

COMMENTARY

Best Violence Research of 2011: Selections From an Invited Panel of Researchers

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A five-person panel of senior researchers have each selected two articles that they believe represent the best violence research that was published in 2011. The panelists each describe how they approached this challenging task and as a result help to outline how we might approach the task of knowledge integration and synthesis. The 10 selected articles, published in seven different outlets, include theoretical treatises, innovative methodologies, and careful analyses. They each represent exemplary science and help create a portrait of where our field is going.

Keywords: violence, diary methods, intimate partner violence

The year 2011 was very good for the publication of many studies on human aggression, making it a challenge to identify the most outstanding articles. The really good news is that progress on many fronts is apparent, whether considering basic or applied research or research focused on victims or perpetrators. While many scholars focused on big picture issues, others have done the much needed and careful work of narrowing their scope to hone in on specific questions, such as risk of victimization or perpetration, in specific populations,

such as various ethnic groups or the elderly or those with disabilities or substance abuse problems; in specific contexts, such as detention centers or battered women’s shelters; and in specific countries, both developed and developing, adding greatly to the discussion of culture and aggression. Furthermore, 2011 has given us a number of special issues addressing integration across types of violence and approaches (Hamby, 2011), methodological issues (Campbell, 2011a, 2011b), and innovative approaches to prevention, such as bystander-focused prevention of sexual assault programs (Potter & Banyard, 2011). The year 2011 has also given us a number of studies that have used creative community–university partnerships to address intervention and prevention goals (Katz, Heisterkamp, & Fleming, 2011; Kaufman, Ortega, Schewe, Kracke, & the Safe Start Demonstration Project Communities, 2011; Messing, Cimino, Campbell, Brown, Patchell, & Wilson, 2011), while other studies have begun to bridge the gap between basic and applied research (Connor-Smith, Henning, Moore, & Holdford, 2011; DeWall, Deckman, Gailliot, & Bushman,

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2011; Jouriles, Grych, Rosenfield, McDonald, & Dodson, 2011) and address assessment issues (Bramsen, Lasgaard, Elklit, & Koss, 2011; Cook, Gidycz, Koss, & Murphy, 2011). Although this number, diversity, and quality of articles almost present an excess of riches, we found this to be an interesting exercise and a worthwhile task. We have each presented a few thoughts on how we approached the task and why we selected our particular two articles.

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Let me begin with a few words about the process I used to come up with my two choices. There were a lot of excellent articles on aggression and violence published in 2011, both in standard journals as well as in edited volumes. Therefore, narrowing it down to two was quite a difficult task. I decided to select one article that had as its primary contribution strong empirical methods and clear results on an important topic, and one article that is primarily a major theoretical integration. I also decided to exclude articles that had any authors with whom I had previously coauthored other works.

The primarily empirical article is: Ybarra, M. L., Mitchell, K. J., Hamburger, M., Diener-West, M. & Leaf, P. J. (2011). X-rated material and perpetration of sexually aggressive behavior among children and adolescents: Is there a link? *Aggressive Behavior*, 37, 1–18.

This article presents a three-wave longitudinal study of the effects on 10- to 15-year-olds of exposure to X-rated material on sexually aggressive behavior. The study included a host of additional important predictor variables, including demographic characteristics, family challenge variables, and other aggression-related variables. Most important, it distinguished between violent and nonviolent X-rated material. The two most important findings, in my view as a contributor to the media violence literature, were that (a) exposure to X-rated material was strongly associated with later sexual aggression, even after controlling for earlier aggression and the many other control variables; and (b) this effect was especially strong for violent X-rated material.

The primarily theoretical article is: Gilbert, F., & Daffern, M. (2011). Illuminating the relationship between personality disorder and violence: Contributions of the General Aggression Model. *Psychology of Violence*, 1, 230–244.

The theoretical integration article I chose did a wonderful job integrating theory and research on personality disorders, violence, and the General Aggression Model. I learned much from this article and believe that other readers will as well. Too often, we aggression and violence scholars from different backgrounds (e.g., social, personality, developmental, clinical, criminology) remain isolated within our specialties, and thereby miss important and potentially synergistic contributions from related disciplines. It is a daunting task to try to keep abreast of developments in such a wide range of domains; one could reasonably argue that it is impossible. But this article exemplifies the benefits that are gained when such attempts are successfully made.

