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ORIGINAL ARTICLE

Physical and Emotional Impacts of Intimate Partner Violence and Abuse: Distinctions by Relationship Status and Offence Type

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Abstract

Purpose Intimate partner violence and abuse has a detrimental impact on victim-survivors' health and wellbeing. However, intimate partners include a range of different relationship types, which are rarely differentiated or contrasted in research. Here, we investigate whether different types of intimate partners commit different types of violence/abuse and whether the injury and wellbeing impact on victim-survivors varies by intimate partner relationship type.

Methods We estimate models for victim-survivors' emotional impact and injuries using the Crime Survey for England and Wales (2001–2020). Intimate partner relationships are differentiated into four groups (current versus former partner, and spouses/partners versus boy/girlfriends). Violence and abuse are grouped into physical violence/abuse, sexual violence/abuse, threats, and economic crimes.

Results For both men and women, offences committed by current partners are more likely to involve physical violence/abuse than offences by former partners. Ordered logit models indicate that female victim-survivors of physical violence/abuse or economic crimes experience more severe emotional impacts when the perpetrator is their current or former spouse/partner compared to a current or former boy/girlfriend. Women's risk of injuries from physical violence and economic offences are higher when committed by current compared to former partners. Few differences are identified for men's emotional impact and injuries.

Conclusion The type of intimate partner relationship is associated with type of violence/abuse experienced, and for women, with the resulting emotional impact and injury. Future research and policies aimed at reducing harms from intimate partner violence and abuse and supporting victim-survivors should therefore consider distinctions in relationships to deliver more targeted interventions.

Keywords Domestic abuse · Intimate partner violence · Health · Physical violence · Sexual violence · Wellbeing

Introduction

Intimate partner violence and abuse (IPVA) has detrimental impacts on victim-survivors, including negative consequences on physical and mental health (Stubbs & Szoeke, 2022; White et al., 2024), and is therefore a public health priority (World Health Organization, 2021). IPVA is defined by the intimate partner relationship between victim-survivors and perpetrators and covers a range of different relationship statuses, including married and dating couples, and current and former relationships. Prior studies have contrasted IPVA to violence and abuse committed by strangers or acquaintances (e.g. Hullenaar et al., 2022; Tarzia et al., 2018), or focused on a particular type of relationship such as dating violence (e.g. Taquette & Monteiro, 2019). Few have looked at distinctions between intimate relationship types

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in terms of the types of violence and abuse experienced and impacts on victim-survivors. However, relationship statuses distinguish the levels of legal and physical proximity that perpetrators have to victim-survivors, as well as levels of trust and intimacy in the couple. Different relationship statuses may therefore not only affect a victim-survivor's ability to escape an abusive relationship, but may also influence the types of offences they experience and the extent of subsequent wellbeing and health impacts.

Research on the wellbeing and health impact of IPVA is plentiful (Stubbs & Szoeke, 2022; White et al., 2024). However, existing typologies of IPVA do not generally address the relationship between partners, but instead classify the nature of the violence, the perpetrators, or the victim-survivors (Ali et al., 2016; Bagwell-Gray et al., 2015). Notable exceptions include Wong et al. (2016) and Kyriacou et al. (1999), but both studies relied on clinical samples, thus overlooking victim-survivors who did not access health services.

In this study we investigate to what extent different types of intimate partner perpetrators commit different types of violence and abuse and to what extent the physical and emotional impact on victim-survivors differs by these relationship types. We expand on previous literature in three distinct ways. Firstly, we examine the nature of offending, physical and emotional impact of IPVA by type of relationship, specifically by whether the perpetrator was described as a (former) spouse or partner versus a (former) boyfriend or girlfriend, and whether the partners were separated at the time of the incident. Secondly, we investigate the consequences of IPVA by whether this involved physical offences, sexual offences, threats, or economic crimes, all of which can have serious wellbeing and/or health impacts (Adams & Beeble, 2019; McManus et al., 2021; Voth Schrag et al., 2018). We are unable to include additional forms of IPVA such as stalking, coercive control and economic abuse in our analysis as these offence types are not captured by the data. We investigate economic crimes through the offences of criminal damage, theft and burglary, which have been identified as tactics of abuse used by intimate partner perpetrators (e.g. Hester, 2013; Kutin et al., 2017), though acknowledge that these offences do not account for broader forms of economic abuse and control, such as restricting one's use of and access to money and other resources. Lastly, we use nationally representative survey data (Crime Survey for England and Wales), which is not contingent on the reporting or disclosure of offences to service providers and criminal justice agencies such as healthcare settings, specialist services, or the police. All analyses are disaggregated by gender to investigate gender-specific associations between types of IPVA, and physical and emotional impact.

Previous Literature and Theoretical Background

Relationship Types and the Emotional Wellbeing and Health Impact of IPVA

Research on what contributes to IPVA and its impact on victim-survivors has drawn on a range of theoretical models such as family violence and feminist perspectives, each offering unique insights into the causes and dynamics of IPVA (Lawson, 2012). A prominent model is the ecological model, which posits that IPV is a result of individual factors and relationship factors which are influenced by and impact on community and societal factors (Heise, 1998; Gibbs et al., 2020). Societal such as gender inequality, poverty, and the normalization of violence, have a trickle-down effect on relationship and individual factors, which also affect these larger societal processes, all of which elevate or inhibit IPVA (Heise, 1998; Gibbs et al., 2020). Although the ecological model provides a comprehensive framework, empirically researching it is challenging due to the complexity of interactions across the various levels. Consequently, empirical research often focuses on specific elements within the model, which is crucial for advancing our understanding of IPVA. Specific to our study we explore relationship factors, including relationship status and the gendered inequalities within relationships.

Relationship status is associated with experiencing IPVA, although evidence from existing research is mixed as to the nature of this association. For example, being married may increase the risk of victimization compared to being unmarried but others do not find this association (Brownridge, 2010; Capaldi et al., 2012; Kenney & McLanahan, 2006). These contradictions in the evidence base may be partially explained by the varying definitions of IPVA employed across different studies, and partially by the complex nature of interconnected risks associated with IPVA, which span individual, relationship, and societal levels (Gibbs et al., 2020; Walker & Bowen, 2019). Increased risk may relate to the *physical* proximity of the perpetrator, with cohabitation possibly increasing the likelihood of repeat victimization (Temple et al., 2007). Increased risk may also relate to the *legal* proximity of the perpetrator. Early feminist research into domestic abuse largely focused on violence by husbands against wives (e.g. Dobash & Dobash, 1979), with IPVA said to directly relate to the "patriarchal and its sexually proprietary nature of marriage" (Brownridge, 2010, p. 1266), with marriage even referred to as a 'hitting license' (Stets & Straus, 1989; Straus et al., 2017). Spouses have historically been treated with legal impunity e.g., rape within marriage was not recognized by the law in England and Wales until 1991, and police and justice systems

were disinclined to prosecute intimate partner perpetrators (Edwards, 1986). Whilst many jurisdictions now recognize spouses (and intimate partners more broadly) as perpetrators, gaps remain in the criminal justice response to IPVA compared to other types of violence, with lower conviction rates and more lenient sentencing for rapes by intimate partner perpetrators compared to rapes by other perpetrators (e.g., Bielen et al., 2022; Sumalla et al., 2023).

Recent empirical research comparing IPVA by relationship status showed a complex association between couple relationship types and IPVA. Cohabitors (living together but not married) are found to have a higher risk of intimate partner violence compared to both married and not co-residing couples (Brown & Bulanda, 2008; Brownridge, 2010; Cid & Leguisamo, 2023; Manning et al., 2018; Stets & Straus, 1989; Yakubovich et al., 2018). This heightened risk may be attributed to the greater relationship constraints of living together without the protective factors such as high interpersonal commitment, greater time investment in the relationship, and higher levels of cooperation and relationship quality that are typically associated with marriage (Cid & Leguisamo, 2023; Manning et al., 2018). However, some studies revealed the difference in IPVA risk between married and cohabiting couples disappeared when accounting for selection effects (Brownridge, 2010; Kenney & McLanahan, 2006). Using a dedicated US nationally representative victimization survey, Cunningham and Anderson (2024) showed that cohabitors had a similar prevalence of IPVA as married couples, and that it was instead dating couples who were most likely to experience IPVA.

