

Factors Driving Male Violence Against Women in Intimate Relationships

Dominador G. Tuason Jr.*, Mark B. Augusto
Silliman University, Dumaguete City, Philippines

*Corresponding Author Email: dominadorjr@su.edu.ph

Date received: April 19, 2024

Date revised: May 10, 2024

Date accepted: May 16, 2024

Originality: 95%

Grammarly Score: 99%

Similarity: 5%

Recommended citation:

Tuason, D., Augusto, M. (2024). Factors driving male violence against women in intimate relationships. *Journal of Interdisciplinary Perspectives*, 2(7), 137-145. <https://doi.org/10.69569/jip.2024.0158>

Abstract. Cases of male violence against women continue to grow. Therefore, this study aimed to examine the influencing factors that lead men to commit violence against their partners. Employing a descriptive research design, this study first identified the demographic profile of 50 identified aggressive men toward women with whom they have an intimate relationship. Subsequently, the influencing factors behind their aggressive behavior were identified. Respondents were selected from those with current cases of violence against women in the Philippines. Data were gathered through interviews, which were then analyzed and interpreted both quantitatively and qualitatively. Results showed that among the influencing factors that lead men to commit violence against women are the perpetrators' childhood learned behavior/conditioning, economic stress, and alcohol consumption. The results of this study will be used to further develop and improve a program aimed at the elimination of violence against women.

Keywords: Violence against women; Aggressive behavior; Influencing factors; Intimate partner violence; Gender-based violence.

1.0 Introduction

Violence against women (VAW) has been a problem in many places, particularly in the Philippines. Despite efforts and advocacy campaigns against violence towards women, cases of abuse have continued to rise. Furthermore, records from the Philippine National Police (PNP) show that the identified perpetrators are mostly intimate partners of the victims, affecting not only the victims but also their families. The World Health Organization's recent statistics show that out of every three women, one is prone to physical and sexual abuse. Yet, the United Nations reports that even with this high number of abuses toward women, only 40% of the victims seek guidance and help (Qaisarani et al., 2016). In the Philippines, according to PNP statistics, the most common perpetrators of violence against women are live-in partners or spouses (Bernarte et al., 2018).

Published research studies provide information on why men use violence against women; however, there is a need to delve into the influencing factors behind why men commit violent acts against their intimate partners. Understanding men's complex experiences within the framework of deep-rooted patriarchal processes and institutions that allow men to assert power and influence over women can aid in identifying the fundamental causes of violence against women and girls and in preventing violence before it occurs (Khuran, 2017). The only way to eliminate harmful gender roles and behaviors is for men and boys to get involved (Khuran, 2017).

It was found that family, economic, sociocultural, and sociopolitical factors exist in the Filipino community that contribute to the prevalence of violence against women in various settings (Bernarte et al., 2018). Furthermore, gender disparity and harmful, hegemonic masculinities within the relationship space were major drivers of intimate partner abuse (Fulu et al., 2013). Controlling behavior, quarreling, depression, transactional sex, multiple

sexual partners, and experiences of child abuse, among other factors, were all strongly linked to violence (Fulu et al., 2013). Though these factors were common in many studies, one, however, stood out as something that could shed light on what influenced men to commit violence against women. In 2013, a research study was conducted to determine the perpetrator's risk factors for violence against women. Results from the study showed that the age of the victim is linked to the commission of abuse, with younger perpetrators becoming more involved in women's violence. The same result was found in the study of Odalepo et al. (2011). The age of the perpetrator was seen as one of the factors that contribute to violence against women, aside from the breakup of relationships, income, and previous oppression. In some locations, especially Cambodia and Indonesia, a large percentage of men said they were under the age of 15 when they first committed rape. Forty-nine percent of the men who admitted to raping a woman did so for the first time while they were younger (Fulu et al., 2013).

