

Antisociality and Intimate Partner Violence: The Facilitating Role of Shame

Aaron J. Kivisto, PhD
Katherine L. Kivisto, PhD
Todd M. Moore, PhD
Deborah L. Rhatigan, PhD

The University of Tennessee

Numerous theories classify distinct subtypes of men who perpetrate violence against female partners. These theories contend that a large portion of these men possess antisocial characteristics that may increase risk for violence. Affectively, these men have been found to externalize their emotions, including shame and guilt, and it has been suggested that this process contributes to the perpetration of partner violence. Therefore, this study sought to examine the role of shame and guilt in the association between antisociality and partner violence perpetration (i.e., psychological, physical, and sexual). Based on a sample of 423 undergraduate men, this study found that shame moderated the association between antisociality and partner violence perpetration such that as shame increases, the associations between antisociality and all three types of partner violence perpetration increase. These findings contribute to the theoretical understanding of typological models of partner violence and have clinical implications for batterer intervention programs.

Keywords: antisocial personality disorder; antisociality and shame; shame and aggression; antisociality and intimate partner violence

Intimate partner violence (IPV) is a prevalent social problem affecting marital as well as dating relationships. Highlighting the pervasiveness of IPV in dating relationships, nationally representative surveys suggest that nearly one in three female college students will experience at least one act of physical aggression perpetrated by their intimate partners (White & Koss, 1991). Although research indicates that men and women perpetrate IPV at roughly similar rates (e.g., Archer, 2000; O'Leary et al., 1989), women are more likely than men to suffer severe physical injuries and adverse mental health consequences (see Holtzworth-Munroe, Smutzler, & Sandin, 1997, for review). To better understand male-to-female partner violence, researchers have suggested that the most productive empirical approach might be to focus on the characteristics that distinguish partner-violent males from nonviolent males (Hotaling & Sugarman, 1986; Holtzworth-Munroe & Stuart, 1994).

Several typological theories, stemming from Makepeace's (1981) seminal investigation nearly 30 years ago, have been developed to classify distinct subtypes of the heterogeneous

group of men that perpetrate partner violence (e.g., Dutton, 1988; Holtzworth-Munroe & Stuart, 1994; Johnson, 1995; Saunders, 1992). Dutton, Bodnarchuk, Kropp, Hart, & Ogloff (1997) proposed the “trimodal array of personality disorders” to unite these disparate but overlapping models. This trimodal theory delineated between the overcontrolled (avoidant/schizoid), generally violent (antisocial), and emotionally volatile (borderline) types of male perpetrators. The generally violent antisocial type is described as being more likely to be diagnosed with antisocial personality disorder (ASPD), lacking in empathy, and prone to using violence instrumentally (Dutton et al., 1997). Further, the generally violent antisocial type has been found to engage in moderate to severe partner violence, including psychological and sexual abuse, and to have engaged in the highest levels of general violence outside of the intimate relationship compared to other types of batterers (Holtzworth-Munroe, Meehan, Herron, Rehman, & Stuart, 2000). Taking into account the theoretically similar low-level antisocial (LLA) type identified through cluster analytic techniques (Holtzworth-Munroe et al., 2000), Holtzworth-Munroe (2000) suggests that three of the four subtypes (i.e., family-only, low-level antisocial, and generally violent/antisocial) can be conceptualized as falling along a continuum of antisociality, with family-only batterers showing the lowest levels of antisociality, and generally violent/antisocial batterers showing the highest levels of antisociality, with low-level antisocial batterers showing intermediate levels. Whereas this line of theory and research cogently demonstrates the association between Axis II personality pathology and partner violence and, in particular, the association between antisociality and partner violence (e.g., Hanson, Cadsky, Harris, & Lalonde, 1997; McBurnett et al., 2001; Murphy, Meyer, & O’Leary, 1993; Murphy, O’Farrell, Fals-Stewart, & Feehan, 2001); questions remain regarding the potential role of emotion in this association.

THE ROLE OF AFFECT

Because typological models suggest that antisocial male batterers perpetrate their violence in instrumental ways (e.g., Dutton et al., 1997; Edwards, Scott, Yarvis, Paizis, & Panizzon, 2003; Holtzworth-Munroe, 2000), congruent with the concept of predatory violence characterized by the absence of physiological and emotional arousal (Meloy, 2006), the role of affect in antisocial perpetrators has been underexamined. However, recent theorists have cautioned against conflating the construct of psychopathy with ASPD (Ogloff, 2006). Deficits in ones’ emotional experience are indeed characteristic of psychopathic individuals (Blair, 1995; Hare, 1996), which likely contributes to psychopath’s instrumental use of aggression. For example, a recent review by Rogstad and Rogers (2008) suggests that psychopathic individuals demonstrate general deficits in emotion processing and deficient general and victim-specific empathy. However, this is distinct from antisociality, which is characterized predominantly by its behavioral manifestations with little regard to potential emotional factors (American Psychiatric Association [APA], 2000). Accordingly, ASPD individuals have not been found to demonstrate this general pattern of emotional deficiencies (Kosson, Lorenz, & Newman, 2006; Lorenz & Newman, 2002). As such, it is possible that emotion does in fact play an important role in the perpetration of domestic violence among antisocial individuals, although because of the conflation with the construct of psychopathy, the empirical work in this area has been minimal.

Whereas Holtzworth-Munroe and Stuart’s (1994) typology does not attend to the role of affect for partner-violent men falling on the antisocial continuum (in contrast to the

dysphoric-borderline type), Holtzworth-Munroe (2000) contends that future research is needed to better understand the nature of and motivations for (e.g., goal-oriented and predatory vs. affectively driven) violence across the subtypes of partner-violent men. Unsurprisingly, the small body of research that has examined the role of affect in antisocial male perpetrators of partner violence has emphasized the role of chronic anger. For example, Hanson and colleagues (1997) found that the subjective distress endorsed by abusive men was characterized by feelings of anger and hostility, and that these features increased in a linear pattern as levels of antisociality increased. Similarly, Dutton (1994a, 1994b) found that male batterers with an “abusive personality” experienced chronic anger. Building on the Holtzworth-Munroe and Stuart typology, Costa and Babcock (2008) found that antisociality in partner-violent men was positively associated with articulated anger. In line with previous research that points to a relation between anger and the externalization of blame (e.g., Wood & Newton, 2002), male batterers also tend to use an externalizing attributional style to justify their violence (Dutton, 1986; Dutton & Starzomski, 1993). In contrast to the more aggressively toned emotions of anger and hostility, however, research has emerged suggesting that male batterers also tend to exhibit more painful self-conscious emotions, particularly shame and guilt regarding their own violence (Dutton & Hemphill, 1992).

