely capture misconceptions about the dynamics of IPV, particularly regarding the seriousness of the abuse. Empirical research demonstrated police officers may underestimate the complexities of heterosexual IPV including adhering to misconceptions that IPV survivors can easily leave abusive relationships (DeJong et al., 2008; Eigenberg et al., 2012; Farris & Holman, 2015; Gover et al., 2011; Toon & Hart, 2005). When comparing

attitudes toward male-to-female heterosexual IPV and same-sex IPV, police personnel have rated same-sex IPV as less serious (Cormier & Woodworth, 2008; Fröberg, 2015; Russell & Surgeon, 2019). The results of this study suggest police officers neutralize the seriousness of the offense in both heterosexual female and same-sex IPV, thus contributing to perceptions that IPV survivors are somehow responsible, blameworthy, and the cause of their own victimization.

Additionally, myths of IPV may be even more important in understanding police officers' attributions of victim culpability directed toward same-sex IPV survivors compared to heterosexual female IPV survivors. Specifically, stronger adherence to myths of IPV victim precipitation and victim masochism increased police participants' attributions of absolute victim culpability directed toward same-sex IPV survivors but not heterosexual female IPV survivors. While not directly tested in this study, scholars have suggested that institutionalized heterosexuality, gendered expectations, and sexual scripts shape individuals' frames of references shape individuals' notions of true or legitimate IPV (Baker et al., 2013; Ingraham, 1994; Jackson, 2006; Koss et al., 1994; Letellier, 1994; Peters, 2008; Potoczniak et al., 2003). For example, sexual stigma and compulsory heterosexuality, perceptions of sexual deviance, and heteronormative assumptions of IPV have contributed to ascriptions of culpability directed toward LGBTQ+ victims. These consequences, therefore, may proliferate among officers as law enforcement agencies have been categorized as masculine institutions (Franklin, 2007; Lutze & Symons, 2003) that have maintained an interested in policing gender variance (Buist & Lenning, 2016).

Results indicated presence of physical evidence predicted decreased levels of absolute IPV victim culpability in both groups. In other words, regardless of sexual

orientation, police participants attributed lower levels of absolute victim culpability directed toward IPV survivors who presented with physical injury, compared to no physical injury. This finding suggests victim injury continues to be an important factor for police when determining culpability for both heterosexual female and same-sex IPV survivors.

Finally, Research Question 6 was answered by estimating stepwise split-samples multivariate OLS regression models to determine differences in predictors of absolute culpability across FSS and MSS IPV victims. Results indicated that both similarities and differences in police attributions of victim culpability emerged between groups. The results from the analyses demonstrate the salient role attitudes have in police officers' attributions of victim culpability directed toward female and male same-sex IPV survivors. Stronger adherence to myths of IPV victim neutralization increased attributions of absolute culpability directed toward female and male same-sex IPV survivors among police participants. As previously mentioned, same-sex IPV has been perceived as less serious by police officers (Cormier & Woodworth, 2008; Fröberg, 2015; Russell & Surgeon, 2019). Empirical studies evaluating police officers' perceptions of same-sex IPV has suggested that FSS IPV, in particular, has been trivialized (Cormier & Woodworth, 2008; Fröberg, 2015; Russell & Surgeon, 2019). While not directly tested in this study, perceptions of the seriousness of MSS and FSS IPV have been associated with broader heteronormative stereotypes regarding LGBTQ+ IPV. For example, heterosexist assumptions stemming from gender roles have maintained lesbian women form a utopia and are inherently nonviolent (Elliott, 1996; Island & Letellier, 1991; Gilbert, 2002; Hassauneh & Glass, 2008; Merrill, 1996; Tesch et al., 2010). Related, masculine gender

norms have maintained “real” should be able to protect himself from any situation including abuse (Letellier, 1994; Potoczniak et al., 2003). In turn, gay male IPV victims have been perceived as not legitimate or credible victims because of embedded societal assumptions men’s self-protection from threats, abuse, and violence (Baker et al., 2013). To that end, heterosexist assumptions regarding IPV have often lead to placing increased blame of these victims (Balsam et al., 2005; Brown, 2008)

Attitudinal differences also emerged among police participants when assigning culpability toward female and male same-sex IPV victims. Interestingly, IPV victim precipitation was a significant predictor of absolute victim culpability for FSS IPV survivors but not MSS IPV survivors. This finding is comparable to results from empirical studies that have assessed police perceptions of heterosexual female IPV survivors (DeJong et al., 2008; Eigenberg et al., 2012; Farris & Holman, 2015; Gover et al., 2011; Toon & Hart, 2005). One potential explanation for this result pertains to misconceptions regarding mutual battering or the notion that IPV victims are equally violent and instigate the abuse (Jablow, 1999; Letellier, 1994). It could be that police officers believe FSS IPV victims are violent or provoke abuse and are therefore more responsible or at fault for the abuse.

Alternatively, the results from this study suggested that stronger adherence to trauma misperceptions increased attributions of absolute victim culpability directed toward MSS IPV survivors but not FSS IPV survivors. Broadly, trauma response has had a significant impact on police officers’ perceptions of crime victims. For example, victims who have presented with flat affect, emotional numbing, avoidance of eye contact, and disjointed recollection of events may be perceived as being deceptive,

manipulative, or unworthy of criminal justice intervention (Ask, 2010; Bollingmo et al., 2008; Maddox et al., 2012). Furthermore, police officers have reported diminished victim credibility when survivors do not present in the expected behavioral manner (Ask & Landström, 2010; Bollingmo et al., 2008; Maddox et al., 2012). This may be confounded for MSS IPV survivors as they have suffered from issues of legitimacy and credibility when formally reporting (Baker et al., 2013; Leterllier, 1994; Potoczniak et al., 2003). Subsequently, police personnel may view male same-sex IPV survivors as the cause of their own victimization and assigned more responsibility and blame.

Finally, among police participants, presence of physical evidence was a statistically significant predictor of decreased attributions of absolute victim culpability directed toward MSS IPV survivors. In other words, when MSS IPV victim presented with physical injury, compared to no physical injury, they were perceived as less culpable for the abuse. Prior research has demonstrated that law enforcement personnel have continued undermine MSS IPV, which has affected decisions regarding formal intervention (Pattavina et al., 2007). For example, Pattavina et al. (2007) reported that a serious offense, such as an aggravated assault, has to occur before police officers were willing to take MSS IPV seriously. While this study did not assess arrest decisions, victim injury has been a continued measure of seriousness of the offense especially for MSS IPV. Police officers, therefore, may only acknowledge the seriousness of the MSS abuse when victim injury is present in the incident. As previously mentioned, this could potentially result in police officers perceiving injured MSS IPV victims as less responsible or culpable compared to those who are not injured.

Summary and Discussion of Supplemental Analyses

The present study conducted additional univariate, bivariate, and multivariate to assess police participants' attributions of IPV culpability directed toward IPV survivors relative to IPV perpetrators. First, supplemental analysis revealed police participants attributed decreased culpability toward IPV victims, relative to IPV perpetrators. This finding aligns with prior research that assessed culpability directed toward both parties involved in nonphysical and physical IPV incidents using police samples (Friday et al., 1991; Stewart & Maddren, 1997; Waaland & Keeley, 1985) and more generally, college and community samples (Pavlou & Knowles, 2001; Sugarman & Cohn, 1986; Summers & Feldman, 1984). Similar to community members and college students, police officers attributed decreased culpability to IPV victims when considering the attributions of causality, blame, and responsibility of the IPV perpetrator.

Similar to absolute victim culpability, results from the independent samples *t*-test and ANOVA suggested mean levels of relative IPV victim culpability did not significantly differ across sexual orientation of the intimate couple. These findings support results from prior research that has not controlled for other correlates of absolute victim culpability (Russell, 2018).