The harmful impact of IPVA on the health and wellbeing of victim-survivors has been established by prior research (Stubbs & Szoeke, 2022; White et al., 2024). However, prior research has not extensively explored differences in the injury and emotional wellbeing impact on victim-survivors by type of intimate partner perpetrator. Moreover, results from the few existing studies vary: a US health service data based study found no differences in the (severity of) women's injuries between those whose perpetrators were husbands or boyfriends (Kyriacou et al., 1999), while a Hong Kong health service data based study found higher risks of IPVA among cohabiting women compared to married women (Wong et al., 2016). Furthermore, among IPVA cases appearing before a Canadian court, physical injury was not more common in marital or cohabiting relationships compared to dating relationships, but the use of weapons was more prevalent (Sutton & Dawson, 2021).

Relationship factors may affect the emotional wellbeing and health impact of intimate partner violence. Those in married or cohabiting relationships have on average higher relationship quality compared to couples not living together, and are characterized by higher levels of trust, commitment, sexual exclusivity, and relationship satisfaction (Brown et al., 2022; Forste & Tanfer, 1996; Wagner, 2019; Wiik et al., 2012), although this is partially due to individuals in higher quality relationships being more inclined to marry and start cohabiting (Blom et al., 2023; Perelli-Harris & Blom, 2021; Wagner et al., 2019). Relationships characterized by higher levels of trust, commitment, and fidelity, lower levels of verbal conflict, and overall higher quality tend to experience lower levels of IPVA (Johnson et al., 2015; Manning et al., 2018; Novak & Furman, 2016; Stith et al., 2007). When there is conflict, these relationship resources may not only dampen the risk of intimate partner violence (Blake et al., 2018), but potentially also dampen the subsequent risk of physical injury and extent of emotional wellbeing impact that any violence may have. We therefore hypothesize that *violence and abuse by (former) boy/girlfriends is associated with higher risk of injury and emotional wellbeing impact compared to violence and abuse by (former) spouses or partners* (Hypothesis 1a).

However, married couples also possess factors that could potentially heighten the risk of (severe) emotional impact and injuries. Most married couples live together (Office for National Statistics [ONS], 2023) and this physical proximity may exacerbate the trauma of IPVA, if causing victim-survivors to feel unsafe in their own homes and limiting their opportunities to escape violence and abuse. Victim-survivors of IPVA may fear repeated incidents or continuous victimization, due to frequent or continuous exposure to the perpetrator, particularly if living together (Temple et al., 2007). Additionally, the consequences of union breakdown may be more challenging for co-residing relationships, with implications for potential dependents, wider family, shared assets, and the victim-survivor's financial situation (Kreyenfeld & Trappe, 2020). Victim-survivors that are married, in a legal partnership, or co-residing with the perpetrator may therefore be less able to leave abusive relationships than unmarried or not co-residing couples, potentially increasing their risk of repeat victimization and escalation of the violence and abuse. Our alternative hypothesis therefore reads: *violence and abuse by (former) spouses or partners is associated with higher risk of injury and emotional wellbeing impact compared to violence and abuse by (former) boy/girlfriends* (Hypothesis 1b).

Separation and the Emotional Wellbeing and Health Impact of IPVA

The risk of IPVA may differ between current and former partners, and the physical and emotional impact of IPVA may also differ by whether the perpetrator was a current or former partner. Some studies found that separated and divorced individuals had a higher risk of IPVA compared

to married women (Capaldi et al., 2012; Rezey, 2020). Separation from an intimate partner has itself been identified as a risk factor for intimate partner violence (Almond et al., 2017), including intimate partner homicide (Spencer & Stith, 2020). After union dissolution, former cohabiting couples showed the highest levels of severe IPVA, followed by formerly married couples, while formerly dating couples had the lowest prevalence (Cunningham & Anderson, 2024). Further, recent studies of police data have indicated that victim-survivors of ex-partners are more likely to report violence or abuse multiple times to the police than those of current partners (Weir, 2024).

Potentially, the higher prevalence of violence by former partners accompanies more violence that is likely to result in injury or higher levels of emotional distress. In current relationships, as discussed above, those with more commitment and less verbal conflict, as well as other positive relationship qualities, experience less IPVA (Blake et al., 2018; Johnson et al., 2015; Manning et al., 2018; Novak & Furman, 2016; Stith et al., 2007). These protective factors likely exert less influence following the dissolution of a relationship, resulting in a reduced mechanism 'constraining' the violence and abuse. Additionally, the link between violence and separation is bidirectional — i.e., violence during marriage is a risk factor for separation and in turn separation may lead to further experiences of IPVA (Fleury et al., 2000). The ongoing or escalating violence and abuse after separation could therefore lead to more severe impacts on victim-survivors' physical and mental health. Indeed, in a sample of hospital emergency department attendees, women with a recent former partner were at greater risk of injury due to domestic violence than women with current partners (Kyriacou et al., 1999). Thus, we would hypothesize that *violence and abuse by former partners is associated with more severe emotional wellbeing and physical injury consequences than violence and abuse by current partners* (Hypothesis 2a).

However, when IPVA occurs in ongoing relationships, the betrayal of trust and protection and the repeated exposure to the perpetrator may put additional strain on the victim-survivor. As mentioned above, victim-survivors of IPVA by current partners may fear incidents will continue or happen again, especially if living together (Temple et al., 2007). This fear may place additional strain on the victim-survivor, increasing the impact. Indeed, female sexual violence victim-survivors experienced greater levels of Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD), stress, and dissociation when the perpetrator was a current compared to a former partner (Temple et al., 2007). Furthermore, IPVA cases by former intimate partners coming before a Canadian court were less likely to involve physical injury or the use of a weapon compared with those in intact unions (Sutton & Dawson, 2021). Both studies point in the direction that, while union dissolution is a risk factor for IPVA prevalence, *violence and abuse in ongoing relationships may be more likely to result in physical injury and higher emotional wellbeing impact (Hypothesis 2b).*

Data, Measurement and Analytical Strategy

Data and Method

To study our hypotheses, we combined nineteen waves of cross-sectional data from the British Crime Survey and the Crime Survey for England and Wales (hence forth referred to as CSEW) covering the years 2001–2020 (ONS, 2021).[1] The CSEW is a household face-to-face victimization survey of about 35,000 to 46,000 respondents per survey wave representative of England and Wales, which started biannually from 1982 before becoming an annual survey from 2001. The CSEW interviews respondents aged over 16, living in residential households, on their experiences of crimes in the twelve months prior to the interview. Because the survey targets residential households, those living in alternative accommodation e.g. refuges, prisons, and care homes are not included in data collection.

The CSEW consists of two modules: a face-to-face victimization module and a self-completion module. While data related to IPVA is available in both parts of the survey, the face-to-face victimization module does not specifically ask respondents about their experiences of IPVA, but information is collected on the relationship between victim-survivor and offender enabling the measurement of IPVA. The face-to-face module of the CSEW classifies incidents broadly in line with police recorded crime codes in England and Wales (i.e. the Home Office Counting Rules for Recorded Crime), e.g. criminal damage, assault. Where multiple crime types are reported within the same incident, the CSEW offence coding system applies a prioritization of certain crime types over others to determine which crime type is counted (see Pullerits & Phoenix, 2024 for a critique). Conversely, the IPVA module within the self-completion part of the questionnaire was designed specifically to measure domestic violence and abuse, as well as stalking and sexual violence. A comparison of the two modules found that domestic violence is reported at a rate 3.8 times higher in the self-completion module compared to the face-to-face module (Walby et al., 2014), thus government publications on the prevalence of IPVA (and domestic) as captured by the CSEW tend to report on the self-completion data. Further, analysis of the CSEW by Cooper and Obolenskaya (2021) shows that not only is the overall prevalence

[1] Combined using code provided by Blom (2023).