ANTISOCIALITY, SHAME, AND GUILT

Shame and guilt have been described as “moral emotions” (Tangney & Dearing, 2002; p. 90). According to Tangney (1996), *guilt* refers to regret or remorse for a “bad behavior,” whereas *shame* refers to an affective state where an individual scrutinizes and criticizes their entire global self rather than a specific action or behavior. Further, Morris (1971) theorizes that when people feel guilty, they tend to expect punishment and make efforts to gain forgiveness, repair relationships, and atone; whereas when people feel ashamed, they tend to expect abandonment and make efforts to change the self, hide, or run away. Further distinguishing these emotions, guilty individuals tend to feel a greater sense of control relative to those experiencing shame who tend to feel submissive, inferior, inhibited, and lacking in status, power, and self-confidence (Wicker, Payne, & Morgan, 1983).

Prior to being tested empirically, both shame and guilt were historically assumed to deter anger and aggression (Tangney & Dearing, 2002). Empirically, however, shame and guilt are further distinguishable by their differential influence on aggressive behavior. Based on Lewis’ (1971) psychotherapy research suggesting that the experience of shame is so painful that it often results in an inclination to project blame, Tangney and Dearing (2002) suggest that blaming others serves an ego-protective function. Specifically, these authors posit that shifting from the experience of shame to anger not only protects the self, but further serves the function of shoring up one’s diminished sense of potency and authority. For example, a man who feels ashamed and powerless in his relationship may defensively alleviate these feelings by “turning the tables” on his partner via abuse or aggression so that he, once again, feels powerful. This characteristic pattern of male batterers is described in Dutton and Golant’s (1995) concept of *the bitch tape*, which he describes as “a mental cassette . . . side one has some version of ‘I feel bad. It’s her fault.’ Side two says, ‘She’s a bitch. She’s always putting me down’” (p. 44). This link between shame and aggression has been more fully articulated in Kohut’s (1968, 1972) concept of narcissistic rage which posits that shame

stemming from perceptions of personal failure results in unexpected and uncontrolled anger and aggression in order to alleviate painful emotions. Taking this theory to its logical extension, Kohu contends that shame-prone individuals are likely to actively search for conflict to assuage their suffering.

Supporting the empirical link between shame, the externalization of blame, and partner violence, Dutton (1994a, 1994b) and Dutton and Starzomski (1993) have examined men with borderline personality organization (BPO), defined by a combination of identity diffusion, impaired reality testing, and the use of primitive defenses. BPO represents a level of personality organization and encompasses a range of descriptive diagnostic categories, including avoidant, dependent, narcissistic, paranoid, and antisocial personality disorders (Kernberg, 1984). Men with BPO have been found to externalize blame more and to become angry and abusive with their intimate partners more frequently (Dutton, 1994a; Dutton & Starzomski, 1993; Tangney, Wagner, Fletcher, & Gramzow, 1992). Further, Dutton, van Ginkel, and Starzomski (1995) found that early memories of shaming experiences were a stronger predictor of adult partner violence perpetration than were early experiences of parental physical abuse. When shaming did not occur, parental physical abusiveness showed no relation to adult partner violence perpetration. Similarly, the link between shaming experiences and partner violence perpetration disappeared when parental physical abusiveness was partialled out. Taken together, Dutton and colleagues (1995) concluded that early shaming experiences contribute to the formation of the “abusive personality,” characterized by high levels of chronic anger and an attributional style of externalizing blame, and parental physical abusiveness provides the modeling of behaviors to express anger characteristic of this type of personality.

Expanding on this link between shame and aggression, antisociality has been linked to both shame and aggression. Describing the characteristic self-perceptions and affects of individuals with ASPD, Meloy (2007) suggests that these individuals tend to view themselves as injured or devalued with an emotional life dominated by feelings of anger and sensitivities to shame. Similarly, Morrison and Gilbert (2001) found that generally antisocial individuals could be distinguished from primary psychopaths by their propensities toward shame, with generally antisocial individuals evidencing a more subordinate view of themselves with a greater predilection toward shame. According to Wright (1987), antisocial behavior might be viewed as a masculine expression of shame. Taken together, this link between shame and aggression might shed light on the well-documented association between ASPD and aggression (e.g., Kernberg, 1992).

In contrast to the association between shame and aggression, guilt has consistently been found to be a protective factor against anger and aggression, possibly through the facilitation of other-oriented empathy (Eisenberg, 1986; Miller & Eisenberg, 1988). Further, in contrast to shame, guilt has been found to be associated with a tendency to accept responsibility for one's actions and to own up to one's contributions to situations (Tangney & Dearing, 2002). Given that the *DSM-IV-TR* (APA, 2000) cites a lack of remorse as a diagnostic criteria for ASPD, however, one would expect guilt to be negatively associated with antisociality. As opposed to the destructive responses to anger characteristic of shame-prone individuals, guilt-prone individuals tend to respond to conflict more constructively, in such a way as to make efforts to make amends (Tangney, 1995). Empirically, however, these differential outcomes depend on controlling for guilt when examining shame, and vice versa, so as to measure what Dearing, Stuewig, and Tangney (2005) refers to as “pure guilt” and “pure shame.”

Whereas previous authors (Dutton et al., 1995; Kohut, 1968, 1972; Lewis, 1971; Tangney & Dearing, 2002; Tangney et al., 1992) have articulated the link between pure shame and aggression, the influence of pure shame on the association between ASPD and male perpetrated partner violence has yet to be examined. To date, Dutton (1994a, 1994b) and Dutton and Starzomski (e.g., 1993) have broadly examined the influence of shame on the relations between BPO and partner violence perpetration; however, further research is needed to more fully explicate the role of shame on the relations between specific descriptive diagnostic categories that fall within the borderline level of personality organization and partner violence perpetration. Given the centrality of antisociality within Holtzworth-Munroe and Stuart's (1994) typological model, which is acknowledged to be associated with more severe couples' violence and more deleterious outcomes, this study sought to shed light on the emotional link between antisociality and partner violence perpetration. Specifically, this study sought to examine the potential moderating roles of shame and guilt on the association between antisociality and partner violence perpetration. Because shame and guilt are amenable to treatment to a greater extent than ASPD, this study sought to identify potential treatment targets for partner-violent men who evidence antisocial tendencies.