Men's childhood experiences and family upbringing are also factors that influence men to commit violence against women. Supported by some psychological theories, men's childhood experiences or trauma of physical and verbal abuse from parents or family members are likely to affect men in their way of dealing with conflicts. Men who committed violence against women mostly were victims of abuse during their childhood (Fulu et al., 2013). Thirteen to 65 percent of the men polled said they had been physically abused as children. Before the age of 18, 6% to 37% of the respondents claimed to have been sexually abused (Fulu et al., 2013). Intimate partner violence is more closely linked to child abuse encounters. This means that perpetrators of intimate partner violence were also victims of child abuse during their childhood. Furthermore, male children witnessing their father's aggression toward his wife (and, in a few cases, mutual violence between both partners) could cause them to grow up to be violent husbands or fathers (Arisukwu et al., 2021).

In the past two years (2021-2022), a total of 450 cases of violence against women and girls, mostly sexual abuse and domestic violence, were handled by the Gender Watch Against Violence and Exploitation (GWAVE). The occurrence of VAW reflects social inequalities that support misogynistic characters and male-dominant culture (Fulu et al., 2013). Years of studies by scholars and researchers have shown that gender inequality, perceived women's inferiority to men, and types of environments usher a widespread acceptance of violence against women. Men in this context must be held liable for their socially unacceptable actions. But to fully understand the issue and to create preventive measures, men's perspectives on violence against women must be studied (Fulu et al., 2013). Their context and viewpoints will be used to fully understand what influences them to become violent towards women who happen to have intimate relationships with them. The results of this study are useful as bases for creating preventive programs and measures to realistically eliminate violence against women.

2.0 Methodology

2.1 Research Design

This study employed a descriptive research design. Firstly, the demographic and economic backgrounds of the respondents were established and described. Secondly, the reasons or influencing factors for violent behavior were analyzed and categorized.

2.2 Research Participants

The study participants were from Negros Oriental, Philippines. They were determined through the stratified sampling technique to ensure representations from each study site. From the list of those identified men with confirmed VAW cases, a sampling procedure with a random start and interval was conducted per study site. However, the sample size per site decreased since some sampled individuals refused to participate due to the sensitivity of the research topic. Thus, the final number of respondents who willingly participated in this study was fifty.

2.3 Research Instrument

This study used a semi-structured self-made questionnaire to gather data through interviews with the respondents.

2.4 Data Gathering Procedure

Coordination with the appropriate office of the local government unit was established before the actual interviews. A semi-structured survey interview questionnaire in Cebuano was already prepared to capture those data. The researchers personally interviewed because of the sensitivity of the questions to be asked.

2.5 Ethical Considerations

Before the conduct of the study, researchers secured approval from the University Research Ethics Committee of Silliman University. During the conduct of the study, a written consent was signed by all participants signifying their willingness to participate. The researcher meticulously ensured that participants comprehended the study's objectives, the nature of their participation, and their unequivocal right to withdraw at any point. Questions were posed using straightforward language, facilitating participants' comfortable expression in their own dialects. Upholding strict confidentiality, the researcher prioritized the privacy of participants' personal information. In addition, the researcher engaged with the funding agency to uphold ethical standards in our conduct of the study. Results were then forwarded to the funding agency and a thorough discussion were made to make sure they understood the outcome of the study and the researchers recommendations based on the result. Finally, the conduct of the study is free from any conflict of interest.

2.6 Data Analysis

The researcher utilized descriptive statistics analysis, such as frequency and percentage distribution, to analyze the data.

3.0 Results and Discussion

3.1 Childhood Experiences

Childhood experiences are considered one of the many factors to understand why men commit violence against women. This study examined the different childhood experiences of the respondents.

Experiences of Discipline

Table 1. Respondents' experiences of discipline

	FREQUENCY	PERCENTAGE
Kinds of Discipline		
Verbal corrective	44	88.00
Physical punishment	23	46.00
Verbal abuse	19	38.00
Persons Who Disciplined		
Father	28	56.00
Mother	25	50.00
Older brother	2	4.00
Grandmother	2	4.00
Grandfather	2	4.00
Older sister	1	2.00
Feelings When Disciplined		
Acceptance	42	84.00
Sad	20	40.00
Avoidance	18	26.00
Negative influence	1	2.00

Table 1 presents the respondents' childhood experiences with their families, focusing on the types of discipline they received at home and from whom they received it. It also includes the respondents' recollections of their feelings during the time they were disciplined. Regarding the types of discipline the respondents received at home, physical punishment, verbal abuse punishment, and verbal corrective discipline emerged as common themes. Physical abuse punishments involve the use of force directed towards the individual being disciplined. Verbal abuse punishments consist of hurtful words directed towards someone, while verbal corrective discipline is described as a positive form of discipline involving advice given with respect and without hurting others' feelings.