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I took a very deliberate approach in selecting six articles to review to select the two best examples of innovative work in the area of violence. Because I believe that our assessments in violence continue to rely on single informants and self-report measures collected from youth and adults, I tailored my search to attempt to capture studies with innovative methods. Thus, I refined my PsycInfo search to include keywords such as daily diary methods, experience sampling methods, nested designs, contextual influences on violence, and multilevel modeling. These key terms resulted in a number of articles that included designs and methodological approaches that were clearly pushing the field forward. I selected one article to illustrate how daily diary methods can help elucidate processes and then the second article was selected to highlight the importance of studying parent–child relations as a dyadic level of analyses at the same time showing the buffering

effects collective efficacy in neighborhoods have on escalation of violence.

Moore, T. M., Elkins, S. R., McNulty, J. K., Kivisto, A. J., & Handzel, V. A. (2011). Alcohol use and intimate partner violence perpetration among college students: assessing the temporal association using electronic diary technology. *Psychology of Violence, 1*, 315–328.

This study assessed the temporal relation between alcohol use and intimate partner violence (IPV) among 184 male and female college students in dating relationships using hand-held computer assessments. Participants completed a battery of self-report pencil-and-paper measures (e.g., relationship satisfaction, posttraumatic stress disorder [PTSD], antisocial personality disorder [ASPD], IPV perpetration) followed by electronic diary assessments every day for 2 months. They completed the diary assessments on days that they had seen their dating partner face-to-face. They reported on whether and how much alcohol or drugs were consumed, types of psychological and physical aggression perpetration toward dating partner, and whether drinking preceded the aggression perpetration.

Results supported the hypothesis that there would be a significant temporal relation between alcohol use and both relational and physical IPV perpetration with sex moderation found for 5 out of 9 relationships. Men who reported ASPD symptoms, PTSD symptoms, and past psychological IPV perpetration had higher rates of daily IPV perpetration. Individuals with lower ASPD symptoms had higher rates of IPV perpetration on days that they drank alcohol. Men were higher than women in psychological IPV aggression perpetration than women on days that alcohol was consumed. Finally, both men and women reported high rates of psychological IPV aggression perpetration with each additional drink, although the association was stronger for men. While diary methods have been available to violence researchers for over three decades, they have rarely been employed to examine the complex interplay between personality characteristics, alcohol use, and IPV perpetration. Thus, this study fills a gap in the literature by examining in real-time the interaction of personality, past violence history, alcohol/drug use on IPV perpetration. The findings suggest that the impact of alcohol use on IPV perpetration interacts with personality disorders and past trauma or abuse.

Lindstrom-Johnson, S. R., Finigan, N. M., Bradshaw, C. P., Haynie, D. L., & Cheng, T. L. (2011). Examining the link between neighborhood context and parental messages to their adolescent children about violence. *Journal of Adolescent Health, 49*, 58–63.

Exposure to neighborhood violence and its impact on rates of individual beliefs supportive of violence and individual violence rates has been a long-standing interest for many violence researchers. With few exceptions, these studies have often relied on single informants. In addition, the construct of neighborhood collective efficacy has not found its way in the literature as much as it should given its importance documented in a 1997 Science article (Sampson et al., 1997). This study of 143 caregiver–adolescent dyads included findings that the direct effect of exposure to neighborhood violence did not significantly predict aggressive attitudes. In contrast, adolescents who had greater perceptions of neighborhood collective efficacy (social control and social cohesion) held less retaliatory attitudes regarding violence, which was then associated with more positive messages from their parents about how to solve conflicts. These results held when the data were considered as nested at the dyadic level. This article is an important contribution to the literature because it alerts the field to the importance of not just assessing violence exposure, but to also consider the perceptions of the individuals within a neighborhood.

It is imperative that we consider the buffering effect of neighborhood collective efficacy. Community-level interventions should consider how to promote collective efficacy given its important in minimizing the intergenerational transmission of violence.

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Literature reviewed included articles published in 2011 that addressed topics regarding intimate partner violence, child witnessing and abuse, teen dating violence, and violence-

related trauma among Latina populations. According to the guidelines given to commentators, articles were reviewed taking into consideration such things as providing novel contributions, demonstrating exemplary methodology, or having significant promise to advance the field. More specific to my field of expertise, I was interested in highlighting articles that went beyond looking at “Hispanic” or “Latino” as a monolithic category, but rather attempted to provide new data and interpretation of within-group differences, similarities, and outcomes. I also wanted to find articles that dealt with conceptual issues that could be used to advance both knowledge and methodologies in the field. Finally, I was particularly interested in articles that attempted to measure strengths and resilience, rather than problems and pathology. From 19 finalists, I selected the following two articles.