Based on theory and past research, it was expected that higher antisociality scores would be related to more frequent male-perpetrated partner violence. Second, it was anticipated that high shame-proneness would be related to more frequent male-perpetrated partner violence, whereas high guilt-proneness would be related to less frequent partner violence perpetration. Third, it was hypothesized that guilt would serve a protective moderating functioning on the association between antisociality and partner violence perpetration, such that as levels of guilt-proneness increase, the association between antisociality and partner violence would decrease. In contrast, the fourth hypothesis predicted that shame would serve a potentiating moderating function on the antisociality-partner violence perpetration association, such that as levels of shame-proneness increased, the association between antisociality and partner violence would also increase.

METHODS

Participants

Participants included 423 males recruited from a large southeastern university. Participants' average age was 19.70 years ($SD = 2.30$) and most were freshman or sophomores (80%) who endorsed a heterosexual orientation (96%). In line with regional demographics, most of our sample was of non-Hispanic White descent (86.7%). Approximately half (50.8%) of the participants were currently involved in a dating relationship, and 2.6% were married at the time of participation. Of those engaged in an intimate relationship at the time of participation, the average length of relationship was 17.60 months ($SD = 18.32$).

Procedures

Participants' eligibility was determined via an online research participation Web site. Participants meeting eligibility criteria (at least 18 years old) were e-mailed a link to a Web site containing information about the study and interested participants completed an online informed consent form. Participants then completed an online packet of questionnaires through an encrypted Web site and were awarded course credit for their participation.

Measures

Demographic Information. A demographics questionnaire was administered to gather participant information, including age, gender, ethnicity, academic level, religious beliefs, income, and relationship status.

The Revised Conflict Tactics Scale (CTS2; Straus, Hamby, Boney-McCoy, & Sugarman, 1996). The CTS2 is a 78-item measure that was used to assess partner violence perpetration in the past 6 months. The CTS2 contains five subscales, including negotiation, psychological aggression, physical assault, sexual coercion, and injury. Only the three perpetration subscales of psychological aggression (8 items), physical assault (12 items), and sexual coercion (7 items) were used in this study. The CTS2 is the most commonly used scale for assessing partner violence (Straus et al., 1996) and has demonstrated moderate to excellent reliability and validity across numerous studies and populations (e.g., Straus, 2004). Because of significant skewness, CTS2 variables were logarithmically transformed (natural log) to more closely approximate a normal distribution (Brown, 2006; Tabachnick & Fidell, 2001). Internal consistency reliability estimates for this study yielded coefficient alphas of .78 (psychological aggression), .88 (physical aggression), and .68 (sexual aggression). Removal of items from any subscale resulted in lower alpha coefficients, so all items were retained.

The Test of Self Conscious Affect-3 (TOSCA-3; Tangney, Dearing, Wagner, & Gramzow, 2000). The TOSCA-3 is a 16-item measure that examines four processes in shame and guilt situations, including guilt-proneness, shame-proneness, externalization, and detachment. We used a shortened 11-item version of this scale that included only the shame-proneness and guilt-proneness scales because this version has been shown to be equivalent to the full 16-item version (Tangney & Dearing, 2002). Each item describes a particular scenario and is followed by four to five responses that capture the range of possible reactions in such situations. Internal consistency reliability estimates for this study yielded alpha coefficients of .82 (guilt) and .71 (shame).

The Personality Diagnostic Questionnaire-4+ (PDQ-41; Hyler, 1994). The antisocial personality subscale of the PDQ-4+ was administered to assess for symptoms corresponding to the *DSM-IV-TR* criteria for this disorder. Previous research examining the psychometric properties of previous versions of the PDQ suggests good test-retest reliability, internal consistency, external validity, and criterion validity (see Bagby & Farvolden, 2004 for review), and recent investigations with the PDQ-4+ indicate promising psychometric properties (Davison, Leese, & Taylor, 2001). Internal consistency reliability estimates for this study yielded an alpha coefficient of .58. In light of the potential limitations posed by the modest internal consistency of this measure, a confirmatory factor analysis was conducted that provided support for the use of the PDQ-4+. The model provided a good fit to the data, $\chi^2(14) = 28.97$; $CFI = .92$; $RMSEA = .05$, and the standardized factor loadings ranged from .19 to .59, suggesting that all seven items contributed to the construct.

RESULTS

Data Analyses

Models testing direct effects and tests of invariance were estimated using AMOS 17.0 (Arbuckle, 1999) using maximum likelihood estimation to compute all solutions. Using Hu and Bentler's (1999) recommendations, a combination of fit indices, including χ^2 / df ,

which should be less than 3 (Kline, 2005); *Bentler's Comparative Fit Index (CFI)* (Bentler, 1990), which should be greater than .95 (Kline; Hu & Bentler, 1999); and the *Root Mean Square Error of Approximation (RMSEA)* (Steiger & Lind, 1980), which should be less than .06 (Hu & Bentler), was used to determine the fit of the model to the data. Moderational analyses used a multiple group model approach (Kline) in which the hypothesized moderator was dichotomized using a median split procedure. After establishing an adequate fit of the model with no equality constraints imposed, a series of increasingly restrictive constraints were placed on the model (Byrne, 2001). Chi-square difference tests were used to evaluate whether constraining these factor loadings to be invariant across groups resulted in a significant decrement in the model χ^2 (Kline).

Preliminary Results

Means, correlations, and standard deviations of all observed study variables are presented in Table 1. Bivariate correlations revealed that although guilt was negatively related to antisociality and physical aggression, shame evidenced no relationship with antisociality or any type of IPV. Note that preliminary analyses found that the relations between shame ($\Delta\chi^2(3) = 2.86, p > .05$) and guilt ($\Delta\chi^2(3) = 2.86, p > .05$) with all three types of partner violence were invariant across ethnicity. As a result, all subsequent analyses combined all participants.