Descriptively, among the 46 percent of respondents who experienced physical punishment as discipline, forms of punishment included whipping, kneeling over mongo seeds, hanging, and the least severe being pinching. The 38 percent who encountered verbal abuse mostly endured hurtful comments and derogatory words from their parent/s. Parents often recalled past mistakes and misbehavior of the respondents. A significant 88 percent reported receiving verbal corrective discipline at home, indicating that instead of physical or verbal abuse, they received advice and guidance aimed at preventing future mistakes. Researchers believe that respondents likely experienced at least these three types of discipline at home due to the multiple choices provided. When asked about their feelings regarding the discipline received at home, 84 percent expressed acceptance, feeling okay with the discipline imposed, often rationalizing it with statements like “I accept it because I made a mistake.”

Relationship with Parents

Table 2. Quality of relationship with parents

	FREQUENCY	PERCENTAGE
Type of Relationships With Parents		
Close to both parents	28	56.00
Close with the mother	18	36.00
Close with the father	14	28.00
Not close to both parents	2	4.00
Close to the aunt	1	2.00
Close to the grandfather	1	2.00
Parents’ Relationship Dynamics		
Expressive (mostly verbal altercations)	44	88.00
Male Dominance	17	32.00
Healthy Interaction	13	26.00
Unfaithfulness	2	4.00
No assessment	2	2.00
Observed Situations When Parents Quarreled		
Usually, the father shouts during a quarrel	19	38.00
Usually, the mother shouts during a quarrel	18	36.00
Usually, the father is drunk during a quarrel	9	18.00
Usually, the mother just cries during a quarrel	8	16.00
Things are thrown around during quarrels.	1	2.00
Feelings After Parents Quarreled		
Pity (for the mother)	23	46.00
Embarrassed	22	44.00
Sad	18	36.00
Indifference	15	30.00
Pity (for the father)	1	2.00

Table 2 presents the respondents’ observed quality of relationships with their parents, parents’ relationship dynamics, situations when parents quarrel, and the respondents’ feelings during these quarrels. Descriptively, the majority of respondents (56 percent) reported being close to both parents. However, there is a slight difference as 36 percent of respondents reported being closer to their mothers compared to 28 percent to their fathers. A very small percentage reported being close to their aunt or grandfather.

Regarding the observed relationship dynamics of their parents, several common themes emerged. Most prevalent was an expressive relationship dynamic, with 88 percent of respondents reporting both parents freely expressing themselves, often involving verbal altercations with exchanges of hurtful words. Additionally, male dominance in the parent’s relationship dynamics scored higher, with 34 percent of respondents observing this dynamic.

In terms of observed situations when parents quarrel, 38 percent of respondents reported that during quarrels, the father usually shouts at the mother, while 36 percent observed the opposite, with the mother shouting at the father. This aligns with the 88 percent of respondents who assessed their parents’ relationship dynamics as expressive through verbal altercations. Interestingly, 18 percent observed that most quarrels happen when the

father is drunk. Additionally, 16 percent witnessed the mother crying and doing nothing during quarrels, which seems to align with the observation of the father being the dominant force in the household.

Moreover, the feelings of the respondents during these quarrels were mostly directed towards their mothers compared to their fathers. Forty-six percent of respondents felt pity for their mothers compared to 2 percent for their fathers, reinforcing the male dominance in the family, especially in the parents' relationship dynamics.