Results from the full sample multivariate OLS regression model demonstrated IPV myth adherence and presence of physical evidence significantly predicted police participants' attributions of relative culpability directed toward IPV survivors. First, endorsement of IPV victim precipitation myths increased police participants' attributions of culpability directed toward IPV victims relative to IPV perpetrators. As previously mentioned, IPV myths promote misconceptions regarding abuse between partners (Koss

et al., 1994; Peters, 2008). Myths of IPV victim precipitation, specifically, endorse notions that IPV victims instigate abuse and perpetrator behavior is excusable (Koss et al., 2004; Peters, 2008). This finding, therefore, suggests police participants who endorsed myths of IPV victim precipitation perceived IPV survivors to be the cause of abuse while potentially viewing perpetrators actions as a justifiable response—reiterating results from past research (DeJong et al., 2008; Eigenberg et al., 2012; Farris & Holman, 2015; Gover et al., 2011; Toon & Hart, 2005). Additionally, supplemental analysis suggested presence of victim physical injury increased attributions of culpability directed toward IPV perpetrators relative to IPV victims. Within the broader literature on IPV culpability attributions, studies have suggested more severe consequences associated with the abuse (e.g., victim injury) equates to observers placing greater responsibility on the perpetrator (Pierce & Hart, 1993). Police officers, therefore, may use victim injury as a proxy for case seriousness, subsequently perceiving IPV perpetrators as more accountable and IPV victims as less blameworthy for the abuse (Waaland & Keeley, 1985).

Stepwise split-samples OLS regression models assessed differences in demographics, occupational characteristics, attitudes, and experimental predictors on police officers' attributions of culpability directed toward heterosexual female and same-sex IPV survivors. Additional analyses were conducted to disentangle results between FSS and MSS IPV survivors. Overall, the results of the models indicated that officer demographics, occupational characteristics, and job role perceptions did not explain variation in relative culpability and contributed to poor model fit.

Limitations and Directions for Future Research

Findings presented in this study are instructive, though they are not without limitations. First, data were comprised of responses from officers collected through a web-based administrator, with a response rate of 17.40% and a completion rate of 46.41%. Strategies including multiple follow-up contacts were employed to increase participation from police participants (see Dillman et al., 2014). The percent of complete and usable data in the present study were comparable to other online surveys administrations to law enforcement agencies (Franklin et al., 2019; Franklin et al., 2019; Renzetti et al., 2015) and online surveys more generally (Couper, 2011; Franklin et al., 2012; Sheehan & McMillan, 1999), particularly surveys administered without a direct incentive (Couper, 2011; Sheehan & McMillan, 1999). Although the response and completion rates may be indicative of police cynicism and distrust toward researchers, Nix and colleagues (2017) suggested low response rates among police surveys were not an indicator of nonresponse bias and an insufficient rationale to dismiss empirical finings, especially when a survey includes sensitive material (Nix et al., 2017). Results should be interpreted accordingly.

Second, results from the present study reflect responses from sworn police personnel employed at a large, metropolitan police agency located in one of the five largest and most diverse U.S. cities. Findings may not be generalizable to the entire U.S. This is particularly true for law enforcement agencies located in small, rural areas, where police officers may substantially differ. Future research should replicate this study with police personnel commissioned at rural agencies with more homogenous populations to

examine what demographic, occupational, attitudinal, and experimental factors predict police officers' attributions of absolute victim culpability directed toward IPV survivors.

Third, the current study relied heavily on heteronormative scripts to depict IPV and capture police participants' attributions of absolute victim culpability directed toward IPV survivors. For example, the vignettes portrayed heterosexual male-to-female, FSS, and MSS IPV—heterosexual female-to-male and other LBGTQ+ relationship dyads were not included in the vignette manipulation. The depicted perpetrators in the scenarios are in line with IPV typologies where perpetrators engage in fear-inducing, intimate terrorism in relationships (Johnson, 2008). It would be useful, however, to include vignettes depicting heterosexual female-to-male IPV to better understand police officers' attributions of absolute victim culpability directed toward heterosexual male IPV survivors. Additionally, postmodern feminist scholars have underscored the problems associated with using heterosexual IPV models to reflect or explain dynamics in LGBTQ+ IPV (Cannon & Buttell, 2015). For example, heterosexual IPV models often ignore the broader sociocultural contextual factors experienced by the LGBTQ+ community including institutionalized heterosexuality—a system of oppression that continues to marginalize this population (Cannon & Buttell 2015; Cannon et al., 2015; Sanger & Lynch, 2017). Future research should expand beyond the gender paradigm and include a myriad of LBGTQ+ relationship dyads when creating vignette scenarios depicting IPV within this population.

In a similar vein, the DVMAS is heteronormative in nature as it largely captures myths pertaining to misconceptions regarding heterosexual male-to-female abuse. Again, scholars have argued that using language associated with heterosexual female IPV to

capture LGBTQ+ IPV fails to provide an accurate and complete understating of the dynamics and complexities (Cannon & Buttell, 2015). Future research should assess how more inclusive myths of IPV affect attributions of culpability across heterosexual and LGBTQ+ IPV incidents.

Fifth, this study was not able to control for salient predictors of victim blame including alcohol use (Aramburu & Leigh, 1991; Dent & Arias, 1990; Harrison & Esqueda, 2000; Lavoie et al., 1989; Richardson & Campbell, 1980; Taylor & Sorenson, 2005; Waaland & Keeley, 1985) or victim provocation or antagonism (Cook & Harris, 1995; Harris & Cook, 1994; Hillier & Foddy, 1993; Kristiansen & Giulietti, 1990; Lavoie et al., 1989; Pierce & Harris, 1993; Sorenson & Taylor, 2005; Stalans, 1996; Taylor & Sorenson, 2005; Waaland & Keeley, 1985; West & Wandrei, 2002; Witte et al., 2006; Worden & Carlson, 2005). Additionally, this vignette only focused on an escalation of abuse that resulted in physical violence. Limited research has included components of verbal abuse (Lavoie et al., 1989) and IPSA (Koepke et al., 2014; Taylor & Sorenson, 2005). Lavoie and colleagues (1989), for example, assessed police officers' assignment of culpability in physical wife abuse incidents resulting in injury versus verbal threats. Taylor and Sorenson (2005) employed manipulated vignettes to examine community members attributions of victim blame directed toward IPV survivors. The manipulated vignettes depicted perpetrators engaging in one of nine abusive behaviors that ranged from belittling and insulting the victim to forcing the victim to have sex (Taylor & Sorenson, 2005). Related, Koepke and colleagues (2014) used manipulated vignettes to investigate IPV victim culpability attributions among 163 male students attending a university in Germany. The manipulated vignettes depicted a verbal argument that

escalated into the boyfriend either throwing his girlfriend into a car door or perpetrating rape (Koepke et al., 2014). These studies used verbal threats and IPSA to capture the effect of type of abuse on attributions of IPV victim culpability. While informative, the empirical research has not assessed predictors of observers' attributions of victim culpability directed toward survivors of verbal/psychological abuse and IPSA. Future studies should assess police officers' attributions of culpability directed toward IPV victims across *all* types of relationship abuse while controlling for known correlates. This may be especially important within the context of policing IPSA. Police officers have adhered to misconceptions of sexual assault and rape that justify and minimize sexual violence (Davies et al., 2009; O'Neal, 2017; 2019; O'Neal & Hayes, 2020; Page, 2010; Sleath & Bull, 2012; 2015; 2017). Fallacies regarding sexual assault may be exacerbated when police officers are presented with cases of IPSA—a crime surrounded by entrenched cultural and legal myths that trivialize the incident and facilitate misconceptions regarding rape perpetrated by a partner (Berman, 2004; Buzawa & Buzawa, 1996; Finkelhor & Yllo, 1985; O'Neal, 2017; Tellis, 2010)

Finally, scholars have noted the usefulness of implementing vignettes scenarios, particularly for sensitive materials including victimization (Schwartz, 2000). While this study did not directly measure officer behaviors, vignette research has demonstrated intentional behavior correlates with actual behavior (Kim & Hunter, 1993). Future research, however, should investigate law enforcement perceptions of and responses to IPV using other methodologies such as case files to explore how victim sexual identity may influence police attributions of victim culpability.