Antisociality and Partner Violence

To evaluate the first hypothesis, which posited that antisociality would be positively related to partner violence perpetration, path analyses were conducted with structural models examining the direct effects of antisociality on partner violence perpetration. Simultaneously examining the relations between antisociality and the three types of partner violence, hypothesis one was fully supported, with significant standardized regression weights from antisociality to psychological aggression ($\beta = .23, p < .01$), physical assault

TABLE 1. Means, Correlations, and Standard Deviations of Observed Study Variables

Variable	1	2	3	4	5	6
1. ASPD	—					
2. Shame	0.07	—				
3. Guilt	-0.12*	0.38**	—			
4. Psychological aggression	0.23**	0.08	-0.10	—		
5. Physical assault	0.11*	0.02	-0.16**	0.49**	—	
6. Sexual coercion	0.26**	0.05	-0.10	0.56**	0.63**	—
Mean	1.38	27.34	40.18	1.16	0.23	0.39
SD	1.38	6.69	7.82	1.36	0.91	0.85

Note. ASPD = antisocial personality disorder.

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$.

($\beta = .10, p < .05$), and sexual coercion ($\beta = .26, p < .01$) indicating that higher levels of antisociality were associated with more frequent IPV.

Shame, Guilt, and Partner Violence

Hypothesis two predicted that shame would be positively related to partner violence, whereas guilt would be negatively associated with partner violence. To statistically control for the shared effects of shame and guilt on IPV, path analyses were conducted with structural models where both predictors were entered simultaneously into the model predicting each of the three types of partner violence (see Figure 1). Results partially supported this hypothesis, with guilt evidencing a negative association with physical ($\beta = -.15, p < .01$) and psychological ($\beta = -.11, p = .06$) aggression but no relation to sexual aggression ($\beta = -.09, p = .12$) such that higher scores of pure guilt were significantly related to less frequent physical and psychological aggression. In contrast, shame showed a positive association with sexual ($\beta = .12, p < .05$) and psychological ($\beta = .11, p = .05$) aggression but no relation to physical aggression ($\beta = .06, p = .33$).

Antisociality and Guilt

Examining the combined influence of antisociality and guilt, the third hypothesis posited that as guilt increased, the association between antisociality and partner violence would decrease. In line with Dearing, Stuewig, and Tangney’s (2005) recommendation, shame was entered as a covariate in this path model to account for the shared variance between guilt and shame. Because the baseline model was fully saturated, it necessarily resulted in a perfect fit to the data, $\chi^2(0) = 0$. Constraining each path from antisociality to partner violence to be equivalent across groups (high guilt/low guilt) did not result in a significant decrement in the fit of the model, indicating that the relations between antisociality

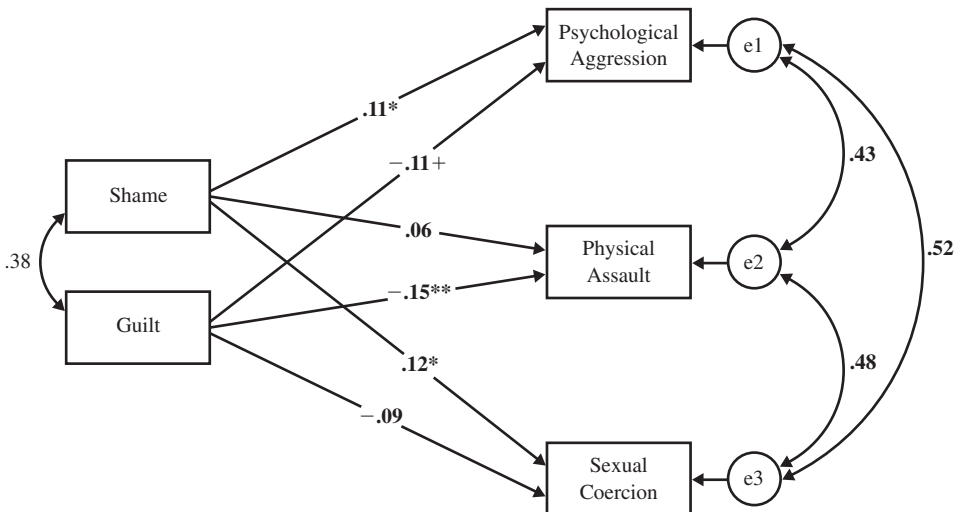


Figure 1. Main effects of shame and guilt on partner violence.

Note. Estimates are standardized regression weights.
 + $p < .10$. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$.

and each type of partner violence was invariant across high and low levels of guilt, $\Delta\chi^2(3) = 5.63, p > .05$, failing to support the hypothesized protective moderating role of guilt. Standardized beta weights from antisociality to partner violence across high and low levels of guilt are depicted in Figure 2.

Antisociality and Shame

Examining the hypothesized moderating role of shame on the association between antisociality and partner violence, a path model was tested that entered guilt as a covariate to control for the shared variance between shame and guilt. Because the baseline model across high and low levels of shame with no constraints imposed resulted in a fully saturated model, this model necessarily resulted in a perfect fit to the data, $\chi^2(0) = 0$. Imposing equality constraints on each path from antisociality to partner violence, results indicated that the association between antisociality and partner violence varied across groups (high shame/low shame) for at least one of these paths, $\Delta\chi^2(3) = 11.25, p < .05$. Following Byrne's (2001) recommendation, a series of increasingly restrictive constraints were then imposed on the model to determine the source(s) of invariance. Results found that the relations between antisociality and physical ($\Delta\chi^2(1) = 7.73, p < .01$) and sexual ($\Delta\chi^2(1) = 10.38, p < .01$) IPV were each significantly moderated by shame. As seen in Figure 3, shame appears to serve a potentiating function on the association between antisociality and physical and sexual partner violence perpetration. Specifically, antisociality was strongly related to all three forms of partner violence for men who were high in shame-proneness; however, only psychological aggression was related to antisociality for men low in shame-proneness.

Further examining the relative effects of antisociality on the three types of partner violence perpetration for men high in shame-proneness, we examined the critical ratios for differences between each parameter. Results demonstrated that the parameter from antisociality to sexual coercion was significantly stronger than the path from antisociality to physical aggression perpetration ($z = -2.39, p < .05$). Similarly, the parameter from antisociality to sexual coercion approached being significantly stronger than the path from antisociality to psychological aggression ($z = -1.78, p = .08$).

DISCUSSION

This study examined the roles of shame and guilt on the relations between antisociality and the distinct types of IPV perpetration, including psychological, physical, and sexual violence. It replicated previous research findings that men higher in antisocial personality traits reported more partner violence perpetration. Similarly, in the current study, trends suggested that men higher in shame-proneness perpetrated more psychological and physical violence. Providing support for the protective role of guilt on partner violence, men who reported higher proneness to guilt were less likely to report perpetrating physical and sexual violence and showed a trend toward reporting less psychological aggression. Guilt was also negatively related to antisociality, consistent with antisocial individuals' deficits in other-oriented empathy noted by previous authors (Eisenberg, 1986; Miller & Eisenberg, 1988).