3.2 Role Performance at Home

Table 3. Role performance in the family

	FREQUENCY	PERCENTAGE
Kinds of Discipline Instilled on Own Children		
Verbal corrective	42	84.00
Avoidance	15	30.00
Physical punishment	10	20.00
Types of Feelings after the Incident		
Remorseful	49	98.00
Strained	24	48.00
How to Deal with Spousal Quarrels		
Discuss	47	94.00
Passivity	35	70.00
Persons Involved in Resolving Misunderstanding		
Collective	25	50.00
Depends on who is right	25	50.00
Wife	9	18.00
Husband	9	18.00
No one	3	6.00
Feelings Involved Towards the Cause of Quarrel		
Satisfied or contented	31	62.00
Dejected	21	42.00

Table 3 presents the respondents' perceptions and actual experiences in their roles at home as both husbands and fathers. Their feelings toward these roles were also taken into consideration for analysis and discussion. As fathers, respondents exercise their role as disciplinarians to their children, employing various forms of discipline including verbal corrective, avoidance, and physical punishment.

Descriptively, verbal corrective discipline, favored by 84 percent of the respondents, is characterized as a positive approach where parents talk to their children politely and give them advice. Thirty percent of respondents employ avoidance as their way of responding to children's misbehavior, choosing to walk away to avoid resorting to physical punishment. In situations deemed too severe, 20 percent of respondents use physical punishment, although they express reservations about it. Since respondents were given the freedom to choose multiple options, researchers believe that respondents employ all these types of discipline at home, with a notable reservation, especially concerning physical punishment.

Despite favoring verbal corrective discipline, respondents do not seem to connect with it emotionally, particularly when asked about their feelings after disciplining their children. Ninety-eight percent of respondents felt remorse after disciplining their children, indicating a sense of pity or regret. Forty-eight percent also expressed feeling strained, suggesting a desire to resort to physical punishment but refraining from doing so due to fear of potential issues that might arise.

In terms of dealing with spousal quarrels, two main approaches emerged as the most favored among respondents: being passive and being proactive. Seventy percent of the respondents stated that being passive helps them deal with spousal quarrels. This involves avoiding and getting away from unfavorable situations with their partners. One respondent recounted, "I just leave to avoid conflict." However, most respondents said that during quarrels, they are proactive about addressing issues. This means they find ways to discuss problems and

misunderstandings politely and courteously, as one respondent stated, "We just talk it out if there's a problem." Surprisingly, none of the respondents reported resorting to violence or uttering hurtful words towards their partner during quarrels. They believe it must be a collective effort (50.0%) between husband and wife to resolve misunderstandings. They are very content and satisfied (62.0%) with the collaborative effort between marital partners in resolving quarrels. However, considering that some respondents have current cases of abuse filed in their respective municipalities, this does not align with what they believe should be right and what they do.

3.3 Tensions in the Family

Table 4. Causes and feelings during tensions in the family

	FREQUENCY	PERCENTAGE
Causes of Tension in the Family		
Financial Instability	38	76.00
Husband's vices (alcohol)	17	34.00
Wife's failure in her duties	8	16.00
Jealousy	7	14.00
Misbehaving children	6	12.00
In-laws' involvement in family misunderstandings	4	8.00
Types of Feelings During Family Tension		
Helpless	30	60.00
Ashamed	16	32.00
Sad	13	26.00
Irritable	5	10.00
Responses Family Tension		
Nothing	39	78.00
I physically hurt my partner	23	46.00
Get drunk	9	18.00
Talk about solving the problem	3	6.00
Intimate Partners' Reaction to Husbands' Response		
Nothing	25	50.00
Mad	22	44.00
Reported to the police	19	38.00
Run Away	5	10.00
Worked hard to earn money	1	2.00
Sad	1	2.00

Table 4 presents the respondents' experiences regarding tensions in the family, which are situations that may lead to quarrels or misunderstandings. These tensions are believed to be influencing factors in how respondents respond, either violently or not. Upon careful examination, six common situations emerged as experiences that influenced tensions in the family: financial stability, jealousy, husband's vices, wife's failure to perform household duties, in-law's involvement, and misbehaving children.