Table 1 Descriptive statistics

	Sample 1: Emotional impact, all offences				Sample 2: Physical injury, selection of offences			
	Female		Male		Female		Male	
	(*N* = 112092)		(*N* = 98255)		(*N* = 101837)		(*N* = 12232)	
	%	M(SD)	%	M(SD)	%	M(SD)	%	M(SD)
Emotional impact								
None	14.69		18.12					
Little	39.41		45.53					
Quite a lot	27.1		23.35					
Very much	18.8		12.99					
Physical injury								
No force					89.15		9.88	
No injury					4.99		39.43	
Injury					5.86		50.69	
Victim-Perpetrator relationship								
Current partner/spouse	1.64		0.37		1.52		2.26	
Current boyfriend/girlfriend	0.30		0.06		0.29		0.34	
Former partner/spouse	1.15		0.18		0.82		0.65	
Former boyfriend/girlfriend	1.07		0.19		0.86		0.64	
Any other or unknown	95.85		99.20		96.50		96.12	
Type of offence								
Physical violence/abuse	7.83		12.45		8.62		100	
Sexual violence/abuse	0.95		na		na		na	
Threats	9.15		9.01		1.04		na	
Economic	82.07		78.54		90.34		na	
Series								
Single event	83.14		84.60		84.58		82.84	
2–4 times	13.58		12.90		12.82		12.36	
5 or more	3.28		2.51		2.60		4.80	
Age		42.8 (16.3)		43.3 (16.2)		43.0 (16.4)		35.4 (14.9)
Ethnicity								
White	91.59		91.17		91.50		91.27	
Mixed or Multiple	1.05		0.88		1.05		1.26	
Asian/Asian British	4.10		4.88		4.19		4.50	
Black/Black British	2.47		2.12		2.47		2.04	
Other	0.80		0.95		0.79		0.92	
Relationship status								
Co-residential relationship	49.24		57.73		49.89		37.79	
Never married or widowed	33.95		31.47		33.74		50.12	
Separated or divorced	16.82		10.81		16.37		12.08	
Number of children								

Table 1 (continued)

	Sample 1: Emotional impact, all offences				Sample 2: Physical injury, selection of offences			
	Female		Male		Female		Male	
	(*N* = 112092)		(*N* = 98255)		(*N* = 101837)		(*N* = 12232)	
	%	M(SD)	%	M(SD)	%	M(SD)	%	M(SD)
0	57.16		69.32		57.34		70.45	
1 or 2	35.16		25.51		35.00		25.28	
3+	7.68		5.17		7.66		4.28	
Disability								
None	78.64		81.90		78.94		81.48	
At least one	21.36		18.10		21.06		18.52	
Education								
Higher	22.76		23.65		22.40		19.12	
A-Level	27.22		27.81		27.07		30.25	
GCSE	25.90		28.04		25.92		31.91	
No or other	24.13		20.50		24.61		18.72	
Employment Status								
Employed	60.83		72.04		60.55		69.95	
Unemployed	2.96		3.97		2.91		7.15	
Outside LF	22.91		11.84		22.74		17.99	
Retired	13.31		12.15		13.80		4.91	
Survey year		8.8 (5.1)		8.7 (5.1)		8.7 (5.0)		8.7 (5.0)

Notes Crime Surveys for England and Wales and British Crime Surveys, 2001–2020. na = not applicable. Regarding sample 2: Threats against women and sexual, threats and economic offences against men are not included due to too few respondents reporting injuries following these offences

of violence under-estimated within the face-to-face data, but that this underestimation has greater impacts on the estimates of violence against women, who are more likely to experience domestic and sexual violence. However, whilst eliciting greater disclosure rates, self-completion data are not suited for our analyses for two reasons. Firstly, in asking about the IPVA, respondents were not asked about the *type* of intimate partner relationship. Secondly, information on the emotional impact of partner violence and abuse is not regularly collected within the self-complete module.

We focused on respondents who reported being a victim-survivor of an offence in the face-to-face module to assess the (self-assessed) emotional wellbeing impact and physical injury. By combining nineteen survey waves, covering the years 2001/2002 to 2019/2020, we ensured sufficient sample size to differentiate by the combination of type of intimate partner, the type of offence, and gender. Records, or victim forms (VFs) as they are referred to within the CSEW, that were suspended, invalid, or in short-form (omitting key variables) were excluded (6.8%). A further 11.5% of VFs were excluded, in line with ONS practice, because the offence fell outside the scope of the survey (i.e. occurring more than 12 months ago, occurring outside of England and Wales, duplicate VFs, or those coming from the fraud module). We selected observations with no missing values (excluding a further 2.0% of VFs).

We investigate emotional wellbeing and injury impacts of IPVA and contrast them with non-IPVA experiences. To investigate emotional impacts of IPVA for women, we analyzed 112,092 records of 85,057 women, which included 4,651 records of IPVA of 3,850 women.[2] For the analyses on men's emotional impact, we studied 98,255 records of 73,545 men, including 787 IPVA records of 710 men. To study likelihood of injuries, we focused on physical violence and abuse, and for women also sexual violence and economic crimes, because economic crimes by intimate partners against men and threats against women or men had limited injuries. This resulted in a sample of 101,837 records of 79,698 women (3,563 IPVA records) and 12,232 records of 10,874 men (475 IPVA records).

Measurement

Emotional wellbeing impact, our first dependent variable, is measured by the CSEW question that asks victim-survivors whether they had any emotional reactions immediately following the incident. The CSEW asks respondents whether they had any emotional reactions after the incident (anger, shock, fear, depression, anxiety/panic attacks, loss of confidence, difficulty sleeping, crying, annoyance, and/or other) and if so, how much they were emotionally affected by the event ('a little', 'quite a lot', 'very much'). While not an ideal measurement of emotional wellbeing, it has previously been used to assess the emotional impact of crime, including physical violence and sexual offences, and is the only available measure (Heeks et al., 2018; Iganski & Lagou, 2015; Ignatans & Pease, 2019). Here, we analyze this self-attributed wellbeing impact by analyzing whether respondents had no emotional reaction (0), were a little affected (1), quite a lot affected (2), or very much affected (3). See Table 1 for the descriptive statistics of all variables. Additional analyses disaggregate internalized emotions (e.g. depression and anxiety) from externalized ones (e.g. anger) in Table 6 in the online Appendix.

The second dependent variable, *physical injury*, is measured by whether the perpetrator used any force against the respondent and if so, whether the respondent sustained any injury. From this we construct the variable: No force was used (0), force was used, did not lead to injury (1), and force was used, did lead to injury (2). Robustness analyses where cases where no force was used are excluded lead to similar conclusions.

Our first main independent variable is based on questions on *relationship type* between victim-survivor and perpetrator, asking whether they knew the offender before the incident happened, and if so, what the offender's relationship was to the respondent. The answer categories include, amongst others: Husband, wife, or partner (1), current boy/girlfriend (2), former husband, wife, or partner (3), and former boy/girlfriend (4). All other relationships or where the respondent did not know the perpetrator are categorized as 'any other or unknown perpetrator' (5). If there are multiple perpetrators (which constitutes 4% of offences committed by a (former) intimate partner), we code the relationship as the closest relationship, prioritizing spouses/partners over boy/girlfriends and current over former relationships.