Expanding on previous research to shed light on the emotional correlates involved in the relationship between antisociality and partner violence, this study examined the potential moderating roles of shame and guilt on the relationship between antisociality and

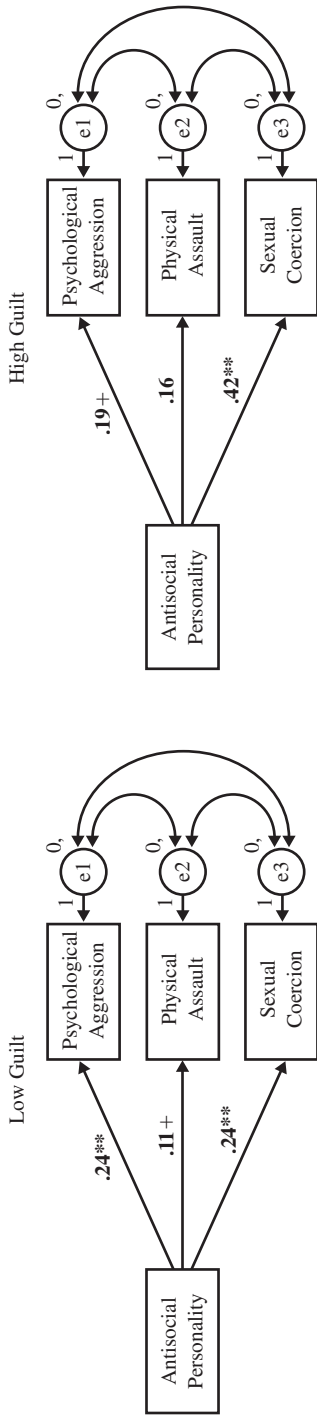


Figure 2. Standardized regression weights from antisociality to partner violence by guilt.

Note. Shame was entered as a covariate in this model but has been omitted from this figure for graphical clarity. + $p < .10$. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$.

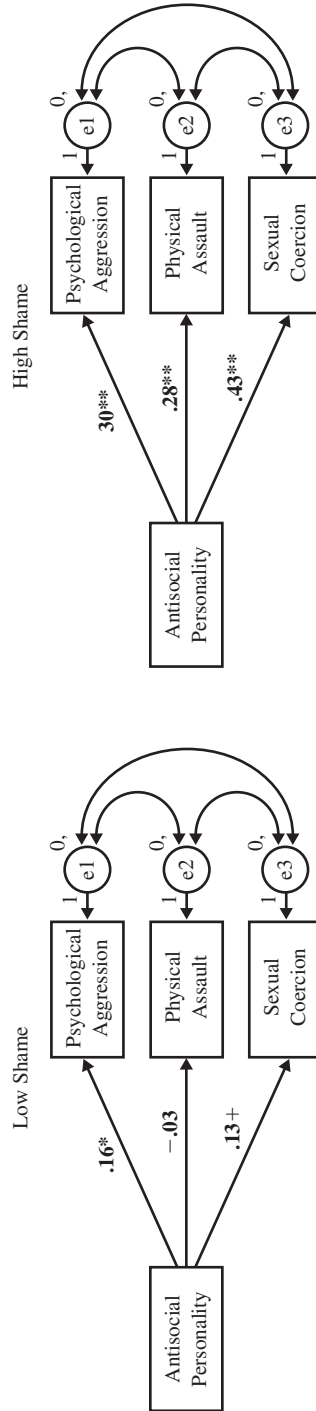


Figure 3. Standardized regression weights from antisociality to partner violence by shame.

Note. Guilt was entered as a covariate in this model but has been omitted from this figure for graphical clarity. + $p < .10$. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$.

partner violence perpetration. Providing strong support for the facilitating role of affect in the perpetration of partner violence for men high in antisociality, shame was found to play an essential role in the antisociality-partner violence association. Specifically, for men low in shame, antisociality was unrelated to any form of partner violence. In stark contrast, for men higher in shame-proneness, there emerged a robust association between antisociality and every type of partner violence perpetration. These findings suggest that shame might serve to facilitate the transition of an antisocial personality style into overt acts of partner violence. Taken together, the present findings imply that the combination of antisociality and shame may be particularly volatile for some men.

Whereas outcome research with partner-abusive men has found that antisociality is associated with poor prognoses for recidivism (Dutton et al., 1997), the present findings carry important clinical implications for this group. Specifically, given that antisociality in the absence of high levels of shame was unrelated to partner violence, shame-focused interventions might provide one means of intervening with this group. In their description of a shame-focused intervention with groups of abusive men, Wallace and Nosko (1993) noted a process of “vicarious detoxification” in which group members are forced to encounter their own shame through hearing other men’s confessions to the group. Through a process of identifying with other group members’ sense of shame, the original defenses against shame, including violence, rage, and abusiveness become less necessary because men begin to assume ownership for their violence. The present findings provide empirical support for the expansion of shame-focused intervention programs, such as that described by Wallace and Nosko, for addressing the affective correlates of partner violence perpetration with men who evidence antisocial tendencies. Group interventions such as the psychoeducational program described by Kaufman (1996) that combines didactic and experiential components to focus on shame-based problems might provide useful roadmaps for intervention programs for this group of male perpetrators of partner violence. It should be noted, however, that shame-focused interventions might be contraindicated with men from other diagnostic groups within the borderline level of personality organization (e.g., narcissistic personality disorder) given that these men might be particularly resistant to “encountering” their shame and assuming ownership for their violence.