Theoretical and Practical Implications

Theoretical Considerations

Despite the above-mentioned limitations, findings from the current study have important theoretical implications for future research assessing culpability attributions among police personnel. The findings from this study emphasize the significance of examining the intersections of IPV survivor gender and sexual orientation on police officers' attributions of victim culpability. While prior studies have investigated police officers' attributions of culpability (DeJong et al., 2008; Lavoie et al., 1989; Stalans & Finn, 1995; Russell, 2018; Saunders & Size, 1986; Stewart & Maddren, 1997; Tang, 2003; Waaland & Keeley, 1985), the predominant focus has relied on heterosexual female narratives of IPV (Lavoie et al., 1989; Stalans & Finn, 1995; Saunders & Size, 1986; Stewart & Maddren, 1997; Tang, 2003; Waaland & Keeley, 1985). Scholars, however, have argued that identity categories interconnect and affect how individuals are perceived and treated (Cannon & Buttell, 2015; Cannon et al., 2015; Crenshaw, 1991; 1997; Potter, 2015). Within the context of IPV, for example, system personnel may perceive and interact with victims differently based on their presenting biological sex and sexual identity. One prior study has assessed the effects of victim and perpetrator sexual orientation on officers' assignment of responsibility and blame (Russell, 2018), however, multiple variables were not controlled for in analyses. The results from the present study demonstrated sexual orientation effects police officers' attributions of victim culpability directed toward IPV survivors. Furthermore, police officers' DV myth adherence, trauma misperceptions, and physical evidence affected attributions of culpability directed toward FSS and MSS IPV survivors differently, thus demonstrating the saliency of intersectional

approaches. Indeed, future research assessing culpability attributions should include intersectional approaches because they provide a clearer empirical understanding of how social phenomenon and system oppression affect communities. One avenue to advance the current body of literature would be to include a measurement of police participant sexual identity and assess its effect of attributions of IPV victim culpability. Defensive attributions theory, for example, has posited that observers attribute less blame to victims as similarities between the two parties increase (Shaver, 1970). It could be that LGBTQ+ police participants would identify with LGBTQ+ victims and perceive them as less culpable for the abuse. Including a measure of participant sexual identity would also provide an opportunity to assess how multiple participant identities (e.g., gender, race/ethnicity, sexual identity) interact to influence attributions of victim culpability—an area of culpability research that has been relatively unexplored by scholars.

Along similar lines, it would be beneficial for future scholarship to examine attributions of IPV culpability across marginalized communities, specifically the intersectionality between sexual identity and race/ethnicity. Empirical research, for example, has demonstrated IPV culpability attributions may differ based on the race/ethnicity of the victim and perpetrator (Coley & Beckett, 1989; Ferguson & Negy, 2004; Harrison & Esqueda, 2000; Locke & Richman, 1999; Pierce & Harris, 1993; West & Wandrei, 2002). Black IPV perpetrators have been attributed more blame than White IPV perpetrators suggesting that Black IPV perpetrators may be perceived as more violent or aggressive (Locke & Richman, 1999; Pierce & Harris, 1993). Additionally, racial stereotypes have contributed to increased attributions of culpability directed toward women of color who are IPV survivors (Coley & Beckett, 1989; Harrison & Esqueda,

2000; Pierce & Harris, 1993). Specifically, Black female IPV survivors who have physically resisted (Pierce & Harris, 1993) or consumed alcohol (Harrison & Esqueda, 2000) have been attributed more blame compared to White counterparts. While not explicitly mentioned in the vignette, the perpetrator and victim names depicted in the current study were largely affiliated with European or White race/ethnicity. Prior research has indicated that distinctive names can be used to implicitly convey a particular race/ethnicity of a person (Gaddis, 2017a, 2017b). Future studies using vignette designs should manipulate the names of the perpetrator and victim as a way to investigate IPV culpability attributions across race/ethnicity. This would provide a fruitful opportunity to empirically assess how ascriptions of blame, responsibility, and causality may compound across multiple marginalized characteristics including sexual identity and race/ethnicity. For example, observers' attributions of IPV victim culpability may be different for victims who are Black lesbian women compared to White lesbian women. Employing manipulated vignette designs may help disentangle these differences.

Given law enforcement's disparate treatment of LGBTQ+ and racial/ethnic IPV survivors (Crenshaw, 1994; Decker et al., 2019; Franklin et al., 2019), this strategy may be especially fruitful for IPV culpability research using police officer samples.

Policy Implications

In addition to theoretical considerations, the findings from the current study can be used to inform policies for practitioners including recommendations for training curriculum. In 2015, the Department of Justice (DOJ) released new guidelines for police agencies to identify and prevent gender bias in response to sexual and domestic violence. The principles highlighted the importance of recognizing and addressing biases,

assumptions, and stereotypes regarding victims, which can compromise victim safety and undermine offender accountability (DOJ, 2015). Gender bias, either intentionally or unintentionally, can manifest into police perceptions of and responses to IPV that suggest it is not a serious crime, particularly with incidents involving LGBTQ+ couples (DOJ, 2015). Biases and stereotypes, therefore, can result in police officers ascribing culpability to IPV victims, failing to investigate IPV to the fullest extent, and contributing to case attrition. Findings presented here emphasize the significance of addressing the harmful role that maladaptive attitudes and misconceptions may have on police perceptions of heterosexual and same-sex IPV victims.

Adherence to DV myths was a prominent predictor of police officers' attributions of victim culpability directed toward IPV survivors. This was especially true for same-sex IPV survivors. Police training would benefit from a continued focus on dismantling pervasive IPV myth that transfer blame to victims, excuse perpetrators, and justify abuse. Huisman and colleagues (2005), for example, put forth recommendations for law enforcement agencies that provide guidance on training police officers on IPV and racism. While racism was not a focus of this dissertation, the recommended strategies have provided insightful avenues for implementing training on sensitive materials. Specifically, training components should include mitigating hostile environments within policing, humanizing and exploring commonalities police officers have with IPV victims, addressing stereotypes of women and marginalized communities, and underscoring power imbalances including institutionalized oppression and systemic marginalization (Huisman et al., 2005).

Related, law enforcement agencies may also benefit from educational programing such as Mentors in Violence Prevention (MVP)—a program that produces an interactive, comfortable, and safe environment that facilitates discussions regarding gender violence, abusive behavior, and bystander efficacy (Katz, 1995; 2006). While the primary focus of MVP pertains to gender violence, the programing was also designed to address maladaptive attitudes that promote and justify disparaging language and harassment directed toward LGBTQ+ people (Katz, 2006). The MPV program has been implemented predominately in masculine institutions including military organizations, athletic teams, and fraternities (Katz, 2006), however, it can be applied with general populations and broad institutional settings (Katz, 1995; 2006). Furthermore, evaluation research has demonstrated MVP to be effective in reducing negative attitudes of women and LGBTQ+ persons while increasing bystander efficacy beliefs, bystander behavioral intent, and personal efficacy (Cissner, 2009; DeGue et al., 2014; Katz et al., 2011; Slaby et al., 2011; Ward, 2000).

