Perpetrators' Profiles in Urban Patriarchies: An Investigation of Domestic Violence against Men in Ibadan, Nigeria

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Abstract

In urban patriarchies, the voices of male-victims of Domestic Violence are relegated to the background. To understand the roots and improve risk prediction, there is need to profile female perpetrators of domestic violence against men. This paper bridges this gap by characterizing female offenders and typifying profiles in an exploratory cross-sectional study of female perpetrators in Ibadan. Akiwowo's variation in the theme of sociation was used to explain this paper. Quantitative and qualitative data were obtained from a total of 120 male victims of domestic violence from Ibadan North Local Government Area of Oyo State, using purposive and snowball sampling techniques. Data were analyzed using inferential statistics and typologies. Traits that prompted abuse of partners among women included economic independence, physical size, peer-influence, developmental issues, substance use and abuse, the need for retaliation, and a troublesome nature. Seven profile types of perpetrators were identified in this light. This paper affirms that perpetrators of DVAM are varied and refutes notions that give the impression that men are only abusive to women while women are passive recipients of abuse.

Keywords: Domestic violence against men, women as perpetrators, urban patriarchy, perpetrators profiles, gender balancing

Introduction

Domestic violence, also known as domestic abuse, spousal abuse, battering, family violence, dating abuse, and intimate partner violence (IPV) is a pattern of behaviour which involves the abuse of one partner by another in an intimate relationship such as marriage, cohabitation, dating or within the family (Adebayo, 2014). Definitions of domestic violence have evolved and had become broadened over time (Nwanna and Kunnuji, 2016), with the UN General Assembly's definition of 1993 at the declaration of the elimination of violence against women with the view that it speaks to interactions that result in discomfort or suffering to women of a physical, sexual or psychological nature (Animasahun and Animasahun, 2013).

The Nigerian state is largely patriarchal, even in the 21st century (Aina, 1998; Asinyanbola, 2005; Namadi, 2017), and this allows for the continued

occurrence of the abuse of women. Patriarchy is a system of social stratification and differentiation on the basis of sex which enables men to dominate women due to structural and social relations based on masculinity that manifests in the relationship between male and females especially as it relates to ownership of economic factors of production (Aina 1998; Namadi, 2017), while also placing severe constraints on the roles and activities of females with the aid of clearly defined sex roles and gender-based taboos. Patriarchy unfortunately not only encourages the economic subjugation of women, but also the physical oppression and at other times, the brutal bodily, sexual and emotional abuse of women in the family.

This paper focuses on the relatively less known and hardly-reported incidence of domestic violence against men in a patriarchal society such as Ibadan by among other things attempting to profile female perpetrators of male abuse.

Literature Review

The National Domestic Violence Hotline (2015) further defines domestic violence as a pattern of abusive behaviour in any relationship that is used by one partner to gain (or maintain) power and control over another intimate partner. It can be physical, sexual, emotional, economic, or psychological actions or threats of actions that influence another person by way of intimidation, manipulation, humiliation, isolation, frightening, terrorizing, coercion, threatening, blaming, hurting, or injuring. Intimate Partner Violence accounts for a significant proportion of unreported crime, as victims in general are wary of reporting it due to a variety of reasons (Wright, 2016), and its incidence has been documented by several studies (Barnish, 2004; Yusuf, Arulogun, Oladepo and Olowokeere, 2011), with it being noted to be a universal problem across national borders, and with literature often being restricted to the subject of male perpetrators and female victimization in heterogeneous relations.

Asinyanbola (2005) argued that in recent years, despite the increasing urbanization and modernization societal trends, women even if employed and regardless of social class do the greatest share of household and childcare activities; with traditional household sex roles staying the same in the great majority of families. In such urban patriarchies as are present in most parts of 21st century Nigeria, while the practices of wife-subjugation and inheritance are believed to have largely reduced, it is erroneously believed that domestic violence in the home is still centered around wife-victims (Young, 2014), with male-victims and their voices being often relegated to the background.

The discourse on male victims of domestic violence is comparatively new with Young (2014) noting that when Gelles and Straus in 1975 first reported that women were just as likely as men to hit their spouses, and men were just as likely as women to report getting hit, it generated a lot of

controversies. However, since Gelles and Straus', other studies have noted that women are often the aggressors in domestic violence cases (Morgan and Chadwick, 2009; Young, 2014; Adebayo, 2014; Weinberger, 2015). The construction of domestic violence as a 'gendered, heterosexual phenomenon that is predominantly physical in nature' hampers the acceptance of men as victims of domestic violence, as men are perceived to be the abuser, and women being their innocent, unfortunate and harmless victims (Josolyne, 2011). The Nigeria Demographic Health Survey of 2008 points out that of the women aged 15–49 years, about 2.2% reported committing physical violence against their husbands (NPC and ICF Macro, 2009), the 2013 DHS reported that 2.1% of the same age bracket reported committing domestic violence against their spouses (NPC and ICF Macro, 2014). Factors held as influential in the cases explored included experience of domestic violence as victims, employment status, residence (i.e., urban or rural), wealth quintile, partner's use of alcohol, and spousal age difference (NPC and ICF Macro, 2014). Husband slapping, sex deprivation and, sadly, killing are some of the realities that men face in urban patriarchies in Nigeria today.