Respondents' financial difficulties due to unstable work and lack of income were found to be the primary cause of tension in the family. This is consistent with the data in Table 4, which describes the respondents' monthly income as only 5,000 a month. This result is also consistent with the study by Schwab-Reese (2016), which shows that financial stress resulting from a lack of income and unpaid bills is significantly related to physical violence perpetration. Financial problems are often present before acts of intimate partner violence (Byun, 2012).

Considering that all respondents in this study had cases of violence against women (VAW) at the time the data were collected, researchers believe that the respondents' financial difficulties, which were the main reason for tension in the family (76.00%), may have been the reason for the acts of violence against intimate partners. It is also notable that the husband's vices, particularly alcohol consumption (34.00%), created tension in the family and eventually led to marital quarrels. This corroborates results from different research studies showing that alcohol consumption is significantly related to intimate partner violence (Berg et al., 2011; Pareck, 2021). Other causes of tension in the family included jealousy (14.00%), wife's failure to perform household duties (16.00%), in-laws' involvement in family problems (8.00%), and misbehaving children (12.00%).

The above-mentioned tensions are believed to be present prior to acts of violence against intimate partners. The researchers also examined the feelings of the respondents regarding the tensions experienced in the family. Using the idea of the cognitive triangle, where feelings mostly dictate actions if not properly processed, researchers believe that understanding the respondents' feelings toward certain tensions in the family is crucial.

Sixty percent of the respondents felt helpless about the mentioned tensions in the family. Respondents felt unable to change their financial situations, as most of them earned only 5,000 pesos or less, which was compounded by limited job options due to incomplete higher education. Twenty-six percent felt sad, 32 percent felt ashamed, and 10 percent felt irritable regarding the different tensions experienced in the family.

Examining actual responses to the different family tensions, 78 percent of the respondents did nothing. Researchers believe there might be reservations in their responses considering that they all had records in the barangay for physical abuse against their partners. Only 46 percent of the respondents honestly admitted to physically hurting their partners in response to prevailing tensions in the family. Regarding the intimate partners' response to the husbands' acts of violence against them, only 38 percent reported it to the police or the barangay.

3.4 Reasons for Violence Against Women

Table 5. circumstances of violence to partners

	FREQUENCY	PERCENTAGE
Reason for Being Violent		
Drunk	24	48.00
Retaliation	21	42.00
Nagging	19	38.00
Financial Situation	14	28.00
Embarrassed	13	26.00
Jealousy	13	26.00
Failed duties	5	10.00
Feelings After Showing Violence		
Apologetic	29	58.00
Remorseful	27	54.00
Regret	27	54.00
Delighted	17	34.00
Nothing	6	12.00
Husband's Idea How Spouse Should Behave		
Agreeable	26	52.00
Respectful	22	44.00
Calm	17	34.00
Responsible	16	32.00
Approachable	16	32.00

Table 5 presents the respondents' actual reasons for physically hurting their intimate partners. Seven common answers were identified: drunkenness, embarrassment, nagging, jealousy, failed duties, retaliation, and financial situation. Forty-eight percent of the husbands reported being drunk at the time they physically hurt their wives. This resonates with the results of Graham et al. (2011), which showed that men are more violent when intoxicated, and the severity of violence is higher compared to situations when men are not under the influence of alcohol. For the husbands, they believe that drinking alcoholic beverages provides relaxation and helps them forget their problems. However, this often leads to their intimate partners nagging them about drinking and spending their minimal income.

3.5 Discussion

The results of this study indicate that childhood learned behavior/conditioning, economic stress, and alcohol consumption are the prevailing influencing factors behind the respondents' violent behavior towards intimate

partners. It is observed that at least one of these influencing factors is present prior to the act of violence by the respondents.