The second independent variable of interest is offence category. After answering screener questions regarding victimization, respondents are asked to provide a detailed account of each incident or series of incidents via a VF. Trained coders subsequently assess whether what was reported represents a crime and, if so, which one. In these VF's, the most 'severe' form of violence is registered following hierarchy rules (but see also Pullerits & Phoenix, 2024). We group the type of offence into four categories: physical violence (e.g. assault, serious wounding), sexual violence (e.g. attempted rape, rape, and indecent assault), threats (e.g. threats to kill/assault, sexual threat), economic crimes (e.g. theft, criminal damage, burglary, excluding fraud module which was only asked in a few years). It is important to note that the CSEW uses a priority offence coding system where only one offence is coded even when more than one type of

[2] These numbers are high compared to other studies on the CSEW because we also included economic crimes.

offence occurs in the same event, and this priority offence coding system prioritizes theft, burglary and criminal damage over physical violence such other wounding and common assaults. This means that in instances where economic crimes occur simultaneously alongside the aforementioned types of physical violence, the incident is coded as an economic crime only, despite also involving physical violence (Pullerits & Phoenix, 2024). Also note, that stalking and coercive control are not captured by the face-to-face victimization module of this survey. Additionally, as the prevalence of sexual violence against men by intimate partners is low, sexual violence against men is not analyzed here.

We control for a range of incident and individual factors which are potentially both related to the type of offence, victim-survivors' relationship to the perpetrators, and injury or emotional impact. We controlled for whether the incident was a *series* of similar IPVA events (categories: single event, two to four times, or five times or more), although we recognize that victim-survivors of IPVA often find it difficult to pinpoint the exact number incidents due to the ongoing and continuous nature of IPVA experiences.[3] For demographic variables, we included *age* and *age squared* in the analyses to account for potential non-linear associations of age, as well as *ethnicity* (White, Mixed or multiple, Asian/Asian British, Black/Black British, or other). For the family structure indicators, our models include current *relationship status* in three categories: (1) married, civil partnership, or cohabiting, (2) never married, never in civil partnership, or widowed and not cohabiting, (3) and separated, divorced, or formerly in civil partnership. The number of dependent *children* is included as none, one or two, and three or more. We further included an indicator of limiting *disability or long-term illness* (e.g. vision, mobility, learning, mental health), which includes respondents with at least one disability or health condition that was (severely) limiting day-to-day life.[4]*Educational attainment* (Higher education or equivalent, A-level or equivalent, GCSE or equivalent, or no or other type of education) and *employment status* (employed, unemployed, outside the labor force, or retired) were included to account for socioeconomic differences. Lastly, we use *survey year* and its *square* to account for non-linear relationship of period effects. Age and survey years are mean-centered by gender.

[3] Additional analyses with more categories (5 to 9, 10 to 19, 20 or more) for series did not alter our conclusions (results available upon request).

[4] While disability was relatively strongly related to emotional and health impact of violence and abuse, excluding the variable did not alter our conclusions (results available upon request).

Analytical Strategy

We analyzed the emotional impact and presence of injury separately for women and men using ordinal logit models in Stata using pooled data from 20 waves of the CSEW. The unit of analysis are VFs and we clustered standard error by individual to account for some respondents having multiple VFs. We first analyze the emotional and physical injury impacts of different victim-survivor-perpetrator relationship types for each form of IPVA separately (Tables 2 and 3, and 4), before analyzing the association between relationship type and emotional and physical injury impacts from offence types of IPVA (Table 5 in online Appendix), controlling for a range of factors discussed above. Finally, we assess internalized and externalized emotional impacts of IPVA by relationship type (Table 6 in the online Appendix). We report the odds ratios (OR) and 95% confidence intervals (CI) from these analyses. The cuts reported in Tables 2, 3 and 4 indicate the cut points on the latent variable and are a standard feature of ordinal logistic regression and somewhat similar to the intercepts in logistic regression. The models are weighted by calibrated respondent weights which compensate for unequal selection and response probabilities and differing responses by age, gender and regional sub-groups (ONS, 2020). The weights are subsequently centered around the value one per wave and reweighted to take the different sample sizes per year into account to ensure that each survey wave contributed similarly to the estimation.

Results

Type of Crime by Intimate Partner Perpetrator Category

In this section we describe the composition of offences committed by different types of intimate partners, by focusing on the incidence counts.[5] Figure 1 showed that of the IPVA incidents experienced by women, 38.6% were perpetrated by a current spouse or partner, 5.0% by a current boy/girlfriend, 31.5% by a former spouse or partner, and 24.9% by a former boy/girlfriend. The composition of IPVA incidents in terms of relationship type experienced by men was quite similar to women's, although fewer men reported IPVA. Figure 1 indicated that 48.9% of the IPVA incidents experienced by men were perpetrated by a current spouse or partner, 6.4% by a current boy/girlfriend, 23.6% by a former spouse/partner and 21.1% by a former boy/girlfriend. Thus, 43.6% of the incidents experienced by women and 55.3%

[5] Because one respondent can report on multiple VFs, and each VF can represent a series of similar incidents, the incidence count exceeds the total number of victim-survivors and VFs in the sample.

Table 2 Women's self-attributed emotional impact of intimate partner violence and abuse by offence category. Ordered logit models, odds ratios (OR), 95% confidence interval (CI)

	M1a: Physical VA		M1b: Sexual VA		M1c: Threats		M1d: Economic crimes	
	OR	CI	OR	CI	OR	CI	OR	CI
Victim-Perpetrator relationship (Ref = Current spouse/partner)								
Current boy/girlfriend	0.572***	[0.416, 0.787]	1.928	[0.905, 4.108]	0.558	[0.285, 1.095]	0.474**	[0.293, 0.767]
Former spouse/partner	0.970	[0.720, 1.307]	1.997	[0.572, 6.979]	0.915	[0.631, 1.328]	0.888	[0.623, 1.266]
Former boy/girlfriend	0.702*	[0.525, 0.939]	1.158	[0.553, 2.421]	0.798	[0.510, 1.250]	0.974	[0.698, 1.359]
Any other or unknown	0.361***	[0.301, 0.432]	0.509*	[0.296, 0.875]	0.475***	[0.341, 0.663]	0.156***	[0.123, 0.197]
Single or repeated events (Ref = Single event)								
Repeated 2–4 times	0.854*	[0.745, 0.979]	0.405***	[0.272, 0.604]	1.337***	[1.191, 1.500]	1.229***	[1.173, 1.286]
Repeated 5 + times	1.162	[0.933, 1.447]	0.953	[0.490, 1.856]	1.995***	[1.671, 2.382]	1.962***	[1.766, 2.179]
Age	1.006*	[1.000, 1.011]	0.989	[0.967, 1.013]	1.008***	[1.003, 1.012]	1.006***	[1.005, 1.008]
Age squared	1.000*	[0.999, 1.000]	0.999	[0.998, 1.000]	1.000**	[0.999, 1.000]	1.000***	[1.000, 1.000]
Ethnicity (Ref = White)								
Mixed or Multiple	1.356	[0.936, 1.963]	2.358*	[1.044, 5.326]	1.717**	[1.162, 2.536]	1.046	[0.875, 1.251]
Asian/Asian British	2.327***	[1.782, 3.039]	0.943	[0.458, 1.943]	1.934***	[1.485, 2.520]	1.548***	[1.418, 1.690]
Black/Black British	1.378	[0.988, 1.922]	1.158	[0.471, 2.850]	1.795***	[1.301, 2.476]	1.815***	[1.614, 2.040]
Other	1.319	[0.758, 2.293]	2.476	[0.985, 6.222]	1.304	[0.781, 2.175]	1.597***	[1.312, 1.945]
Relationship status (Ref = Co-residential relationship)								
Never married or widowed	1.310***	[1.152, 1.490]	1.320	[0.842, 2.069]	1.027	[0.913, 1.155]	1.037	[0.994, 1.083]
Separated or divorced	1.657***	[1.425, 1.926]	1.339	[0.782, 2.293]	1.109	[0.980, 1.255]	1.261***	[1.203, 1.322]
Nr of children (Ref = None)								
One or two	1.098	[0.979, 1.232]	1.480*	[1.006, 2.178]	1.120*	[1.005, 1.248]	1.057**	[1.016, 1.099]
Three or more	1.186	[0.965, 1.458]	1.858	[0.842, 4.104]	1.070	[0.879, 1.303]	1.079*	[1.005, 1.158]
Disability (Ref = None)								
One or more	1.877***	[1.640, 2.148]	2.184***	[1.442, 3.308]	1.641***	[1.457, 1.848]	1.400***	[1.339, 1.464]
Education (Ref = Higher)								
A-Level	1.124	[0.967, 1.306]	1.136	[0.702, 1.838]	1.152*	[1.018, 1.303]	1.087***	[1.040, 1.136]
GCSE	1.160	[0.990, 1.358]	1.697*	[1.006, 2.863]	1.313***	[1.154, 1.493]	1.086***	[1.037, 1.138]
No or other	1.244*	[1.037, 1.491]	1.320	[0.735, 2.369]	1.217*	[1.038, 1.426]	1.241***	[1.174, 1.311]
Employment status (Ref = Employed)								
Unemployed	1.293*	[1.022, 1.636]	1.632	[0.578, 4.607]	1.160	[0.881, 1.527]	1.076	[0.968, 1.196]
Outside labour force	1.319***	[1.151, 1.510]	1.088	[0.739, 1.603]	1.309***	[1.154, 1.485]	1.103***	[1.052, 1.156]
Retired	1.509*	[1.101, 2.070]	1.581	[0.436, 5.733]	1.411**	[1.114, 1.786]	1.061	[0.985, 1.143]
Survey year	0.966***	[0.955, 0.976]	0.930***	[0.899, 0.961]	0.977***	[0.968, 0.987]	0.972***	[0.968, 0.975]
Survey year squared	1.000	[0.998, 1.001]	1.000	[0.994, 1.006]	1.001	[0.999, 1.002]	0.999***	[0.998, 0.999]
Cut point 1	0.059***	[0.046, 0.076]	0.034***	[0.013, 0.089]	0.079***	[0.055, 0.114]	0.040***	[0.031, 0.050]
Cut point 2	0.399***	[0.316, 0.502]	0.358*	[0.161, 0.793]	0.567**	[0.400, 0.804]	0.293***	[0.230, 0.373]
Cut point 3	1.592***	[1.266, 2.003]	1.390	[0.627, 3.080]	2.666***	[1.885, 3.770]	1.184	[0.930, 1.509]
Observations	8,778		1,060		10,255		91,999	