The results of this study suggest police officers attributed increased absolute victim culpability toward same-sex IPV survivors. Moreover, police officers' attitudes were salient in understanding culpability attributions directed toward FSS and MSS IPV survivors. Taken together, these findings demonstrate the necessity of implementing educational programming focused on cultural competency among police personnel. In recent years, calls for cultural competency training have been prominent in law enforcement literature (Birzer, 1999; Coderoni, 2002; Hennessy, 2001; Israel et al., 2014; Israel et al., 2016; Shusta et al., 2005). Broadly, multicultural competency training is a proactive approach that works to eliminate community disorder, unrest, and mistrust with

citizens often resulting from a dearth of understanding on the part of police officers (Coderoni, 2002). Israel and colleagues (2014), for example, highlighted the utility training focused on effective LGBTQ+ cultural competency programs for police officers. Specifically, law enforcement personnel engaged in a 5-hour training designed to prepare them to work effectively with LGBTQ+ individuals and communities. After training completion, police officers reported increased knowledge and self-efficacy in working with LGBTQ+ populations (Israel et al., 2014). Augmenting training to include materials on institutional oppression, diversity, and LGBTQ+ IPV may improve police officers' perceptions of IPV survivors and has the potential to decrease attributions of victim culpability while enhancing system responses.

Educational programming can produce positive attitudinal change among police officers (Campbell et al., 2019; Darwinkel et al., 2013; Franklin et al., 2019; Israel et al., 2014; Murphy & Hine, 2019; Tidmarsh et al., 2019). The effects of educational programing and training, however, may decay over time (Lonsway et al., 2001; Sleath & Bull, 2012). That said, scholars have noted the efficacy of implementing training protocols to address and promote cultural change and institutional transformation over time (Campbell et al., 2019; Sleath & Bull, 2012). Campbell and colleagues (2019), for example, evaluated a comprehensive 40-hour training designed to address police officers' rape myth acceptance, understanding of state laws, and knowledge of trauma-informed practices. Results from the evaluation suggested the comprehensive training was effective in improving officers' short- and long-tern perceptions and knowledge (Campbell et al., 2019). The utility of continued comprehensive educational programming should not be ignored as a way to improve attitudes and responses to gender violence.

Overall, police participants' assigned relatively low levels of victim culpability to IPV survivors, however, the present study did not investigate the relation between IPV culpability attributions and formal decision-making among law enforcement officials. Of particular interest would be the potential relation between police officers' attributions of IPV victim culpability and CFS that result in mandatory and/or dual arrest. Theoretically, police officers who perceive IPV victims to be culpable for their abuse may engage in formal interventions that result in the arrest of IPV victims. For example, Leisenring (2011) used in-depth, semistructured interviews with 40 women who reported being an IPV victim in a heterosexual relationship to assess how mandatory arrest policies have influenced the identity of women who have interacted with police officers. All of the female IPV victims had at least one encounter with police officers that resulted in their arrest, the arrest of their partner or ex-partner, or a dual arrest. IPV victims who failed to leave their abusive relationship and/or used violence or damaged property in the current incident were more often arrested by responding officers. Additionally, the underlying factor associated with the themes related to the arrest of female IPV victims were police officers placement of responsibility on the survivor (Leisenring, 2011). While police participants within the present study were employed at an agency operating under informal policies that discourage mandatory and dual arrests in family violence CFS, it would still be beneficial for future studies to examine the potential effects police officers' attributions of IPV victim culpability may have on formal decision-making.

Conclusion

Limitations in formal responses to IPV have emphasized a continued need to assess perceptions of and responses to survivors in order to improve trauma-informed victim centered approaches to case processing. While empirical studies have assessed IPV

culpability attributions among law enforcement samples (DeJong et al., 2008; Friday et al., 1991; Lavoie et al., 1989; Russell, 2018; Saunders & Size, 1986; Stalans & Finn, 1995; Stewart & Maddren, 1997; Stith, 1990; Tang, 2003; Waaland & Keeley, 1985), findings largely pertain to heterosexual female IPV survivors. Indeed, culpability attributions directed toward LGBTQ+ IPV survivors has been noticeably absent from the literature (but see Russell, 2018). This is concerning because criminal justice responses to IPV victims may be affected by the intersections of gender, sexual identity, and structural inequality. Indeed, oppressed populations including women and LBGTQ+ persons have experienced increased intuitional opposition from the majority police personnel (Bernstein & Kostelac, 2002; Buist & Lenning, 2016; Colvin, 2015; Miller, 1980; 1990; 1999; Somvadee & Morash, 2008; Thompson & Nored, 2002). Furthermore, when heteronormative assumptions of IPV were not met, police officers perceived victims to be blameworthy, which produced secondary victimization and aggravate trauma symptoms (Campbell et al., 2001; Ullman, 1995). As a result, IPV victims may decline to participate in formal case processing and can be vulnerable to continued abuse.

Using 433 responses from an online survey administered to a large, urban police agency, the present study assessed the effect of officer demographics, occupational characteristics, attitudes, and experimental conditions on law enforcement personnel's' attributions of absolute culpability directed toward IPV survivors. The present study advanced the current body of literature in two ways. First, empirical studies assessing IPV culpability attributions among police samples has relied on inconsistent measurement of culpability. In general, victim culpability has been measured as either responsibility (Lavoie et al., 1989; Russell, 2018; Tang, 2003; Waaland & Keeley, 1985),

blameworthiness (DeJong et al., 2008; Stalans & Finn, 1995; Stewart & Maddren, 1997), or causality (Saunders & Size, 1986). While important, culpability scholars have underscored the importance of measuring culpability in a way that is more comprehensive and psychometrically sound (Fincham & Jaspers, 1980; Holtzworth-Munroe, 1988). To advance the body of research in IPV and policing, this study used a psychometrically valid measurement of culpability (see Menaker & Franklin, 2015; Menaker & Miller, 2013), which has not been done with police samples. Second, this study was the first to assess whether multiple predictors of absolute victim culpability differed across sexual orientation of IPV victims using a police sample—an important endeavor given the heteronormative nature of the criminal justice system and its historical marginalization of the LGBTQ+ community (Buhrke, 1996; Buist & Lenning, 2016; Letellier, 1994).

The results from the study demonstrated that police officers attributed low levels of culpability to IPV victims, particularly relative to IPV perpetrators. Multivariate statistical analyses, however, revealed officer race/ethnicity, adherence to IPV myths, victim sexual orientation, and physical evidence effected police attributions of absolute and relative culpability directed toward IPV survivors. Furthermore, findings demonstrated that attitudinal predictors were significantly more important in understating police officers' attributions of absolute victim culpability directed toward same-sex IPV. In other words, misconceptions regarding same-sex IPV victims, perpetrators, and the seriousness of the abuse drove police officers' attributions of absolute victim culpability directed toward same-sex IPV victims. Finally, predictors of IPV absolute victim culpability differed across female and male same-sex IPV victims.

Overall, the results of the present study demonstrate a continued need to investigate police officers' attributions of victim culpability directed toward IPV survivors and underscore the necessity of implementing educational programming focused on the dynamics of gender violence. It would also be fruitful to augment training to address IPV and cultural competency among police personnel as this may facilitate trauma-informed victim centered approaches to IPV. Indeed, comprehensive training designed to address LGBTQ+ IPV can potentially decrease police attributions of victim culpability and improve responses to all IPV survivors who choose to formally report their victimization to the criminal justice system.