Childhood Learned Behavior / Conditioning

Respondents of this study experienced abuse during their childhood, which manifested in the form of physical punishment, such as whipping, kneeling over mongo seeds, hanging, and pinching, as well as verbal abuse, where hurtful words were uttered by parents. Up to 84 percent of respondents received both verbal and physical abuse punishment, mostly administered by the father, who was viewed as the authority figure at home. The mother also participated in similar forms of punishment. These findings align with the research of Fulu (2013) and Arisuku (2021), which link violence to childhood experiences of abuse by perpetrators of violence. There appears to be a culture of violence at home, normalized by 84 percent of respondents who believe that the verbal and physical abuse they received from their parents was justified due to their misbehaviors. One respondent articulated this acceptance: "I accepted the punishment because I made a mistake."

It is also common for both parents to freely express themselves, often through verbal altercations, with husbands shouting at wives during quarrels. Witnessing their fathers' aggression towards their mothers contributed to respondents' violent behavior. This finding coincides with the research of Arisuku (2021), which showed that intimate partner violence is linked to child abuse encounters and witnessing a husband's aggression towards his wife. From a young age, respondents experienced gender disparity and hegemonic masculinities, with fathers exercising dominance as the source of discipline and income provider.

This childhood learned behavior/conditioning is seen as influencing factors behind respondents' violent behaviors towards intimate partners. This finding is consistent with other studies that have established the link between violence and perpetrators' childhood experiences, as demonstrated by Fulu (2013) and Arisuku (2021).

Economic Stress

The data from this study reveal that up to 70 percent of the respondents have a very minimal income of 5,000 pesos only. This is primarily because 94 percent of them never reached college or had the opportunity to obtain a degree, resulting in non-permanent work. This lack of opportunity was expressed by one respondent who said, "We don't have decent jobs, we just wait for someone to call us."

The respondents do not have a permanent income to provide for the needs of their families. The wives also have no source of income due to the absence of permanent work. Both husbands and wives rely on a maximum income of 5,000 pesos per month to meet the family's needs. However, with the continuing increase in prices of goods and services, this monthly income (if they are called for work) is certainly not sufficient.

This poor economic situation, or economic stress, creates tensions in the family, as 76 percent of the respondents identified that their financial instability mostly triggers tensions in the family and eventually leads to arguments between husband and wife, which can escalate to physical violence by the husband (46 percent). This finding aligns with the results of the study by Bernarte et al. (2018), which shows that difficult economic situations contribute to the prevalence of violence against women in various settings. Furthermore, most of the respondents (60%) feel very helpless with their situations, as they can only rely on whatever available work is accessible to them based on their level of education.

Alcohol Consumption

This study reveals that alcohol consumption is also considered one of the influencing factors in the commission of violence against intimate partners. Alcohol consumption by the respondents comprises 34 percent of the causes of tensions in the family, and in most cases, this tension leads to verbal and physical altercations. Getting drunk is a common response for respondents when problems occur in the family. Forty-eight percent of the husbands said that the actual reason why they physically hurt their partner is that they were drunk. This finding is consistent with that of Fonseca et al. (2009), whose study showed that perpetrators of intimate partner violence were under the influence of alcohol at the time of the commission of violence. Similar results were found in the study of Boden et al. (2012).

Alcohol is a risk factor for the commission of intimate partner violence because it affects the respondents' physical and cognitive abilities. It reduces one's self-control and impairs judgment and decision-making abilities.

4.0 Conclusion

This study identified several influencing factors behind the respondents' violent behavior towards intimate partners. Results showed that prevailing factors include childhood learned behavior/conditioning, characterized by experiences of physical and verbal abuse from both parents, with the father often being an authoritative figure at home; economic stress and financial instability due to lower educational levels, resulting in low income and inability to provide basic needs for the family; and alcohol consumption.

Respondents' childhood experiences of trauma from physical and verbal abuse, as well as their overall learned behavior from childhood, are seen as influencing factors for men to commit violence against women. This resonates with the Ecological framework by Donald Dutton (1994), which suggests that the culture of violence deeply ingrained in man's experiences in the family and environment. The respondents commonly shared experiences of abuse from parents and witnessed violence perpetrated by fathers towards mothers, which researchers believe influences them to act violently during tense situations with intimate partners.