Mankowski, E. S., Galvez, G., & Glass, N. (2011). Interdisciplinary linkage of community psychology and cross-cultural psychology: History, values, and an illustrative research and action project on Intimate partner violence. *American Journal of Community Psychology*, *47*, 127–143.

The article authored by Mankowski and his colleagues is an unusual article in that it offers both a new conceptual framework (“cultural community psychology”) and the process and results of a research and action project on work-related intimate partner violence. The idea of a “cultural community psychology” arises from a careful and in-depth analysis of the linkage between community psychology and cross-cultural psychology, as it pertains to their common roots and unique differences in their histories, organizational values, and their respective scholarly associations. Based on what they learned from their analysis and their experiences as a multidisciplinary team, they designed and conducted a research project with a diverse sample of abusive men (Latinos and European American). Of particular note, the authors provide an interesting account of five issues (which they call “questions”) with which they grappled during their conceptual exploration of the commonalities and differences in the two fields. They then applied the same questions to the design, implementation, data analysis, and interpretation of the research and action project.

In addition to providing a succinct history and description of the two fields (represented by the Society for Community Research and Action [SCRA] and the International Association for Cross Cultural Psychology [IACCP]), the authors offer the results of a content analysis of the values represented in the mission statements of the two organizations to determine the potential for increased collaboration between cross-cultural and community psychologists. They also provide a table that includes the “illustrative tension” they found in five areas: research design, data analysis, data interpretation, sampling and interpretation, which they used to guide their research project. Having collected both quantitative and qualitative data from abusive men, the authors offer a rich discussion of their findings, “tensions” encountered, and lessons learned. Of special interest was the commentary about the struggles in which the authors and other team members engaged throughout the process to stay true to their stated philosophy and conceptualization of what a “cultural community psychology” methodology and process could be like. The reflective nature of the entire process was quite compelling and appears to be particularly appropriate for advancing a field of study so intimately tied to social justice and human rights.

Detlaff, A. J., & Johnson, M. A. (2011). Child maltreatment dynamics among immigrant and U.S.-born Latino children: Findings from the National Survey of Child and Adolescent Well-Being (NSCAW). *Children and Youth Services Review*, *33*, 936–944.

The second article, authored by Detlaff and Johnson, is a quantitative study that uses data from the National Survey of Child and Adolescent Well-being to determine the national prevalence of Latino children, both U.S.- and foreign-born, who come to the attention of child protective services. Of special interest to these authors were the role of birthplace in maltreatment patterns in Latino populations and the issue of potential disparities and risks in Latino families in the United States. In contrast to many other peer reviewed publications regarding Latino families, this article does not attempt to understand Latino families and children as a monolithic group, comparing them with other ethno/racial groups. Using a within-group comparison strategy, readers are able to understand much more clearly the role that place of birth

Table 1

Articles Chosen as Best of 2011 Violence Research by the Psychology of Violence Panel
(in Alphabetical Order)

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- Babcock, J. C., Graham, K., Canady, B., & Ross, J. M. (2011). A proximal change experiment testing two communication exercises with intimate partner violent men. *Behavior Therapy, 42*, 336–347.
- Detlaff, A. J., & Johnson, M. A. (2011). Child maltreatment dynamics among immigrant and U.S. born Latino children: Findings from the National Survey of Child and Adolescent Well-Being (NSCAW). *Children and Youth Services Review, 33*, 936–944.
- DeWall, C. N., Anderson, C. A., & Bushman, B. J. (2011). The general aggression model: Theoretical extensions to violence. *Psychology of Violence, 1*, 245–258.
- Emery, C. R. (2011). Controlling for selection effects in the relationship between child behavior problems and exposure to intimate partner violence. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence, 26*, 1541–1558.
- Gilbert, F., & Daffern, M. (2011). Illuminating the relationship between personality disorder and violence: Contributions of the General Aggression Model. *Psychology of Violence, 1*, 230–244.
- Lindstrom-Johnson, S. R., Finigan, N. M., Bradshaw, C. P., Haynie, D. L., & Cheng, T. L. (2011). Examining the link between neighborhood context and parental messages to their adolescent children about violence. *Journal of Adolescent Health, 49*, 58–63.
- Mankowski, E. S., Galvez, G., & Glass, N. (2011). Interdisciplinary linkage of community psychology and cross-cultural psychology: History, values, and an illustrative research and action project on intimate partner violence. *American Journal of Community Psychology, 47*, 127–143.
- Moore, T. M., Elkins, S. R., McNulty, J. K., Kivisto, A. J., & Handsel, V. A. (2011). Alcohol use and intimate partner violence perpetration among college students: assessing the temporal association using electronic diary technology. *Psychology of Violence, 1*, 315–328.
- Smith, C. A., Ireland, T. O., Park, A., Elwyn, L., & Thornberry, T. P. (2011). Intergenerational continuities and discontinuities in intimate partner violence: A two-generational prospective study. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence, 26*, 3720–3752.
- Ybarra, M. L., Mitchell, K. J., Hamburger, M., Diener-West, M., & Leaf, P. J. (2011). X-rated material and perpetration of sexually aggressive behavior among children and adolescents: Is there a link? *Aggressive Behavior, 37*, 1–18.
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may have for both risk and protective factors in U.S.-born and foreign-born Latino children. The findings of this study lend support to what other researchers have found regarding the protective nature of being a first-generation immigrant. In this case, Latino children born outside the United States made up only 7.8% of Latino children who had come to the attention of the child welfare system; the rest were U.S.-born Latino youth. Other findings provide important new knowledge about similarities and differences among these two groups of Latino children and families as they relate to household characteristics, maltreatment patterns, parent and family risk factors, and the potential role of social conditions on the well being of Latino children and their families.