Notes. Based on Crime Surveys for England and Wales and British Crime Surveys, 2001–2020. *** $p < 0.001$, ** $p < 0.01$, * $p < 0.05$. VA = violence and abuse. na = not applicable. M = model.

experienced by men were in the context of an ongoing relationship, and 70.1 and 72.5% by a (current or former) spouse or partner for women and men respectively.

Figure 2 showed the composition of IPVA incidents by the type of intimate partner perpetrator and the type of offence. IPVA against women by current spouses/partners and boy/girlfriends was relatively more often physical violence/abuse (48.7% and 63.0%, respectively) compared to IPVA by former partners (22.0 and 35.8% of IPVA by former spouses/partners and boy/girlfriends, respectively). Additionally, for women a greater proportion of incidents of IPVA perpetrated by current spouses/partners was sexual violence (9.1%) compared to violence/abuse by other types of intimate partners. Instead, IPVA against women by former partners was relatively more likely to involve threats and economic crimes. A similar picture arises for men: about three-quarters of IPVA perpetrated by current partners was physical violence/abuse, while threats and economic crimes were more prevalent among IPVA incidents perpetrated by former spouses/partners or boy/girlfriends.

Emotional Wellbeing

Next, we analyzed the emotional impact of physical violence and abuse, sexual violence and abuse (for women only), threats, and economic crimes. Results for these analyses are shown in Table 2 for women and Table 3 for men. When examining women's emotional impact by type of IPVA, victim-survivors of physical violence and abuse (Table 2, model 1a) by current boy/girlfriends reported lower emotional impact than those who were victim-survivors of current spouses or partners (OR = 0.572, $p = 0.001$, CI [0.416, 0.787]). Women who experienced physical violence/abuse by former boy/girlfriends also had a lower emotional impact than those committed by current spouses/partners (OR = 0.702, $p = 0.017$, CI [0.525, 0.939]). The results indicated no difference in the emotional impact of physical violence and abuse between acts perpetrated by current versus former spouses or partners. Next, no differences in the emotional impact of sexual violence and abuse (model 1c) and threats (model 1d) were found between different types of intimate partner perpetrators. Regarding economic crimes, model 1d for women showed that economic crimes perpetrated by current boy/girlfriends had a lower impact on women's emotional wellbeing than economic crimes committed by current spouses or partners (OR = 0.474, $p = 0.002$, CI [0.293, 0.767]). No differences between the other intimate partner types were found. Overall, these analyses indicated that for women, physical violence/abuse and economic crimes by current spouses or partners had a higher emotional wellbeing impact than those committed by current boy/girlfriends. Noteworthy was that while economic crimes by non-intimate perpetrators had a relatively small emotional wellbeing impact, additional analyses indicated that economic crimes committed by intimate partners seemed to have a similar emotional impact as physical violence/abuse by intimate partners. Lastly, offences by non-intimate perpetrators had less emotional impact for all offence types than offences by current spouses/partners.

Additional analyses revealed that when we compared types of offences for women, sexual violence and abuse had a higher emotional wellbeing impact compared to physical violence, whereas threats and economic crime had a lower emotional impact than physical violence and abuse (Table 5, Model 0a in the Appendix). Furthermore, our findings regarding the emotional impact on women following victimization were driven by internalized emotional reactions such as feelings of depression, shock, and anxiety, while we found no differences between type of intimate partner perpetrator in women's externalized emotional impact (e.g. anger) (Table 6 in the Appendix).

The impact of IPVA on men's emotional wellbeing by each type of violence and abuse – physical, threats and economic was examined in models 2a, 2b and 2c in Table 3. In contrast to our findings for women, we found no differences in emotional wellbeing impact by intimate partner type among men. Importantly however, similar to our findings for women, offences perpetrated against men by intimate partners had significantly greater wellbeing impacts than offences committed by non-intimate perpetrators for all offence types. Additionally, comparing impacts of types of offences, physical violence and abuse had a higher emotional wellbeing impact on men than economic crimes, and similar impacts as threats (Table 5, Model 0b in the Appendix).

Physical Injuries

The results from the ordered logit models on physical injury caused by IPVA are shown in Table 4. Given the sample size constraints, we reported on injury from physical, sexual and economic IPVA for women (models 3a to 3c) and physical violence and abuse only for men (model 4). Model 3a showed that physical violence and abuse against women by current spouses/partners had higher odds of physical injury than physical violence/abuse by former spouses/partners and former boy/girlfriends (OR = 0.599, $p = 0.001$, CI [0.445, 0.805] and OR = 0.630, $p = 0.008$, CI [0.449, 0.884], respectively). Meanwhile sexual violence/abuse perpetrated by former spouses or partners had higher odds of physical injury than those perpetrated by current spouses or partners (model 3b, OR = 3.192, $p = 0.023$, CI [1.176, 8.660]). Economic crimes by current spouses/partners against women were associated with higher odds of physical injury than

Table 3 Men's self-attributed emotional impact of intimate partner violence and abuse by offence category. Ordered logit models, odds ratios (OR), 95% confidence interval (CI)