This study also has implications for future research. Findings of this study are constrained to the perpetration of male violence against female partners, which raises the question: Does the combination of antisociality and shame contribute to violence perpetration in general, or is this particular combination target-specific toward one’s intimate partner? As Dutton (1994a) notes, intimate partners have the responsibility for maintaining their partners’ emotional equilibrium imposed on them, putting them in the unenviable position of being both the cause and the cure of the perpetrator’s shame. In light of this question, it is interesting to note that the strongest association between antisociality and partner violence perpetration for shame-prone individuals was found between antisociality and sexual violence. One possible explanation for this finding might be related to the cultural perspective that suggests that sexuality is one of the few sources of power available to women over men (e.g., Lips, 1981). Working within this framework, Darke (1990) posits that because all acts of sexual violence are perpetrated to satisfy the aggressors’ need for power, controlling a woman sexually might represent the ultimate denigration through attacking her most fundamental source of power. That is, it is possible that antisocial men confronted with painful feelings of shame and powerlessness in the context of their intimate relationships might be more likely to perpetrate acts of violence that are particularly humiliating out of an urgent need to “undo” their painful affect by reestablishing their power (e.g., Darke, 1990). Such an interpretation is congruent with Scheff and Retzinger’s

(2003) theory of “shame–rage loops,” which grants priority to the causal role of affect in IPV perpetration, and in particular shame and humiliation, in explaining male-perpetrated sexual assault as a humiliation/counter-humiliation cycle. However, this possibility is only speculative at this point and will require further research.

In providing support for the facilitating role of shame on the perpetration of partner violence for men high in antisociality, the present study provides further support for one aspect of the Holtzworth-Munroe and Stuart (1994) typology while expanding our current understanding. That is, although Holtzworth-Munroe (2000) conceptualizes three of the four subtypes as existing on a continuum of antisociality, ranging from those perpetrating mild violence similar to Johnson’s (1995) “common couples violence” to the more severe perpetration similar to Johnson’s “patriarchal terrorism,” the present findings provided further support for a linear association between antisociality and IPV perpetration. What is novel about the present findings, however, is the explicit focus on the affective correlates of this well-documented association. In contrast to the cold, premeditated, and instrumental partner violence that might be characteristic of psychopathic individuals, these findings support an affective basis for some antisocial men’s perpetration of partner violence centered on the painful self-conscious emotion of shame. Because the present research did not explicitly categorize men according to a typological framework, however, future research will be needed to examine the differential impact of shame across subtypes of male batterers.

Although guilt was anticipated to serve a protective function in the association between antisociality and partner violence, this hypothesis was not supported. One possible explanation for this lack of support stems from the use of a college student sample in which the men were relatively low in antisociality compared to the general population. As such, it is possible that a more heterogeneous group with a greater range of antisocial features might have provided support for the protective role of guilt on the relationship between antisociality and partner violence. Despite the fact that guilt was not found to be a protective factor for men high in antisociality in this study, however, these null effects do provide further support for the conceptualization of violent antisocial individuals as lacking in guilt toward their victims.

Limitations, Strengths, and Conclusion

Although this study demonstrated that shame plays a central role in the association between antisociality and partner violence perpetration, there are notable limitations. First, the modest internal consistency reliabilities for the antisociality subscale of the PDQ-4+ and the sexual coercion subscale of the CTS2 are limitations that raise several possibilities. Although these measures have demonstrated good psychometric properties in other samples, it is possible that the use of a male college student sample in this study decreased the internal consistency reliabilities because of minimal variance on several items that would likely be endorsed more frequently in a clinical batterer population. For example, PDQ-4+ item 7 (*I don’t care if others get hurt so long as I get what I want*) and CTS2 sexual coercion item 47 (*I used force [like hitting, holding down, or using a weapon] to make my partner have sex*) were only endorsed by 2.4% and 1.1% of the males in this sample, respectively. Given that each of these scales are made up of only seven items, with even one item with such minimal endorsement poses a serious threat to the scale’s internal consistency. Although a more heterogeneous sample might exhibit greater variance on these measures, the modest reliabilities in this study point to a unique difficulty in studying partner violence in a population often looked over by domestic violence researchers (e.g., college males) and for whom measures have not been specifically created and normed.

A second limitation surrounds the possibility that the use of a predominately White, middle-class college student sample limits the generalizability of these findings. Although previous research has suggested that partner violence is a prevalent problem on college campuses (e.g., Sigelman, Berry, & Wiles, 1984), it is possible that these men differ in some way from partner-violent men whose behaviors lead to involvement with treatment programs and the legal system. Related to this potential limitation, the use of the PDQ-4+ to evaluate antisociality as a continuous variable opposed to making a formal diagnosis of ASPD opens the possibility that the present findings do not truly represent the effects of antisocial personality disorder on partner violence. However, consistent with the increasing support for a dimensional view of personality disorders in general (e.g., Skodol et al., 2005), taxometric methods have found that ASPD is not underpinned by a discrete category but rather should be viewed as a dimensional construct (Marcus, Lilienfeld, Edens, & Poythress, 2006). Finally, given that Lewis (1971) suggests that shame is related to aggression through its transformation into the less painful effect of anger, future research would benefit from empirically examining the potential mediating role of anger to see if the data support this theoretical relationship.

Despite these limitations, this study has several strengths. Most notably, it represents the first empirical support for the strong potentiating influence of shame on the relationship between antisociality and partner violence perpetration using a large sample of young men. In addition, these findings emerged in a nonclinical undergraduate sample that have presumably not come to the attention of the legal system nor been mandated to intervention programs. For domestic violence researchers, it should be noted that, the use of non-clinical samples does not necessarily represent a compromise so much as a recognition of the often undetected ubiquity of the problem, reflected, for example, in the fact that less than 7% of Holtzworth-Munroe and colleagues' (2000) "Husband Violent" group were recruited from domestic violence treatment programs. To detect these effects in a young, predominately middle-class and educated sample in this study provides further evidence of the prevalence of partner violence.

Male-perpetrated psychological, physical, and sexual aggression in the context of intimate relationships occurs with alarming frequency, and yet, consistently effective interventions for antisocial male batterers remain elusive. In clarifying the role of shame as a critical element in the perpetration of intimate partner violence, the present research sheds some promising light onto this troubling problem. However, future research is greatly needed to better understand the dynamic factors that contribute to antisocial males' partner violence perpetration.

REFERENCES

- American Psychiatric Association. (2000). *Diagnostic and statistical manual of mental disorders* (4th ed., text rev.). Washington, DC: Author.
- Arbuckle, J. L. (1999). AMOS 4.0 Users' Guide [Computer software]. Chicago, IL: Smallwaters.
- Archer, J. (2000). Sex differences in aggression between heterosexual partners: A meta-analytic review. *Psychological Bulletin*, *126*, 651–680.
- Bagby, R. M., & Farvolden, P. (2004). The Personality Diagnostic Questionnaire-4 (PDQ-4). In M. Hersen (Series Ed.) & M. J. Hilsenroth, & D. L. Segal (Vol. Eds.), *Comprehensive handbook of psychological assessment: Vol. 2. Personality assessment*. Hoboken, NJ: Wiley.
- Bentler, P. M. (1990). Comparative fit indexes in structural models. *Psychological Bulletin*, *107*(2), 238–246.