Of special note is the care that the authors take in providing a balanced and well-thought-out presentation of Latino families' risk and protective factors, sources risk and strength in the culture, and the role that such things as poverty, isolation, immigration laws, and bias may have on their everyday functioning. The discussion section of this article is especially

informative about contextual elements of Latino families' everyday lives (both strengths and risks) that may help to explain their findings. For example, the authors' thoughtful juxtaposition of the difficulties facing foreign-born children (e.g., the economic vulnerability of their families and challenges of immigration and acculturation) and the fact that these group of children are underrepresented in the child welfare system. Another important finding that the authors discuss in a very informative manner is the issue that several risk factors associated strongly with child abuse and maltreatment (e.g., homes with alcohol abuse, active drug abuse, and active domestic violence) which have been found to be related to child maltreatment, are more likely to be present in families with U.S.-born rather than foreign-born Latino children. This lends support to what has been found in other studies regarding the *low* acculturation as a protective factor in first-generation families. Finally, the limitations and implications sections of this article offer clear ideas about how current immigration laws and lack of cultural competence on the part of child welfare

workers may be affecting not only the validity and accuracy of data, but also the willingness of many families to report child maltreatment because of fear of deportation. In addition to adding important new knowledge about two subgroups of Latino children in the child welfare system, this article provides an excellent example of how within-group studies to which thoughtful and accurate context is applied can provide important and relevant new understanding about a rapidly growing population.

Alan Rosenbaum

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Somewhere in central Connecticut there is a restaurant, visible from Route 84, with a huge outdoor sign that boasts: "Best Ribs in the State." Each time we drove past that sign I would comment: "how would they know that; do you think someone tried all the ribs in the state?" The task of picking the two best articles on intimate partner violence (IPV) published in 2011 reminded me of that sign. How many articles were even published in 2011? I put my graduate student research assistant on the task. Using the search terms "IPV" or "Intimate Partner" or "Partner Violence" or "Partner Aggression" or "Domestic Violence," PsycINFO returned 665 articles; Google Scholar, 1,150 articles; and Web of Science 1,670 articles. On one hand, it was heartening to see how research in the field has grown since Gelles (1974) noted that he could find only two published articles on IPV. On the other hand, how could I possibly try that many ribs? Clearly reading them all was out and selecting only those with which I was familiar (or by authors I knew and respected) would be too limiting. How then to select my choices for the two best articles of 2011? The strategy I followed was to identify important themes or threads and identify articles that advance our knowledge of those issues in a significant substantive or methodological way.

There are numerous threads with a long history of research in the IPV area including the relationship between alcohol use and violence, gender symmetry, subtypes of batterers and violent relationships, risk assessment, and tradi-

tional masculinity to name a few; and there were many good articles published in 2011 in each of these domains. Once I had sorted the articles into the respective threads, I tried to pick the two that seemed to me to make the most significant contribution to their respective areas. I also have to admit that my own interests in the field may have contributed to what I viewed as the most important themes and the most significant contributions, but I suppose that's why we have several coauthors for this article. The article I selected focus on the effects on children of exposure to interparental violence; and batterer intervention. The first article is:

Emery, C. R. (2011). Controlling for selection effects in the relationship between child behavior problems and exposure to intimate partner violence. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence, 26*, 1541–1558. doi:10.1177/0886260510370597.