Based on the study's findings, researchers recommend that men with VAW cases undergo training and seminars on tension management, as they often resort to alcohol consumption to manage tensions. Additionally, livelihood training should be provided to respondents and their partners to improve economic situations and reduce financial stress, potentially eliminating occurrences of violence against women. For future research, widening the study's scope and including men without violence cases could provide comparative insights into the presence of these factors among different groups.

5.0 Contributions of Authors

Tuason and Augusto equally contributed to this study. Augusto made the research instrument and facilitated the interview of the respondents while Tuason made the analysis of the data and wrote the results and discussions.

6.0 Funding

This study received funding from the Gender Watch Against Violence and Exploitation (GWAVE).

7.0 Conflict of Interests

This research study is made possible through the partnership of Gender Watch Against Violence and Exploitation (GWAVE) and Silliman University.

8.0 Acknowledgment

The researchers acknowledge everyone who helped in this study.

9.0 References

- Arisukwu, O., Igbolokwu, C., Adebisi, T., & Akindele, F. (2021). Perception of domestic violence among rural women in Kuje. *Heliyon*, 7(2), e06303. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.heliyon.2021.e06303>
- Boden, J. M., Fergusson, D. M., & Horwood, L. J. (2012). Alcohol misuse and violent behavior: Findings from a 30-year longitudinal study. *Drug and Alcohol Dependence*, 122(1-2), 135-141. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.drugalcdep.2011.09.023>
- Dutton, D. G. (1994). Behavioral and affective correlates of borderline personality organization in wife assaulters. *International Journal of Law and Psychiatry*, 17(3), 265-277. [https://doi.org/10.1016/0160-2527\(94\)90030-2](https://doi.org/10.1016/0160-2527(94)90030-2)
- Fonseca, A. M., Galduróz, J. C. F., Tondowski, C. S., & Noto, A. R. (2009). Padrões de violência domiciliar associada ao uso de álcool no Brasil. *Revista de Saúde Pública*, 43(5), 743-749. <https://doi.org/10.1590/S0034-89102009005000049>
- Fulu, E., Warner, X., Miedema, S., Jewkes, R., Roselli, T., & Lang, J. (2013). Why do some Men use violence against women and how can we prevent it? <https://www.undp.org/asia-pacific/publications/why-do-some-men-use-violence-against-women-and-how-can-we-prevent-it>
- Graham, K., Bernards, S., Wilsnack, S. C., & Gmel, G. (2011). Alcohol may not cause partner violence but it seems to make it worse: A cross national comparison of the relationship between alcohol and severity of partner violence. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 26(8), 1503-1523. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0886260510370596>
- Lawson, J. (2012). Sociological theories of intimate partner violence. *Journal of Human Behavior in the Social Environment*, 22(5), 572-590. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10911359.2011.598748>
- Khurram, E. (2017). Factors that contribute to the violence against women: A study from Karachi, Pakistan. <https://www.semanticscholar.org/paper/Factors-that-contribute-to-the-violence-against-a-Khurram/7e8ea87951cfa4f4d1c178c08e1c135deda61061>
- Oladepo, O., Yusuf, O., & Arulogun, O. (2011). Factors influencing gender based violence among men and women in selected states in Nigeria. *African Journal of Reproductive Health / La Revue Africaine de La Santé Reproductive*, 15(4), 78-86. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/41762366>
- Parekh, A., Tagat, A., Kapoor, H., & Nadkarni, A. (2022). The effects of husbands' alcohol consumption and women's empowerment on intimate partner violence in India. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 37(13-14), NP11066-NP11088. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0886260521991304>
- Qaisrani, A., Liaquat, S., & Khokhar, E. N. (2016). Front matter (Socio-Economic and Cultural Factors of Violence against Women in Pakistan, p. [i]-[ii]). Sustainable Development Policy Institute. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/resrep02859.1>
- Schwab-Reese, L. M., Peek-Asa, C., & Parker, E. (2016). Associations of financial stressors and physical intimate partner violence perpetration. *Injury Epidemiology*, 3(1), 6. <https://doi.org/10.1186/s40621-016-0069-4>