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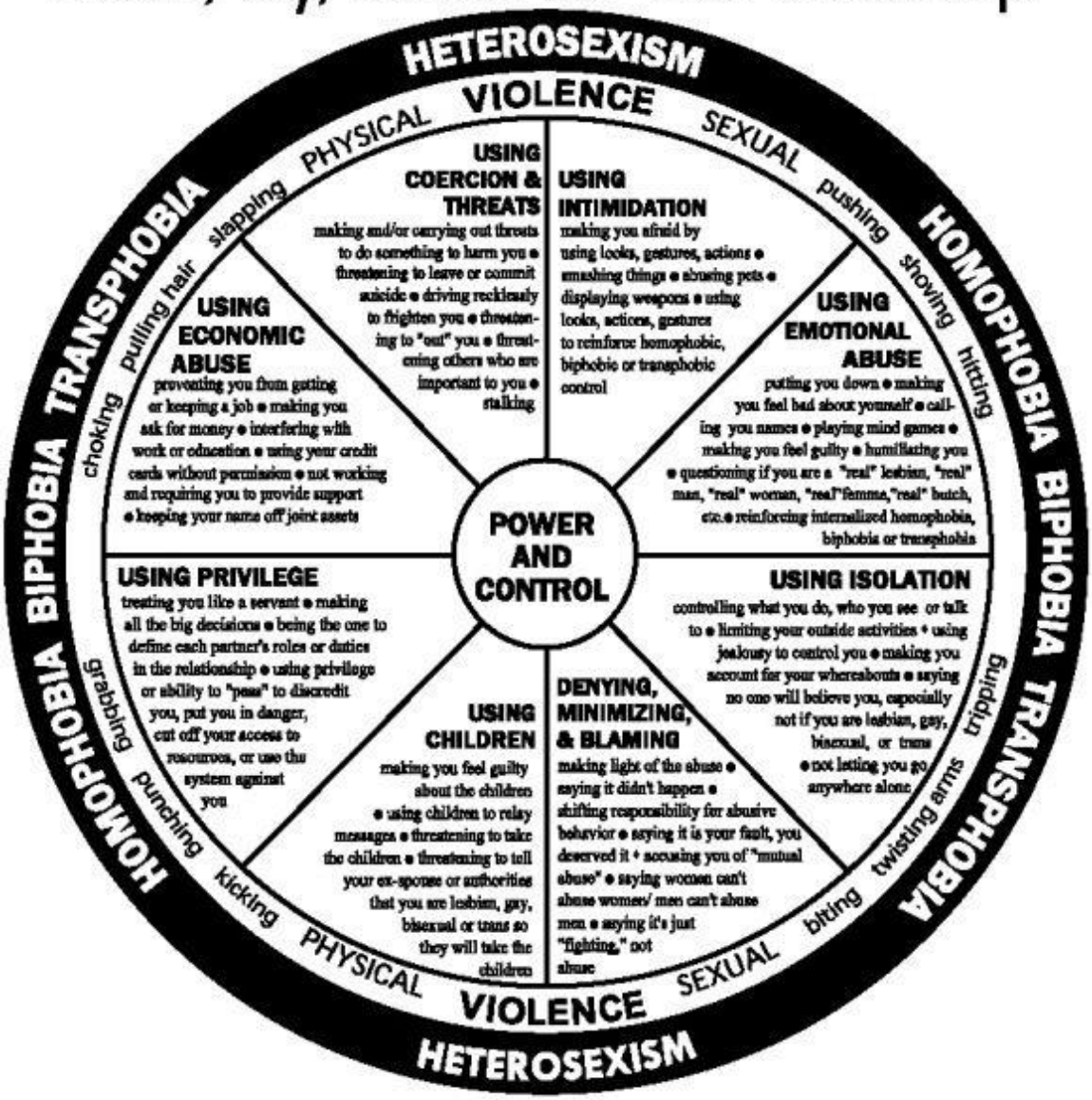
APPENDIX A

Power and Control Wheel for Heterosexual and LGBTQ+ Abuse

Retrieved from: www.theduluthmodel.org

Power and Control Wheel for Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Trans Relationships



Developed by Roe & Jagodinsky

Adapted from the Power & Control and Equity Wheels developed by the Domestic Abuse Intervention Project • 206 West Fourth Street • Duluth, Minnesota 55806 • 218/722-4134

Retrieved from: https://www.safehousecenter.org/power-and-control-in-lgbt-relationships/

APPENDIX B:

IPV Vignette Scenario

[Briana, Jimmy] is a 19-year old [woman, man] who called 911 to report that [her boyfriend, her girlfriend, his boyfriend] had assaulted [her, him]. When police arrived at the house, [Briana, Jimmy] stated that [she, he] has been with [her boyfriend, her girlfriend, his boyfriend], **[Mike, Diane]**, for over a year. When their relationship first began, they fought rarely. Over time, however, [she, he] and [Mike, Diane] have fought more often, and [Mike, Diane] has become increasingly aggressive toward her. At first, [Mike, Diane] would threaten to harm [her, him] if [she, he] didn't stop "nagging" [her, him]. Eventually, [Mike, Diane] would occasionally push [Briana, Jimmy] during arguments and grab [her, him] hard enough to leave bruises, but later [Mike, Diane] would apologize and tell [her, him] [he, she] was working on being a better [boyfriend, girlfriend]. [She, He] accepted [his, her] pleas and felt that [his, her] apologies were genuine. In there most recent argument, [Briana, Jimmy] said that they were fighting about money when [Mike, Diane] suddenly slapped [her, him] and punched [her, him] in the mouth. [He, She] told [him, her] [he, she] would not allow [her, him] to disrespect [him, her] by yelling at [him, her] and calling [him, her] names. The police noticed **[a bloody lip and red mark, no obvious physical signs of bruising]** on [her, his] face. During [her, his] conversation with police, [Briana, Mike] was **[crying and shaking while [[she, he]] recalled the details of the incident, unemotional. [[Her, His]] story was disjointed, she [[she, he]] had a difficult time providing a clear description of the events that took place during the incident]**. In [Mike, Diane]'s statement to police,

[he, she] said that [Briana, Jimmy] had started the argument and that [she, he] was at fault. Police noticed no visible signs of injury on [Mike, Diane].

APPENDIX C

Victim Culpability Items, Factor Loadings, and Reliability Estimates

Reliability α = .907	Loading	*M (SD)*	Range = 1.00-6.00
1. [Victim] is to blame for their circumstance	.905	2.06 (1.27)	1.00-6.00
2. [Victim] is the cause of the circumstance	.870	1.98 (1.22)	1.00-6.00
3. [Victim] is responsible for their circumstance	.857	2.31 (1.40)	1.00-6.00

APPENDIX D

Perceived Objectives in FV Response Items, Factor Loadings, and Reliability Estimates

Scale		*IPV Policing Processes* (α = .862)	*IPV Policing Operations* (α = .621)
1.	To remain as objective as possible	.903	
2.	To determine if there has been any wrongdoing	.836	
3.	To enforce the law	.760	
4.	To handle disputes with an even-handed assessment of the facts	.752	
5.	To provide justice	.595	
6.	To determine the couple's problems and suggest or provide solutions to correct these problems	.368	
7.	To handle disputes in a timely manner		.702
8.	To handle the dispute with minimal resources needed		.553
9.	To make an arrest		.478

APPENDIX E

Homophobia Items, Factor Loadings, and Reliability Estimates

Reliability α = .869	Loading
1. Marriage between same-sex individuals is alright with me	.958
2. Homosexuality is acceptable to me	.900
3. Organizations that promote gay rights are necessary	.709
4. I would feel comfortable having a gay roommate	.679
5. Homosexual behavior (e.g., sodomy) should be against the law in Texas	.521