The negative impact on children of exposure to IPV interparental violence has been a popular topic of research for more than 30 years (Rosenbaum & O'Leary, 1981). The importance of this topic derives from the combined facts that millions of children are exposed to interparental violence annually and that exposure is associated with both internalizing and externalizing problems in children (Kitzmann, Gaylord, Holt, & Kenny, 2003), as well as with the perpetration of IPV in adulthood, often referred to as the intergenerational transmission of violence (Kalmuss, 1984). Emery (2011) addresses one of the more significant problems with research on the effects of exposure, namely the confounding effects of other factors that frequently co-occur, and similarly contribute to poor child outcomes. These include abuse of the child, a chaotic home environment, poverty, and psychopathology of caregivers. He does so using a large sample of interest, a longitudinal design, and fixed-effects regression models that control for the effects of the invariant confounding factors common in multiproblem families. The findings were that exposure was related to internalizing, externalizing, and truancy; the effects were associated with the severity of the violence and regardless of whether the male or female caregiver was the perpetrator; the relationship between exposure and child problems attenuate with age; and the impact differs depending on the perpetrator. Violence against the female partner has a larger effect that attenuates more quickly than violence against the male partner.

Specific findings aside, this study demonstrates the complexity of IPV and the folly of looking for univariate explanations both for the violence, and its consequences.

Babcock, J. C., Graham, K., Canady, B., and Ross, J. M. (2011). A proximal change experiment testing two communication exercises with intimate partner violent men. *Behavior Therapy*, 42, 336–347. doi:10.1016/j.beth.2010.08.010.

Batterer intervention is much maligned, yet remains the most viable and most frequently employed remedy for IPV. Since the early 1990s when courts began using batterer intervention programs as the disposition of choice for convicted IPV perpetrators (and also as a diversion alternative to prosecution), they have proliferated in every state. Unfortunately, almost every state has seen fit to regulate the practice of batterer intervention by developing restrictive standards of practice that are politically popular but not empirically justified. The result has been the arrested development of batterer intervention and the ratification of ineffective programs. Several recent meta-analyses have confirmed the relatively small effect sizes of current interventions (Babcock, Green, & Robey, 2004). We desperately need new, empirically validated intervention strategies.

Babcock et al. (2011) is important for several reasons. It reminds us that finding batterer intervention as currently mandated to be ineffective is a starting, not an ending, point. It employs a sample of interest, a randomized design, and introduces a novel methodology known as “proximal change experiments” or “microtrials” (Gottman, Ryan, Swanson, & Swanson, 2005). This study compares two communication exercises, previously demonstrated to be effective with nonviolent couples, in couples experiencing IPV. The strategies, editing out the negative and accepting influence, are designed to reduce negative reciprocity and increase acceptance of influence, both of which are characteristic of male IPV perpetrators. Participants were randomly assigned to receive either one of these strategies or the ever popular time-out. Results indicated that both skills training strategies were superior to the time out. The authors concluded that batterers can be taught new communication skills and can change the emotional tone of their arguments. Although not superior to randomized clinical trials, the microtrials strategy allows for the evaluation of promising

strategies faster and more economically. Finally, this study provokes us to, once again, question the merit of state standards that mandate ineffective treatments, prohibit couples interventions, and obstruct the conduct of research and development of new strategies.

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With so much diversity in approaches and research questions I found it necessary to develop criteria for singling out just two studies for their noteworthy contributions to the field. Because of the significant and costly problems of interpersonal violence in the day-to-day lives of persons across the life span, including child abuse, bullying, teen dating violence, sexual assault, intimate partner violence, and elder abuse, I focused on studies that would enlighten us theoretically and provide insight into etiological factors that would provide insight into effective prevention and intervention. The study of aggression and violence is more than an academic exercise; solutions are urgently needed. People are suffering daily, with the cost of violence to our society being arguably one of the biggest public health challenges of the times. Thus, I sought out studies that would provide a larger view of aggression and violence, by focusing on developmental factors that affect the risk for victimization or perpetration and/or by considering the cycle of interpersonal violence across the life span and/or by examining the co-occurrence of various forms of aggression and violence. I also paid attention to studies that used multimethod or multilevel approaches, in recognition that complex phenomena warrant complex methods of analysis. I also paid special attention to studies that acknowledge the complex and important ways in which gender, and other dimensions of difference, are related to aggression and violence.