	M2a: Physical VA		M2b: Threats		M2c: Economic crimes	
	OR	CI	OR	CI	OR	CI
Victim-Perpetrator relationship (Ref = Current spouse/partner)						
Current boy/girlfriend	0.607	[0.269, 1.370]	3.306	[0.440, 24.840]	1.024	[0.259, 4.050]
Former spouse/partner	0.777	[0.333, 1.814]	0.810	[0.248, 2.643]	1.624	[0.623, 4.233]
Former boy/girlfriend	1.222	[0.712, 2.100]	0.637	[0.188, 2.164]	0.885	[0.367, 2.136]
Any other or unknown	0.627**	[0.470, 0.836]	0.320*	[0.122, 0.838]	0.416**	[0.246, 0.706]
Single or repeated events (Ref = Single event)						
Repeated 2–4 times	1.002	[0.885, 1.134]	1.339***	[1.174, 1.527]	1.226***	[1.165, 1.291]
Repeated 5 + times	0.713***	[0.588, 0.865]	1.420**	[1.122, 1.796]	1.902***	[1.672, 2.163]
Age	1.010***	[1.005, 1.015]	1.010***	[1.005, 1.015]	1.001	[1.000, 1.003]
Age squared	1.000*	[0.999, 1.000]	1.000***	[0.999, 1.000]	1.000***	[1.000, 1.000]
Ethnicity (Ref = White)						
Mixed or Multiple	1.375	[0.908, 2.084]	1.244	[0.814, 1.902]	1.036	[0.838, 1.281]
Asian/Asian British	2.439***	[1.975, 3.010]	1.837***	[1.429, 2.362]	1.527***	[1.398, 1.667]
Black/Black British	2.553***	[1.847, 3.529]	1.393	[0.934, 2.076]	1.579***	[1.376, 1.811]
Other	1.517	[0.971, 2.370]	0.982	[0.551, 1.748]	1.255	[0.982, 1.603]
Relationship status (Ref = Co-residential relationship)						
Never married or widowed	1.086	[0.968, 1.220]	0.968	[0.843, 1.111]	0.879***	[0.834, 0.927]
Separated or divorced	1.076	[0.921, 1.257]	1.065	[0.888, 1.278]	1.063	[0.996, 1.134]
Nr of children (Ref = None)						
One or two	0.887*	[0.799, 0.986]	1.053	[0.924, 1.201]	0.990	[0.947, 1.036]
Three or more	1.038	[0.834, 1.291]	1.132	[0.843, 1.519]	1.059	[0.972, 1.153]
Disability (Ref = None)						
One or more	1.829***	[1.610, 2.077]	1.797***	[1.556, 2.076]	1.432***	[1.356, 1.512]
Education (Ref = Higher)						
A-Level	0.971	[0.862, 1.094]	1.035	[0.909, 1.178]	1.134***	[1.079, 1.191]
GCSE	1.069	[0.945, 1.209]	1.239**	[1.077, 1.426]	1.209***	[1.151, 1.271]
No or other	1.193*	[1.028, 1.384]	1.287**	[1.072, 1.546]	1.183***	[1.112, 1.258]
Employment status (Ref = Employed)						
Unemployed	1.363***	[1.144, 1.624]	1.614***	[1.256, 2.075]	1.155**	[1.037, 1.286]
Outside labour force	1.209**	[1.062, 1.376]	1.393***	[1.163, 1.668]	1.037	[0.963, 1.117]
Retired	1.013	[0.768, 1.338]	1.241	[0.985, 1.564]	1.106*	[1.022, 1.198]
Survey year	0.976***	[0.966, 0.986]	0.998	[0.986, 1.010]	0.975***	[0.971, 0.979]
Survey year squared	0.998*	[0.996, 1.000]	0.998	[0.996, 1.000]	0.999*	[0.999, 1.000]
Cut point 1	0.149***	[0.109, 0.204]	0.083***	[0.031, 0.220]	0.113***	[0.067, 0.193]
Cut point 2	1.009	[0.741, 1.374]	0.646	[0.243, 1.714]	0.939	[0.553, 1.595]
Cut point 3	3.816***	[2.799, 5.202]	2.967*	[1.115, 7.890]	3.728***	[2.195, 6.333]
Observations	12,232		8,849		77,174	

Notes. Based on Crime Surveys for England and Wales and British Crime Surveys, 2001–2020. *** $p < 0.001$, ** $p < 0.01$, * $p < 0.05$. VA = violence and abuse. na = not applicable. M = model

Table 4 Self-attributed physical injury of intimate partner violence and abuse by gender and offence category. Ordered logit models, odds ratios reported (OR), 95% confidence interval (CI)

	Women						Men	
	M3a: Physical VA		M3b: Sexual VA		M3c: Economic crimes		M4: Physical VA	
	OR	CI	OR	CI	OR	CI	OR	CI
Victim-Perpetrator relationship (Ref = Current spouse/partner)								
Current boy/girlfriend	0.813	[0.525, 1.259]	1.680	[0.414, 6.815]	0.819	[0.441, 1.519]	1.359	[0.571, 3.238]
Former spouse/partner	0.599***	[0.445, 0.805]	3.192*	[1.176, 8.660]	0.418***	[0.279, 0.627]	0.610	[0.315, 1.182]
Former boy/girlfriend	0.630**	[0.449, 0.884]	1.230	[0.493, 3.066]	0.459***	[0.307, 0.686]	0.609	[0.331, 1.121]
Any other or unknown	0.336***	[0.280, 0.403]	0.381***	[0.215, 0.674]	0.015***	[0.011, 0.021]	0.467***	[0.351, 0.621]
Single or repeated events (Ref = Single event)								
Repeated 2–4 times	0.931	[0.812, 1.067]	1.021	[0.646, 1.615]	1.283**	[1.100, 1.496]	0.787***	[0.693, 0.894]
Repeated 5 + times	1.023	[0.844, 1.241]	1.246	[0.621, 2.500]	3.316***	[2.623, 4.192]	0.873	[0.716, 1.065]
Age	0.990***	[0.985, 0.995]	0.976*	[0.955, 0.997]	0.990***	[0.984, 0.996]	0.987***	[0.982, 0.991]
Age squared	1.000	[0.999, 1.000]	0.998**	[0.997, 0.999]	1.000	[0.999, 1.000]	1.000***	[0.999, 1.000]
Ethnicity (Ref = White)								
Mixed or Multiple	0.834	[0.562, 1.236]	0.997	[0.518, 1.917]	1.237	[0.843, 1.816]	0.761	[0.482, 1.201]
Asian/Asian British	0.745*	[0.555, 1.000]	0.992	[0.365, 2.699]	0.818	[0.607, 1.103]	0.652***	[0.530, 0.802]
Black/Black British	0.848	[0.595, 1.209]	1.075	[0.437, 2.641]	1.228	[0.876, 1.721]	0.667**	[0.491, 0.907]
Other	0.452*	[0.234, 0.872]	0.717	[0.251, 2.046]	1.287	[0.720, 2.302]	0.852	[0.582, 1.248]
Relationship status (Ref = Co-residential relationship)								
Never married or widowed	1.296***	[1.133, 1.481]	1.549*	[1.024, 2.344]	1.399***	[1.194, 1.639]	1.392***	[1.228, 1.579]
Separated or divorced	1.422***	[1.219, 1.659]	1.354	[0.811, 2.262]	1.571***	[1.339, 1.843]	1.374***	[1.176, 1.606]
Nr of children (Ref = None)								
One or two	1.047	[0.928, 1.181]	1.145	[0.787, 1.664]	1.044	[0.905, 1.204]	0.918	[0.825, 1.022]
Three or more	0.902	[0.725, 1.121]	1.201	[0.655, 2.200]	1.135	[0.910, 1.416]	1.082	[0.871, 1.344]
Disability (Ref = None)								
One or more	1.149*	[1.004, 1.315]	1.485	[0.991, 2.225]	1.510***	[1.298, 1.757]	1.213**	[1.058, 1.390]
Education (Ref = Higher)								
A-Level	1.130	[0.970, 1.317]	1.153	[0.747, 1.780]	0.989	[0.828, 1.180]	1.318***	[1.161, 1.496]
GCSE	1.200*	[1.022, 1.409]	1.106	[0.681, 1.795]	1.139	[0.952, 1.362]	1.448***	[1.274, 1.646]
No or other	1.325**	[1.100, 1.597]	2.075*	[1.109, 3.882]	1.270*	[1.051, 1.536]	1.583***	[1.358, 1.845]
Employment status (Ref = Employed)								
Unemployed	1.042	[0.803, 1.353]	1.921*	[1.054, 3.502]	1.678***	[1.268, 2.220]	1.094	[0.915, 1.307]
Outside labour force	0.960	[0.831, 1.108]	0.977	[0.635, 1.503]	1.216*	[1.045, 1.415]	0.999	[0.866, 1.151]
Retired	0.895	[0.649, 1.235]	1.699	[0.444, 6.509]	0.830	[0.599, 1.149]	1.173	[0.884, 1.556]
Survey year	0.994	[0.983, 1.005]	0.978	[0.943, 1.013]	1.026***	[1.014, 1.038]	0.990*	[0.981, 0.999]
Survey year squared	1.000	[0.998, 1.002]	0.999	[0.993, 1.005]	1.003**	[1.001, 1.006]	0.999	[0.997, 1.001]
Cut point 1	0.061***	[0.048, 0.078]	0.109***	[0.051, 0.232]	1.449	[1.000, 2.101]	0.075***	[0.055, 0.103]
Cut point 2	0.495***	[0.390, 0.627]	1.592	[0.745, 3.403]	5.777***	[3.992, 8.359]	0.720*	[0.529, 0.980]
Observations	8,778		1,060		91,999		12,232	