APPENDIX F

Heteronormative IPV Myth Items, Factor Loadings, and Reliability Estimates

	Scale	*IPV Victim Precipitation* (α = .812)	*IPV Neutralization of Violence* (α = .837)	*IPV Deviance* (α = .623)	*IPV Victim Masochism* (α = .705)
1.	Women can avoid physical abuse if they give in occasionally	.759			
2.	Women who flirt are asking for it	.752			
3.	Women instigate most family violence	.492			
4.	Making men jealous is asking for it	.477			
5.	Domestic violence rarely happens in my neighborhood	**.324**	**.279**		
6.	I don't have much sympathy for a battered woman who keeps going back to the abuser		.730		
7.	I hate to say it but if a woman stays with a man who abuses her, she basically deserves what she gets		.652		
8.	If a woman continues living with a man who beats her, then it is her own fault if she is beaten again		.598		
9.	If a woman goes back to the abuser, that is the result of her character		.564		
10.	If a woman doesn't like the abuse, she can leave		.439		
11.	Domestic violence results from a momentary loss of temper			.597	
12.	When a man is violent toward his partner, it is because he lost control of his temper			.550	
13.	Abusive men lose control of themselves so much that they don't know what they are doing			.499	
14.	Most domestic violence involves mutual violence between partners			.419	
15.	A lot of domestic violence occurs because			**.390**	**.324**

	women keep on arguing with their partners	
16.	Some women unconsciously want their partners to control them	.738
17.	Many women have an unconscious wish to be dominated by their partners	.599
18.	Domestic violence does not affect many people	**.293**

Note: Bolded items were not retained due to double loading or low factor size

APPENDIX G

Trauma Misperception Items, Factor Loadings, and Reliability Estimates

Reliability α = .873		Loading
1.	A crime victim's inability to report details about the event shortly after the crime (less than a day) is reason to question the accuracy of the statement	.769
1.	A crime victim's reluctance to spontaneously give a detailed account of the crime is an indicator of the accuracy of his/her statements	.757
2.	A crime victim who displays positive emotions (e.g., laughter, smiling) during his/her statement is not likely to be telling the truth	.755
3.	Details that appear in a crime victims' memory after a period of time are less reliable than those the victim can remember and report from the start	.693
4.	A crime victim's display of emotions when recalling the crime is an indicator of the accuracy of his/her statements	.691
5.	A crime victim who displays negative emotions (e.g., crying, despair, clear signs of distress) during his/her statement is likely telling the truth	.633
6.	The fact that a crime victim's expressive style contradicts my expectations is generally a reason to examine that statement's accuracy extra carefully	.621
7.	The type of relationship between the crime victim and perpetrator influences the victim's emotional expressive style and behavior	**.115**
8.	The reactions by crime victims to a violent crime differ between people with different cultural backgrounds	**.050**

Note: Bolded items were not retained due to low factor size

APPENDIX H

Perpetrator Culpability Items, Factor Loadings, and Reliability Estimates

	Reliability α = .969	Loading	*M (SD)*	Range = 1.00-6.00
1.	[Perpetrator] is responsible for their circumstance	.965	4.92 (1.40)	1.00-6.00
2.	[Perpetrator] is the cause of their circumstance	.961	4.90 (1.44)	1.00-6.00
3.	[Perpetrator] is to blame for their circumstance	.939	4.84 (1.47)	1.00-6.00

VITA

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Education

2020	Ph.D., *Criminal Justice*, Sam Houston State University (Expected Graduation – May, 2020). *Dissertation:* Heterosexual and Same-Sex Intimate Partner Violence: Police Attributions of Victim Culpability. Committee: Drs. Cortney A. Franklin (chair), Eryn N. O'Neal, Brittany E. Hayes, and Leana Allen Bouffard (external reviewer).
2015	M.A., *Criminal Justice*, Boise State University *Thesis*: Does Geography Matter? Barriers Encountered by Service Providers. Committee: Drs. Lisa Growette-Bostaph (chari), Lane Gillespie, and Laura King
2015	Graduate Certificate, *Victim Services*, Boise State University
2013	B.S., *Criminal Justice* and *Psychology* (Cum Laude), Boise State University Minor: *Addiction Studies*

Research Experience

2016-Present	Lead Doctoral Research Assistant on OVW Grant, *Research and Evaluation of Houston Police Department's Response to Sexual Assault and Domestic Violence Survivors.* Principal Investigator: Dr. Cortney A. Franklin
2015-2016	Doctoral Research Assistant, Crime Victims Institute and Department of Criminal Justice and Criminology, Sam Houston State University
2014-2015	Graduate Research Assistant, Department of Criminal Justice, Boise State University
2014	Research Assistant, Idaho Coalition Against Sexual and Domestic Violence
2012-2013	Undergraduate Research Assistant, Department of Psychology, Boise State University

Refereed Journal Articles

Goodson, A., Franklin, C.A., & Bouffard, L.A. (Accepted). Male peer support and sexual assault: The relation between high-profile, high school sports participation and sexually predatory behavior. *Journal of Sexual Aggression*, 1-17. DOI: 10.1080/13552600.2020.1733111.

Franklin, C.A., Garza, A.D., **Goodson, A.**, & Bouffard, L.A. (2019). Police perceptions of crime victim behaviors: A trend analysis exploring mandatory training and knowledge of sexual and domestic violence survivors' trauma responses. *Crime & Delinquency*, 1-32, DOI: 10.1177/0011128719845148.

Franklin, C.A., **Goodson, A.**, & Garza, A.D. (2019). Intimate partner violence among sexual minorities: Predicting police officer arrest decisions. *Criminal Justice and Behavior, 46*(8), 1181-1199, DOI: 10.1177/0093854819834722.

Gillespie, L.K., King, L.L., Bostaph, L.G., & **Goodson, A.** (2019). Crime victim service providers' needs and barriers: Rurality and 'high need'. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence,* 1-24, DOI: 10.1177/0886260519834100.

Goodson, A., & Hayes, B.E. (2018). Help-seeking behaviors of intimate partner violence victims: A cross-national analysis in developing nations. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 1-23, DOI: 10.1177/0886260518794508.

Goodson, A., & Bouffard, L.A. (2018). Social disorganization and gender equality as correlates of family violence and rape. *Journal of Crime and Justice, 42*(3), 274-287. DOI: 10.1080/0735648X.2018.1535995.

Bouffard, L.A., & **Goodson, A.** (2017). Sexual coercion, sexual aggression, or sexual assault: How measurement impacts our understanding of sexual violence. *Journal of Aggression, Conflict, and Peace Research,* 9(4), 269-278.

Goodson, A., & Bouffard, L.A. (2017). The rural/urban divide: Examining different types of assault through a social disorganization lens. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 1-24, DOI: 0886260517711179.

Bouffard, L.A., Nobles, M.R., **Goodson, A.**, Brinser, K., Koeppel, M., Marchbanks, T., & Chaudhuri, N. (2017). Service providers' knowledge and perceptions of the legal service needs of crime victims. *American Journal of Criminal Justice,* 42(3), 589-609.

Manuscripts Under Review

Goodson, A., Franklin, C.A., Garza, A.D., Updegrove, A.H., & Bouffard, L.A. "Perceptions of victim advocates and predictors of service referral among law enforcement personnel." Revise and Resubmit, *Feminist Criminology.*

Garza, A.D., Franklin, C.A., & **Goodson, A.** "The nexus between intimate partner violence and stalking: Examining the decision to arrest using case file data." Revise and Resubmit, *Criminal Justice and Behavior.*

Manuscripts In-Progress

Goodson, A. "Heterosexual and same-sex intimate partner violence: Police attributions of absolute victim culpability."

Goodson, A., Garza, A.D., Franklin, C.A., & Bouffard, L.A. "Child sexual assault case processing: The effects of victim, suspect, and case characteristics on arrest and charging decisions."