With these criteria in mind, I first reviewed the contents of the 2011 issues of *Aggressive Behavior*, *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, *Psychology of Violence*, *Violence Against Women*, and *Violence and Victims*, as well as

articles related to gender and violence in *Psychology of Women Quarterly* and those by some of the leading researchers in the field. From this initial review, I identified approximately 25 articles for closer examination, from which I selected five for a second reading. From this process, I selected two articles for further comment.

The first article I selected is:

Smith, C. A., Ireland, T. O., Park, A., Elwyn, L., & Thornberry, T. P. (2011). Intergenerational continuities and discontinuities in intimate partner violence: A two-generational prospective study. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 26, 3720–3752.

This study is exemplary on the theoretical and methodological fronts, as well as for the insights it offers into prevention efforts. First, the study was couched in terms of a larger debate about how much empirical support there is for the intergenerational transmission of violence hypothesis. The authors did a nice job of describing support for the hypothesis as well as presenting opposing views. They then lay out, and deliver, what is necessary for a study to provide a strong test of the hypothesis, noting that most previous studies have been cross-sectional. Their design offered a strong intergenerational analysis, by using a large longitudinal data set that provided independent data from two generations and two different reporters, adolescents and their caregivers. Furthermore, the authors do a careful job of separating childhood victimization from adolescent exposure to intimate partner violence (IPV) and their relation to early adult involvement in IPV (age 21–23) and later adult involvement in IPV (age 29–31). Their rationale for making these distinctions was strong, and proved to be important in giving new insight into the intergenerational transmission of violence. In sum, their very careful analyses, based on several strong design and measurement features, revealed that exposure to IPV during adolescence had a direct effect on IPV in early adulthood and an indirect effect on later adulthood IPV, with this latter relation mediated by early adulthood IPV. Thus, they argue that exposure to severe IPV in adolescence has cascading effects that persist into later adulthood. They also reveal some distinct, and nuanced, relations between these cascading effects and childhood physical abuse, gender, and ethnicity, each of which warrants further

investigation. It is important to note that they made the point that, “If only a small portion of those exposed to IPV during childhood or adolescence enters into a violence relationship later in life, the overall number of those negatively affected would still be quite large” (p. 3723). In spite of a number of limitations which the authors themselves note, this study makes important contributions to our understanding of the etiology and maintenance of IPV across generations. I look forward to seeing studies that build on these findings to more fully explore the role of gender and ethnicity, as well studies that further delve into the pathways and mechanisms responsible for the intergenerational transmission of violence, and how to disrupt the cycle. I would also like to encourage researchers in future studies to broaden their definition and measurement of IPV to include psychological and sexual forms of violence. IPV is more than acts of physical aggression.

The second article I singled out for attention provides additional theoretical guidance in further explorations of the pathways and mechanisms responsible for the intergenerational transmission of violence:

DeWall, C. N., Anderson, C. A., & Bushman, B. J. (2011). The general aggression model: Theoretical extensions to violence. *Psychology of Violence*, 1, 245–258.

I selected this article in part because the field of interpersonal violence is sorely in need of a comprehensive theory and the General Aggression Model (GAM) holds promise in this regard. In this article the authors begin that discussion by delving into how the general tenets of GAM could be applied to a host of related problems that occur in the real world, including IPV, intergroup violence, global climate change effects on violence, and suicide. GAM is a social-cognitive model that “incorporates biological, personality development, social processes, basic cognitive processes . . . short-term and long-term processes and decision processes into understanding aggression” (p. 246). The GAM model aims to integrate “minitheories of aggression,” such as social learning theory and socioecological models, into a single parsimonious conceptual framework. For example, the authors argue that social learning theory tends to ignore factors independent of one’s learning history, whereas socioecological theories tend to ignore the role of emotions, arousal and cog-

nitive processes. The model explicates proximate episodic factors and processes in a way that can move the field from description of predictors, correlates and consequences of aggression and violence toward a focus on mechanisms that account for escalation, persistence, or cessation of these behaviors. This article presents an overarching view for theorizing across various forms of aggression and violence. GAM offers a structure. Now it is up to researchers to drape this structure with domain specific elements to bring in-depth substantive understanding to myriad forms of aggression and violence—we now want to know more about which attitudes, which cognitions, which emotions, in which situations affect the likelihood of aggression and violence.

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