Notes. Based on Crime Surveys for England and Wales and British Crime Surveys, 2001–2020. *** $p < 0.001$, ** $p < 0.01$, * $p < 0.05$. VA = violence and abuse. M = model. Threats against women and sexual, *threats and economic offences against men are not included due to too few respondents reporting injuries following these offences*

economic crimes by former spouses/partner or former boy/girlfriends (model 3c, OR = 0.418, $p < 0.001$, [0.279, 0.627] and OR = 0.459, $p < 0.001$, CI [0.307, 0.686]). In contrast to the findings for emotional wellbeing impact, differences in women's physical impact of IPVA appeared to be driven by whether the offence is committed by a current or former partner, and not by relationship type (spouse/partner versus boy/girlfriend).

Importantly, for women offences by any type of intimate perpetrator had a higher likelihood of leading to injuries than those committed by non-intimate perpetrators. This finding was consistent across all offence types. Lastly, in

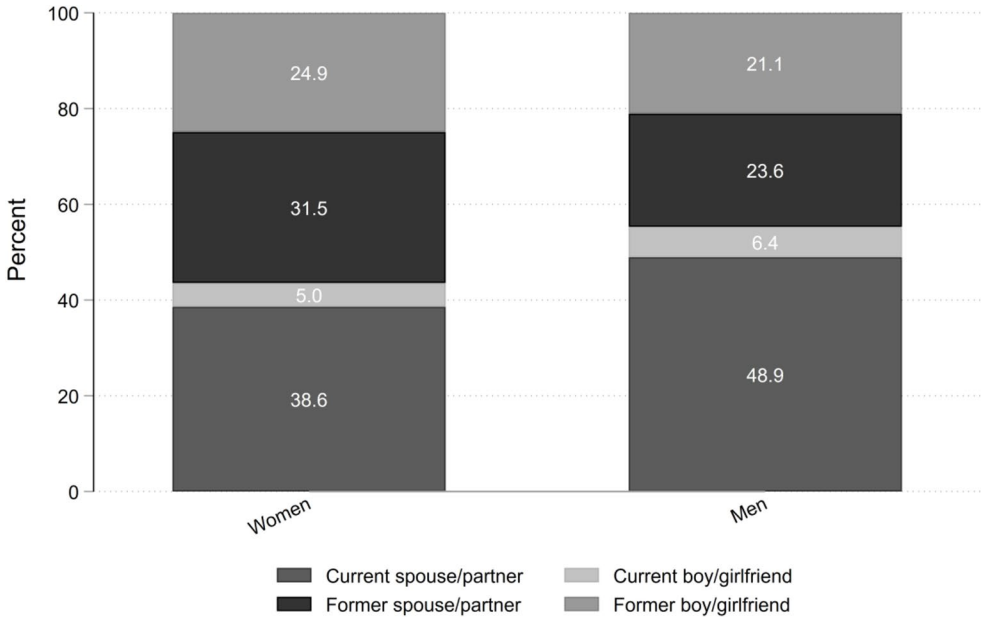

Fig. 1 Composition of intimate partner violence and abuse incidents by victim-perpetrator relationship experienced by women ($N = 20{,}429$) and men (2,668). Percentages shown in bars

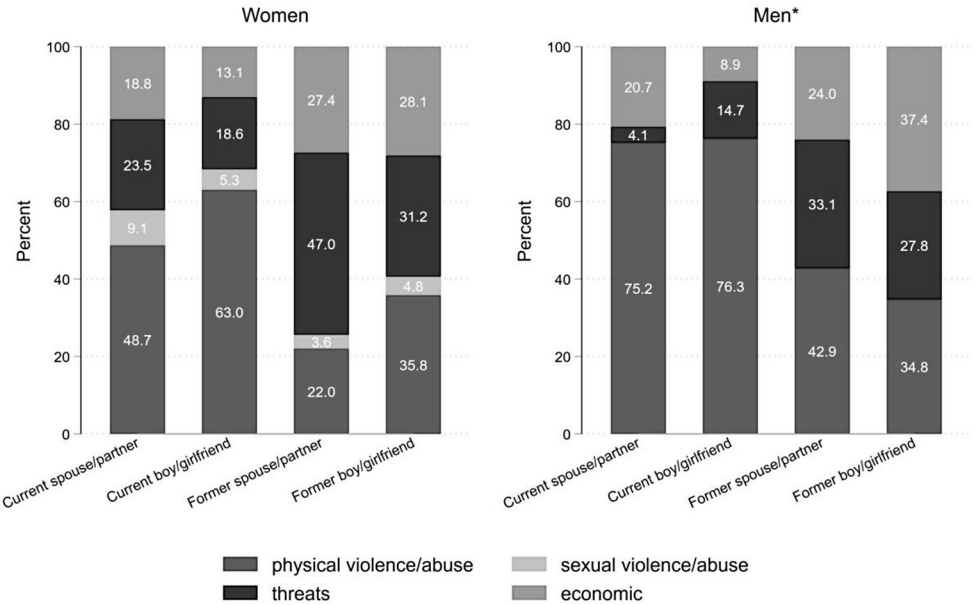

Fig. 2 Composition of intimate partner violence and abuse incidents by intimate partner perpetrator and type of offence experienced by women ($N = 20{,}429$) and men (2,668). Percentages shown in bars. * Sexual violence/abuse against men is excluded due to very low incidences

line with what might be expected, additional analyses comparing types of offences indicate that physical violence/abuse had a higher likelihood of resulting in an injury than sexual violence/abuse and economic crimes (Table 5 in the online Appendix, Model 0c).

Findings for men reported in Table 4 (model 4) showed that physical violence and abuse against men by current spouses/partner was associated with greater physical injury than physical violence and abuse by non-intimate perpetrators (OR = 0.467, $p < 0.001$, CI [0.351, 0.621]). No differences between intimate partner types were found in the odds of injury by physical violence/abuse.

Discussion and Conclusion

Intimate partner violence and abuse (IPVA) has extensive wellbeing and health impacts on victim-survivors (Stubbs & Szoeke, 2022; White et al., 2024). However, prior research has analyzed intimate partner perpetrators largely as one group, overlooking diversity among intimate victim-survivors-perpetrator relationships. Here, we aimed to introduce this diversity by examining the physical injury and emotional wellbeing impact of IPVA by whether the victim-survivor described the perpetrator as a spouse or partner versus boy/girlfriend, and whether the victim–survivor was in an ongoing relationship with the perpetrator at the time of the

incident. Overall this paper highlights the nuanced and complex nature of IPVA and underscores the importance of distinguishing different relationship types to better understand and address the diverse impacts on victim-survivors.