Franklin, C.A., **Goodson, A.,** Garza, A.D., & Bouffard, L.A. "Assessing police case processing decisions in a sexual assault scenario."

Franklin, C.A., Garza, A.D., **Goodson, A.**, & Bouffard, L.A. "Policing and prosecuting family violence."

Garza, A.D., Franklin, C.A., & **Goodson. A.** "Police response to family violence: Does citizenship matter?"

Garza, A.D., Franklin, C.A., & **Goodson, A.** "Intimate partner violence and police decision-making: Examining the effect of strangulation."

Franklin, C.A., Garza, A.D., **Goodson, A.**, & Bouffard, L.A. "The relation between mandatory training domestic violence and rape myth endorsement among male and female police-participants: A trend analysis."

Non-Refereed Works

Chapters in Edited Volumes

Miller, K., Brady, P.Q., **Goodson, A.,** & Selover, B. (2017). "Adolescent Relationship Abuse." In L. G. Bostaph & D. Swerin (Eds.), *Crime Victimization*. New York: Wolters Kluwer Law & Business, Inc.

Encyclopedia Entries

Goodson, A. (2017). "Pornography and Violence Against Women." In F. P. Bernat, K. Frailing, K. Obas (Eds.), *Encyclopedia of Women and Crime*, Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley & Sons, Inc.

Goodson, A., & Gillespie, L.K. (2016). "Devil's Island." In K. R. Kerley (Ed.), *Encyclopedia of Corrections,* Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley & Sons, Inc.

Translational Publications and Technical Reports

Franklin, C.A., Garza, A.D., **Goodson, A.**, & Bouffard, L.A. (2019). "Trauma Informed Training & Police Perceptions of Victim Behaviors." Crime Victims' Institute.

Goodson, A., & Hayes, B.E. (2018). "IPV Victims in Developing Nations: Factors that Influence the Decision to Seek Help." Crime Victims' Institute.

Franklin, C.A., **Goodson, A.,** Garza, A.D., & Bouffard, L.A. (2018). "Research and Evaluation of Houston Police Department's Response to Sexual Assault and Domestic Violence Survivors: Preliminary Analysis of Post-Training Survey Data." Interim Report to Houston Police Department's Special Victims' Division.

Goodson, A. & Franklin, C.A. (2018). "Athletics and Violence Against Women." Sexual Assault Series, Vol. 2, Iss. 2., Crime Victims' Institute.

Franklin, C.A., **Goodson, A.,** Garza, A.D., & Bills, M.A. (2017). "2017 Crime Victims' Institute Dashboard." Crime Victims' Institute.

Goodson, A., & Bouffard, L.A. (2017). "Social Disorganization, Intimate Partner Violence, and the Rural/Urban Divide." Crime Victims' Institute.

Franklin, C.A., **Goodson, A.,** Bouffard, L.A., & Wells, W. (2016). "Research and Evaluation of Houston Police Department's Response to Sexual Assault and Domestic Violence Survivors: Preliminary Analysis of Baseline Survey Data." Interim Report to Houston Police Department's Special Victims' Division.

Goodson, A. & Bouffard, L.A. (2016). "Breaking The Cycle of Intimate Partner Violence: Understanding Why Victims Don't Leave and Implications for Advocates." Crime Victims' Institute.

Bostaph, L.G., King, L.L., Gillespie, L.K., & **Goodson, A.** (2015). "Crime Victims in Idaho: An Assessment of Needs and Services." Boise State University, Idaho Council on Domestic Violence and Victim Assistance.

Non-Peer Reviewed Articles

King, L.L., Bostaph, L.G., & **Goodson, A.** (2015). "Serving Crime Victims: Agency Needs and Barriers." *The Blue Review*. Boise, ID: Boise State University.

Newspaper Articles

Goodson, A., Cooke, E., & Hinojosa, I. (2016, October 11). "Countering Ignorance with Evidence: The Invisible Nature of Sexual Assault and Rape." *The Houstonian,* Retrieved from http://houstonianonline.com/2016/09/27/rape-culture-on-campus-and-why-that-stereotype-is-wrong/.

Teaching Experience

Instructor

2017 Criminal Justice 3378: *Introduction to Research Methods (online)*. Sam Houston State University.

Invited Guest Lectures

2019 *Criminal Justice 2250: Victimology* (1 class). *Elder Victimization*; *Special Topics – Intimate Partner Violence*. For Dr. Brittany Hayes, Sam Houston State University.

2019 *Criminal Justice 2250: Victimology* (2 classes). *Elder Victimization*; *Special Topics – Intimate Partner Violence*. For Nicole Niebuhr, Sam Houston State University.

2018 *Criminal Justice 3378: Introduction to Research Methods* (1 class). *Validity and Reliability.* For Nicole Niebuhr, Sam Houston State University.

2017 *Criminal Justice 3378: Introduction to Research Methods* (1 class). *Participant Observation*. For Dr. Soraya Kawucha, Sam Houston State University.

2016 *Criminal Justice 3350: Victimology* (1 class). *Victims Right's Movement.* For Sara Zedaker, Sam Houston State University.

2016 *Criminal Justice 3350: Victimology* (1 class). *Theories of Victimization*. For Dr. Lisa Muftic, Sam Houston State University.

2015 *Criminal Justice 102: Introduction to Policing* (1 class). *Ethics*. For Dr. Andrew Giacomazzi, Boise State University.

2014 *Criminal Justice 104: Introduction to Corrections* (1 class). *Juvenile Delinquency.* For Professor Marianne Hudson, Boise State University.

Teaching Assistantships

2015 Teaching assistant for Dr. Andrew Giacomazzi, Department of Criminal Justice, Boise State University. *Criminal Justice 102: Introduction to Policing.*

2012 *Teaching assistant* for Dr. Mary Pritchard, Department of Psychology, Boise State University. *Psychology 331: Psychology of Health.*

2011 *Teaching assistant* for Dr. Elizabeth Morgan, Department of Psychology, Boise State University. *Psychology 310: Adolescent and Emerging Adulthood*.

Academic Awards, Grants, and Scholarships

2019 American Society of Criminology - Division of Women and Crime Graduate Scholar Award

2019 Rolando del Carmen Criminal Justice Scholarship: $1,000, Department of Criminal Justice and Criminology, Sam Houston State University.

2019 Graduate Studies Award: $1,000, Office of Graduate Studies, Sam Houston State University.

2018 Graduate Studies Award: $1,000, Office of Graduate Studies, Sam Houston State University.

2018 Graduate Studies Award: $1,000, Office of Graduate Studies, Sam Houston State University.

2017 Graduate Studies Award: $1,000, Office of Graduate Studies, Sam Houston State University.

2017 O.B. Ellis-J. Philip Gibbs Memorial Scholarship: $1,500, Department of Criminal Justice and Criminology, Sam Houston State University.

2016 Research Fellowship: $6,000, Department of Criminal Justice and Criminology, Sam Houston State University.

2016 Excellence in Writing Award, Sam Houston State University.

2014 Regina B. Shearn Scholarship for Academic Excellence: $1,500, Alpha Phi Sigma Criminal Justice Honors Society.

Invited Presentations

King, L.L., Bostaph, L.G, Gillespie, L.K., & **Goodson, A.** (October 2016). *Victim Services in Idaho: The Results of a Statewide Needs Assessment*. Presented to the Idaho Victim Witness Association, Cascade, Idaho.

Presentations

Paper Presentations

Goodson, A. (November 2020). *Heterosexual and Same-Sex Intimate Partner Violence: Police Attributions of Victim Culpability*. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Society of Criminology.