- Blair, R. J. (1995). A cognitive developmental approach to morality: Investigating the psychopath. *Cognition*, *57*(1), 1–29.
- Brown, T. A. (2006). *Confirmatory factor analysis for applied research*. New York: Guilford Press.
- Byrne, B. M. (2001). *Structural equation modeling with AMOS: Basic concepts, applications, and programming*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Costa, D. M., & Babcock, J. C. (2008). Articulated thoughts of intimate partner abusive men during anger arousal: Correlates with personality disorder features. *Journal of Family Violence*, *23*, 395–402.
- Darke, J. L. (1990). Sexual aggression: Achieving power through humiliation. In W. L. Marshall, D. R. Laws, & H. E. Barbaree (Eds.), *Handbook of sexual assault: Issues, theories, and treatment of the offender* (pp. 55–72). New York: Plenum Press.
- Davison, S., Leese, M., & Taylor, P. J. (2001). Examination of the screening properties of the Personality Diagnostic Questionnaire 4+ (PDQ-4+) in a prison population. *Journal of Personality Disorders*, *15*(2), 180–194.
- Dearing, R. L., Stuewig, J., & Tangney, J. P. (2005). On the importance of distinguishing shame from guilt: Relations to problematic alcohol and drug use. *Addictive Behaviors*, *30*(7), 1392–1404.
- Dutton, D. G. (1986). The outcome of court-mandated treatment for wife assault: A quasi-experimental evaluation. *Violence and Victims*, *1*(3), 163–175.
- Dutton, D. G. (1988). Profiling wife assaulters: Preliminary evidence for a trimodal analysis. *Violence and Victims*, *3*(1), 5–29.
- Dutton, D. G. (1994a). Behavioral and affective correlates of Borderline Personality Organization in wife assaulters. *International Journal of Law and Psychiatry*, *17*(3), 265–277.
- Dutton, D. G. (1994b). The origin and structure of the abusive personality. *Journal of Personality Disorders*, *8*(3), 181–191.
- Dutton, D. G., Bodnarchuk, M., Kropp, R., Hart, S. D., & Ogloff, J. P. (1997). Client personality disorders affecting wife assault post-treatment recidivism. *Violence and Victims*, *12*(1), 37–50.
- Dutton, D. G., & Golant, S. K. (1995). *The batterer: A psychological profile*. New York: Basic Books.
- Dutton, D. G., & Hemphill, K. J. (1992). Patterns of socially desirable responding among perpetrators and victims of wife assault. *Violence and Victims*, *7*(1), 29–39.
- Dutton, D. G., & Starzomski, A. J. (1993). Borderline personality in perpetrators of psychological and physical abuse. *Violence and Victims*, *8*(4), 326–337.
- Dutton, D. G., van Ginkel, C., & Starzomski, A. J. (1995). The role of shame and guilt in the intergenerational transmission of abusiveness. *Violence and Victims*, *10*(2), 121–131.
- Edwards, D. W., Scott, C. L., Yarvis, R. M., Paizis, C. L., & Panizzon, M. S. (2003). Impulsiveness, impulsive aggression, personality disorder, and spousal violence. *Violence and Victims*, *18*(1), 3–14.
- Eisenberg, N. (1986). *Altruistic emotion, cognition, and behavior*. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Hanson, R. K., Cadsky, O., Harris, A., & Lalonde, C. (1997). Correlates of battering among 997 men: Family history, adjustment, and attitudinal differences. *Violence and Victims*, *12*(3), 191–208.
- Hare, R. D. (1996). Psychopathy: A clinical construct whose time has come. *Criminal Justice and Behavior*, *23*, 25–54.
- Holtzworth-Munroe, A. (2000). A typology of men who are violent toward their female partners: Making sense of the heterogeneity in husband violence. *Current Directions in Psychological Science*, *9*(4), 140–143.
- Holtzworth-Munroe, A., Meehan, J. C., Herron, K., Rehman, U., & Stuart, G. L. (2000). Testing the Holtzworth-Munroe and Stuart (1994) batterer typology. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology*, *68*(6), 1000–1019.
- Holtzworth-Munroe, A., Smutzler, N., & Sandin, E. (1997). A brief review of the research on husband violence. Part II: The psychological effects of husband violence on battered women and their children. *Aggression and Violent Behavior*, *2*, 179–213.