Our findings indicate that of all examined forms of IPVA (physical and sexual offences, threats, and economic crimes) experienced by women and men, about half took place in the context of an ongoing relationship, either by a current spouse/partner or a current boy/girlfriend. Looking along whether the perpetrator was a current or former spouse/partner or boy/girlfriend, around 70% of IPVA incidents were committed by current or former spouses/partners and 30% by current or former boy/girlfriends. The types of IPVA experienced by the respondents differed depending on the victim-survivor-perpetrator relationship type. Victim-survivors of current partners were more likely to experience physical violence/abuse than those of former partners. In contrast, threats and economic offences occurred more in the context of former relationships, potentially indicating attempts by former perpetrators to continue exercising control and instilling fear in their prior partners (e.g. Hester, 2013; Kutin et al., 2017). Sexual violence was relatively more commonly perpetrated by current spouses and partners compared to other types of intimate partners. This suggests that physical proximity and potentially longer lasting relationships carry a higher risk of sexual violence, possibly due to the sexual proprietary nature of ongoing relationships (Brownridge et al., 2008; Brownridge, 2010).

While IPVA is generally broadly defined by the relationship between the victim-survivor and perpetrator being currently/formerly intimate in nature, our results indicated that IPVA within different intimate partner relationships had differing emotional impact and risk of injuries. The emotional impact of physical violence and economic crimes by current spouses or partners against women was greater than those perpetrated by current or former boy/girlfriends. No difference was found in women's emotional impact between offences committed by current versus former spousal perpetrators. This may indicate that in both current and former relationships, the legal and physical proximity of marriage/legal partnership and co-residence may lead to greater emotional impacts for female victim-survivors of IPVA. This may be because these relationship types are typically characterized by continuous physical proximity to perpetrators, additional barriers to leaving the relationship, as well as creating fear and feelings of unsafety in one's own home (Boxall & Lawler, 2021; Kreyenfeld & Trappe, 2020; Petersson & Thunberg, 2022; Scheffer Lindgren & Renck, 2008). Besides proximity, married couples tend to be characterized by higher levels of trust and commitment during the relationship compared to dating couples (Brown et al., 2022; Wiik et al., 2012), and this emotional proximity may lead to higher feelings of betrayal.

Our findings also indicate that for women, physical violence by current partners had a higher risk of leading to injury than physical violence by former partners, but no differences were found by relationship type (spouse/partner versus boy/girlfriend). The physical proximity of the current partners may increase the risk of escalation or repetition (Boxall & Lawler, 2021) as victim-survivors are exposed continuously or frequently to the perpetrator, particularly if they are in a co-residential relationship (Temple et al., 2007). Physical violence and abuse by current partners was thus associated with higher risks of physical injuries. The opposite was found for risk of physical injury following sexual violence; sexual violence by former spouses/partners had a higher risk of physical injury than sexual violence by current spouses/partners. This indicates that sexual and physical violence may have different dynamics and risk profiles. The high impact of sexual violence by intimate partners makes the lower conviction rates and more lenient sentencing of these perpetrators particularly concerning (Bielen et al., 2022; Sumalla et al., 2023). Further research is needed to explore the mechanisms of how violence and abuse impact wellbeing differently by different dimensions of partner relationships, and why this differs between injury and mental wellbeing and offence type.

Economic crimes such as theft, criminal damage and burglary by intimate partners were strongly associated with emotional impact and moderately with the risk of physical injury among women. The latter is partially because economic crimes by intimate partners reported to the CSEW can also include physical force (Pullerits & Phoenix, 2024). Additionally, these crimes by intimate partners may be experienced substantially differently to thefts, criminal damage or burglary by others. This highlights the need to assess the risk of victim-survivors of economic crimes by intimate partners for potential repetition or escalation. Additionally, the prioritization of economic crimes over some forms of physical violence and threats by data collectors results in undercounting especially the emotional and health impacts of IPVA victim-survivors (Pullerits & Phoenix, 2024). It is notable that IPVA has a more detrimental emotional impact and poses a higher risk of injury than violence and abuse by other perpetrator types, which has also been indicated by previous research (e.g. Hullenaar et al., 2022; Tarzia, et, 2018). This heightened impact on victim-survivors may be attributed to the physical, legal, and emotional proximity between the victim-survivor and the perpetrator in intimate relationships.

While we found that for women the emotional and physical injury impact of violence and abuse differed by relationship type, this was not the case among men. Potentially the

hypothesized mechanisms of legal, physical, and emotional proximity work differently for men compared to women. Factors that exacerbate or mitigate the impacts of IPVA, including emotional intimacy, social support and isolation, economic dependence, and access to resources, could vary more for women depending on their relationship to the perpetrator, while for men these might be more similar across different IPVA relationship contexts.

Whilst this paper has extended existing IPVA literature by differentiating intimate partner types and including a wide range of offence types, this study is not without limitations. Firstly, union formation and dissolution are processes and hard borders between whether people are together or broken-up and boyfriend/girlfriend or partners could at times be unclear and may change, which is itself associated with IPVA (Halpern-Meekin et al., 2013; Halpern-Meekin & Turney, 2021). The measurement of intimate partner perpetrator type in the CSEW does not capture these processes precisely. This bias would likely lead to smaller differences in impact by relationship category, and hence our findings are likely an underestimation of the difference in physical injury and emotional wellbeing impact by intimate partner perpetrator type. Future research would benefit from examining whether the victim-survivor lives with or has lived together with the perpetrator, legal partnership, and whether the couple was in an ongoing relationship at the time of the violence/abuse. Secondly, due to data limitations, we were unable to include some important forms of violence and abuse such as coercive control, economic abuse and stalking. Future research should investigate how the impact of these forms of abuse differs across intimate partner perpetrator types. Next, the CSEW is incident specific which may not reflect experiences of ongoing IPVA especially when people experience multiple forms of violence and abuse, and multiple types of IPVA may be conflated due to the CSEW structure, which could influence how respondents answer questions on the impacts of IPVA. Furthermore, we were only able to investigate respondents' self-assessed emotional wellbeing impact based on a narrow set of outcomes. Future research would benefit from a more validated (clinical) assessment of the mental health, including specific aspects of mental health, and wider health impact of different forms of IPVA by victim-survivors-perpetrator relationship type. The relatively short reference period (IPVA experienced in the past 12 months) is also too short for insight into long-term health and wellbeing effects of IPVA and further research would benefit from a more long-term view of the wellbeing and health consequences of IPVA by relationship type (Stubbs & Szoeke, 2022). Lastly, the type of relationship between victim-survivors and perpetrators is one of many factors affecting the extent of the harm IPVA has on people and future research may want to investigate how relationship type interacts with other factors, e.g. gender inequality and other societal, relationship, and individual factors (Gibbs et al., 2020), to reveal the complexities of IPVA and its impact on individuals.

Overall, this paper highlights the need to differentiate intimate partner violence and abuse by not only the type of violence/abuse, but also by the type of intimate partner among women. Considering risk factors for injuries differ to some extent from risk factors for emotional wellbeing, policies focusing on minimizing the physical health impact from IPVA may require a different target population compared to policies aiming to improve victim-survivors' emotional wellbeing. Victim-survivors of current spouses or partners are especially vulnerable for severe emotional and health impact. IPVA in different relationship types may also require different strategies to avoid repetition. Lastly, when victim-survivors report economic crimes by a (former) intimate partner to the police or other authorities, this should be considered an important indicator of potential repetition or escalation and be handled differently from economic crimes committed by strangers or acquaintances. In general, policy and future research should take the diversity of the relationship situations in which violence and abuse occurs into account, where they do not do so as of yet, to better identify and support victim-survivors at high risk of intimate partner violence and abuse.

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Declarations

Ethical Approval The secondary data analyses were approved by the committee at City, University of London that considers medium-risk applications (ETH21220–299).

Competing Interests The authors declare having no competing interest.

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