Goodson, A., Garza, A.D., Acquaviva, B., & Franklin, C.A. (March 2019). *The Downstream Orientation of Justice in Domestic Violence Arrest Decisions.* Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Academy of Criminal Justice Sciences.

Garza, A.D., **Goodson, A.**, & Franklin, C.A., (March 2019). *The Nexus between Intimate Partner Violence and Stalking Victimization: Exploring Police Responses.* Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Academy of Criminal Justice Sciences.

Goodson, A., Franklin, C.A., & Garza, A.D. (November 2018). *Sexual Assault Case Processing: The Effect of Trauma, Evidence, and Relationship Type on the Arrest Decision.* Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Society of Criminology.

Goodson, A., & Franklin, C.A. (November 2017). *Intimate Partner Violence Among Sexual Minorities: An Exploration of Police Officer Attributions.* Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Society of Criminology.

Garza, A.D., Franklin, C.A., **Goodson, A.**, & Bouffard, L.A. (November 2017). *Police Officer Perceptions of Crime Victims: The Effect of Mandatory Training on Knowledge of Trauma Responses.* Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Society of Criminology.

Goodson, A., & Bouffard, L.A. (March 2017). *Social Disorganization, Intimate Partner Violence, and the Rural/Urban Divide.* Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Academy of Criminal Justice Sciences.

Goodson, A., & Bouffard, L.A. (March 2016). *Do Sports Matter? The Relationship between Athletics and Aggression towards Women*. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Academy of Criminal Justice Sciences.

Goodson, A., Bostaph, L.G., King, L.L, & Gillespie, L.K. (November 2015). *Help-Seeking Behaviors of Crime Victims*. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Society of Criminology.

Goodson, A. (March 2015). *Barriers Encountered by Rural and Urban Victim Service Agencies*. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Academy of Criminal Justice Sciences.

Bostaph, L.G., King, L.L, Gillespie, L.K., Lopez, M., & **Goodson, A.** (March 2015). *Needs and Barriers: Crime Victims and Services*. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Academy of Criminal Justice Sciences.

Goodson, A. (November 2014). *Services Available for Victims of Crime: A Comparison Between Rural and Urban Counties.* Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Society of Criminology.

Bostaph, L.G., King, L.L, Gillespie, L. K., **Goodson, A.**, & Lopez, M. (October 2014). *Perceptions and Needs of Victim Service Providers Across Idaho.* Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Western Association of Criminal Justice.

<u>Poster Presentations</u>

Fleming, J.C., **Goodson, A.**, Garza, A.D., & Franklin, C.A. (March 2019). *Police Predictors of Myths Surrounding Domestic Violence Survivors.* Poster presented at the annual meeting of the Academy of Criminal Justice Sciences.

Goodson, A., Franklin, C.A., & Bouffard, L.A. (February 2018). *Officers' Response to Crime Victims: Factors that Influence Referrals to Community Agencies*. Poster presented at the annual meeting of the Academy of Criminal Justice Sciences.

Goodson, A., & Bouffard, L.A. (November 2016). *Social Disorganization, Gender Inequality, and Interpersonal Violence*. Poster presented at the annual meeting of the American Society of Criminology.

Goodson, A. (October 2014). *Physical Fitness for Police Officers: Is There a Built In Bias?* Poster presented at the annual meeting of the Western Association of Criminal Justice.

Honts, C.R., & **Goodson, A.** (March 2014). *Public Knowledge Of and Support for Compensating the Wrongfully Convicted.* Poster presented at the annual meeting of the American Psychology Law Society.

Goodson, A. (February 2014). *Therapeutic Communities within a Correctional Setting*. Poster presented at the annual meeting of the Academy of Criminal Justice Sciences.

Roundtable Presentations

Goodson, A., & Marganski, A. (November 2018). *Flawed Justice: When System Responses Fail Victims/Survivors (and what we can do about it!)*. Roundtable presented at the annual meeting of the American Society of Criminology.

University Presentations

Goodson, A., & Franklin, C.A. (April 2018). *Intimate Partner Violence among Sexual Minorities: An Exploration of Police Officer Attributions.* Paper presented at the annual Sam Houston State University 3 Minute Thesis.

Goodson, A., & Bouffard, L.A. (April 2017). *Do Sports Matter? The Relationship between Athletics and Aggression towards Women*. Paper presented at the annual Sam Houston State University 3 Minute Thesis.

Goodson, A., Bostaph, L.G., King, L.L, & Gillespie, L.K. (April 2016). *Help Seeking Behaviors of Crime Victims*. Paper presented at the Sam Houston State University Woodlands Research Exchange.

Professional Development

Conferences

2019	Conference on Crimes Against Children
2019	Texas Victim Services Association 2019 Biannual Training Conference
2019, 2018 2017	Conference on Crimes Against Women
2017	Identifying and Preventing Gender Bias in the Criminal Justice System's Response to Domestic Violence and Sexual Assault – Battered Women's Justice Project.
2016	Texas Victim Services Association Research Symposium

Webinars

2018	Victim Services in the Immediate Aftermath of a Crime (Texas Department of Criminal Justice-Victim Services Division).

Workshops

2018, 2019	Title IX and Family Educational Rights and Privacy Act – Sam Houston State University.

2017	Certification in Teaching Online with Blackboard – Sam Houston State University.
2017	Ethics Training – Sam Houston State University.
2017	Effective Strategies for Evaluating Student Writing – Sam Houston State University.
2016	Division of Women and Crime: Journal Manuscript Reviewer Training – American Society of Criminology.
2016	Leadership Training: Weaknesses and Strengths – Sam Houston State University.
2015	Texas Victim Assistance Training – Texas Department of Criminal Justice.

Professional Service to the University and Field

Service to the Field

2020-Present	Manuscript reviewer for *Violence Against Women*
2019-Present	Manuscript reviewer for *Crime and Delinquency.*
2019-Present	Manuscript reviewer for *Substance Abuse Treatment, Prevention, and Policy.*
2018-Present	Manuscript reviewer for *Journal of Family Violence.*
2017-Present	DWC *Program Committee,* Member and Co-Chair 2017-2018.
2015-Present	*DWC Newsletter Committee*, Employment and Funding.
2017	*Panel Chair*. Theories of Victimization, ACJS Annual Conference.
2015	*Book Reviewer* for ASC's Division of Women and Crime Newsletter.
2014	Ancillary Preparer for Professor Marianne Hudson, Department of Criminal Justice, Boise State University.

Service to the University

2017-Present	*Committee Member*. Criminal Justice Graduate Student Organization Walk-A-Mile Committee, Sam Houston State University, Huntsville, TX.
2016-Present	*Peer Mentor*. Department of Criminal Justice and Criminology, Sam Houston State University, Huntsville, TX.

2015-Present	*Member* (2015-2016; 2018-Present), *Vice President* (2017-2018), *Treasurer* (2016-2017). Criminal Justice Graduate Student Organization, Sam Houston State University, Huntsville, TX.
2013-Present	*Member*, Alpha Phi Sigma Criminal Justice Honors Society.
2011- 2015	*Vice Present* (2014-2015), *Treasurer* (2012-2014), Lambda Alpha Epsilon-Delta Psi Chi, Boise State University, Boise, ID.
2010-2015	*Member,* Psi Chi Psychology Honors Society, Boise State University, Boise, ID.
2010-2013	*Vice President* (2012-2013), *Treasurer* (2011-2012), Association of Psychology Students, Boise State University, Boise, ID.
2009-2015	*Member*, National Society of Collegiate Scholars, Boise State University, Boise, ID.

Professional Affiliations

American Society of Criminology
Divisions: Victimology, Women & Crime
Academy of Criminal Justice Sciences
Divisions: Victimology, Minorities and Women
Texas Victim Services Association