- Holtzworth-Munroe, A., & Stuart, G. L. (1994). Typologies of male batterers: Three subtypes and the differences among them. *Psychological Bulletin*, *116*(3), 476–497.
- Hotaling, G. T., & Sugarman, D. B. (1986). An analysis of risk markers in husband to wife violence: The current state of knowledge. *Violence and Victims*, *1*(2), 101–124.
- Hu, L., & Bentler, P. M. (1999). Cutoff criteria for fit indexes in covariance structure analysis: Conventional criteria versus new alternatives. *Structural Equation Modeling*, *6*(1), 1–55.
- Hyler, S. (1994). *Personality questionnaire with two additional research categories of personality disorders: The PDQ4+*. New York: New York State Psychiatric Institute.
- Johnson, M. P. (1995). Patriarchal terrorism and common couple violence: Two forms of violence against women. *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, *57*(2), 283–294.
- Kaufman, G. (1996). *The psychology of shame: Theory and treatment of shame-based syndromes*. New York: Springer Publishing.
- Kernberg, O. F. (1984). *Severe personality disorders: psychotherapeutic strategies*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Kernberg, O. F. (1992). *Aggression in personality disorders and perversions*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Kline, R. (2005). *Principles and practice of structural equation modeling* (2nd ed.). New York: Guilford Press.
- Kohut, H. (1968). The psychoanalytic treatment of narcissistic personality disorders. Outline of a systematic approach. *The Psychoanalytic Study of the Child*, *23*, 86–113.
- Kohut, H. (1972). Thoughts on narcissism and narcissistic rage. *The Psychoanalytic Study of the Child*, *27*, 360–400.
- Kosson, D. S., Lorenz, A. R., & Newman, J. P. (2006). Effects of comorbid psychopathy on criminal offending and emotion processing in male offenders with antisocial personality disorder. *Journal of Abnormal Psychology*, *115*(4), 798–806.
- Lewis, H. B. (1971). *Shame and guilt in neurosis*. New York: International Universities Press.
- Lips, H. M. (1981). *Women, men, and the psychology of power*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.
- Lorenz, A. R., & Newman, J. P. (2002). Utilization of emotion cues in male and female offenders with antisocial personality disorder: Results from a lexical decision task. *Journal of Abnormal Psychology*, *111*(3), 513–516.
- Makepeace, J. M. (1981). Courtship violence among college students. *Family Relations*, *30*, 97–102.
- Marcus, D. K., Lilienfeld, S. O., Edens, J. F., & Poythress, N. G. (2006). Is antisocial personality disorder continuous or categorical? A taxometric analysis. *Psychological Medicine*, *36*(11), 1571–1581.
- McBurnett, K., Kerckhoff, C., Capasso, L., Pfiffner, L. J., Rathouz, P. J., McCord, M., et al. (2001). Antisocial personality, substance abuse, and exposure to parental violence in males referred for domestic violence. *Violence and Victims*, *16*(5), 491–506.
- Meloy, J. R. (2006). Empirical basis and forensic application of affective and predatory violence. *Australian and New Zealand Journal of Psychiatry*, *40*(6–7), 539–547.
- Meloy, J. R. (2007). Antisocial personality disorder. In G. Gabbard (Ed.), *Gabbard's Treatments of Psychiatric Disorders* (4th ed., pp. 2251–2272). Washington, DC: American Psychiatric Press.
- Miller, P. A., & Eisenberg, N. (1988). The relation of empathy to aggressive and externalizing/antisocial behavior. *Psychological Bulletin*, *103*(3), 324–344.
- Morris, H. (1971). *Guilt and shame*. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth.
- Morrison, D., & Gilbert, P. (2001). Social rank, shame, and anger in primary and secondary psychopaths. *Journal of Forensic Psychiatry*, *12*(2), 330–356.
- Murphy, C. M., Meyer, S. L., & O'Leary, K. D. (1993). Family of origin violence and MCMI-II psychopathology among partner assaultive men. *Violence and Victims*, *8*(2), 165–176.
- Murphy, C. M., O'Farrell, T. J., Fals-Stewart, W., & Feehan, M. (2001). Correlates of intimate partner violence among male alcoholic patients. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology*, *69*(3), 528–540.

- Ogloff, J. P. (2006). Psychopathy/antisocial personality disorder conundrum. *The Australian and New Zealand Journal of Psychiatry*, 40(6–7), 519–528.
- O’Leary, D. K., Barling, J., Arias, I., Rosenbaum, A., Malone, J., & Tyree, A. (1989). Prevalence and stability of physical aggression between spouses: A longitudinal analysis. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology*, 57, 263–268.
- Rogstad, J. E., & Rogers, R. (2008). Gender differences in contributions of emotion to psychopathy and antisocial personality disorder. *Clinical Psychology Review*, 28(8), 1472–1484.
- Saunders, D. G. (1992). A typology of men who batter women: Three types derived from cluster analysis. *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, 62(2), 264–275.
- Scheff, T. J., & Retzinger, S. M. (2003). Shame, anger, and the social bond: A theory of sexual offenders and treatment. In M. Silberman (Ed.), *Violence and society: A reader* (pp. 301–311). Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall.
- Sigelman, C. K., Berry, C. J., & Wiles, K. A. (1984). Violence in college students’ dating relationships. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, 5, 530–548.
- Skodol, A. E., Oldham, J. M., Bender, D. S., Dyck, I. R., Stout, R. L., Morey, L. C., et al. (2005). Dimensional representations of DSM-IV personality disorders: Relationships to functional impairment. *American Journal of Psychiatry*, 162(10), 1919–1925.
- Steiger, J. H., & Lind, J. C. (1980, June). *Statistically based tests for the number of common factors*. Paper presented at the Psychometric Society Annual Meeting, Iowa City, IA.
- Straus, M. A. (2004). Cross-cultural reliability and validity of the Revised Conflict Tactics Scales: A study of university student dating couples in 17 nations. *Cross-Cultural Research*, 38, 407–432.
- Straus, M. A., Hamby, S. L., Boney-McCoy, S., & Sugarman, D. B. (1996). The Revised Conflict Tactics Scales (CTS2): Development and preliminary psychometric data. *Journal of Family Issues*, 17, 283–316.
- Tabachnick, B. G., & Fidell, L. S. (2001). *Using multivariate statistics* (4th ed.). Boston: Allyn & Bacon.
- Tangney, J. P. (1995). Shame and guilt in interpersonal relationships. In J. P. Tangney & K. W. Fischer (Eds.), *Self-conscious emotions: Shame, guilt, embarrassment, and pride* (pp. 114–139). New York: Guilford Press.
- Tangney, J. P. (1996). Conceptual and methodological issues in the assessment of shame and guilt. *Behaviour Research and Therapy*, 34(9), 741–754.
- Tangney, J. P., & Dearing, R. L. (2002). *Shame and guilt*. New York: Guilford Press.
- Tangney, J. P., Dearing, R. L., Wagner, P. E., & Gramzow, R. (2000). *The Test of Self-Conscious Affect-3 (TOSCA-3)*. Fairfax, VA: George Mason University.
- Tangney, J. P., Wagner, P., Fletcher, C., & Gramzow, R. (1992). Shamed into anger? The relation of shame and guilt to anger and self-reported aggression. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 62(4), 669–675.
- Wallace, R., & Nosko, A. (1993). Working with shame in the group treatment of male batterers. *International Journal of Group Psychotherapy*, 43(1), 45–61.
- White, J. W., & Koss, M. P. (1991). Courtship violence: Incidence in a national sample of higher education students. *Violence and Victims*, 6, 247–256.
- Wicker, F. W., Payne, G. C., & Morgan, R. D. (1983). Participant descriptions of guilt and shame. *Motivation and Emotion*, 7, 25–39.
- Wood, J., & Newton, A. K. (2002). The role of personality and blame attribution in prisoners’ experiences of anger. *Personality and Individual Differences*, 34(8), 1453–1465.
- Wright, F. (1987). Men, shame, and antisocial behavior: A psychodynamic perspective. *Group*, 11(4), 238–246.

Correspondence regarding this article should be directed to Aaron J. Kivisto, PhD, Children and the Law Program, Massachusetts General Hospital, 151 Merrimac Street, 3rd Floor, Suite 3, Boston, MA 02114. E-mail: AaronKivistoPhD@gmail.com