There is therefore a need to profile perpetrators of domestic violence against men as a result of the undue fixation on female victims, in a bid to understand the specific issues revolving round the act within urban patriarchies. This paper thus fills this gap by exploring the characteristics of female perpetrators of intimate partner violence, and typifies offender profiles.

Methodology

This is an exploratory cross sectional study conducted between March and August 2016 in Ibadan North Local Government Area of Oyo State. Ibadan North L.G has 12 wards, a landmass of 420km², and a population of 856,988 as at 2006 Census (oyostate.gov.ng). The paper employs both quantitative and qualitative methods of inquiry. This triangulation has made possible the comprehension of experiences of male victims of domestic violence. The data for the study were collected using 120 questionnaires and 20 in-depth interviews. The questionnaires were completed in a structured format. The design of the questionnaire and way it was completed means that the information obtained is of quantitative nature. The quantitative information indicates the extent of the abuse experienced by the men. The qualitative information gathered from the in-depth interviews gives a clear insight into the nature of the abuse the men experienced.

The research sample consisted of men who have experienced domestic violence. A total of 120 male victims of domestic violence were sampled from Ibadan North Local Government Area of Oyo State, using purposive and snowball sampling techniques. The purposive method had to be employed because the victims of domestic violence have remained isolated and hidden

from society to date (Kothari, 2004). The snowball sampling technique was also employed in identifying respondents as the technique helps in exploratory studies in locating other members of the research population whom they know (Babbie, 2001).

Quantitative data was analyzed using the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences, (SPSS) version 22, while Qualitative research data was transcribed, and analysed using typologies. A typology is a systematic method for classifying events, actions, objects, people, or places, which are similar into discrete groupings (Berg, 2001). The respondents identified were duly informed that participation in the study is voluntary and the information provided will be confidential and were assured that the findings of the research are used for academic purposes only. A number of potential respondents were reluctant to participate in this study. Thus it must be pointed out that the sample size is not representative of the exact figures of abused men in Ibadan North Local Government Area.

Theory

Ajobi and Ajogbe: Variations in the Theme of Sociation (1980)

Akiwowo's themes of Ajobi (translated to mean consanguinity) and Ajogbe (co-residentship) can be said to have roots in what he termed as the Orunmilaist perspective of human society (Akiwowo, 1980; Adesina, 2002). Based on the "*ajobiasuwadaeniyan*" (human society based on consanguinity), indices representing desirable character traits (*iwarere*) among members were not only created and extolled, forming the basis of the Omoluwabi, which Fayemi (2009) translates literally to mean 'the child begotten by Iwa', and makes reference to a proper internalization of the expected character traits. As Akiwowo (1980) further notes, the Nigerian society due to increasing urbanization, and modernization trends is gradually becoming more of an Alajogbe with many of the cultural practices by which spouses resolve their differences within the family setting, and women are kept in check, disappearing (Fadipe, 2012), leading to a rise in the incidence of social problems such as domestic violence against men.

Results

Table 1 shows the socio-demographic characteristics of the married victims of domestic violence against men who participated in this study. 40.0% of the respondents were in the age bracket 21-30, while only 2 respondents fell in the age group labelled '61 and above', showing that the phenomenon was more rampant among those of the younger generation. A total of 104 participants representing 86.7%, of the respondents had one form of tertiary education or the other with many of these respondents believing that the woman was deserving of equal treatment in society, while 62(51.6%) of the respondents were civil servants, with 32(26.7%) being unemployed.

Table 2 explores the perceived characteristics of female perpetrators of domestic violence against men. Household economics, Physicality, history of abuse, spousal infidelity, and nature were among the characteristics of perpetrators explored within this study. Perpetrators' histories of domestic abuse as victims were also explored along the lines of history of abuse in the hands of present spouse, and history of abuse prior to marriage. Respondents numbering 70 (58.3%) noted that their spouses had a history of abusing others, which was a result of their abuse in the hands of others. Self-defense was given by 55.9% of the respondents as a primary cause of such attacks, with respondents who attested to having attacked the perpetrators before the incidence of the domestic violence attacks being 51.6% of the total number of respondents.

Table 1: Socio-demographic Characteristics of Respondents

Variables	Frequency	Percentage
Age		
21-30	48	40.0
31-40	17	14.2
41-50	37	30.8
51-60	16	13.3
61 and above	2	1.7
Total	120	100
Level of academic attainment		
Primary	3	2.5
Secondary	13	10.8
Tertiary	104	86.7
Total	120	100
Occupation		
Artisans	11	9.2
Business	15	12.5
Civil servants	62	51.6
Unemployed	32	26.7
Total	120	100

Table 2: The Perceived Characteristics of Perpetrators of Domestic Violence against Men

VARIABLES	SA		A		SD		D		U		MEAN±SD
	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%	
Female perpetrators are breadwinners	14	11.7	36	30.0	23	19.2	28	23.3	19	15.8	3.02±1.28
Female perpetrators are bigger in stature	14	11.7	33	27.5	24	20.0	35	29.2	14	11.7	3.02±1.23
Female perpetrators are financially buoyant	16	13.3	46	38.3	20	16.7	25	20.8	13	10.8	2.78±1.23
Female perpetrators' attack is self defense	14	11.7	53	44.2	13	10.8	25	20.8	15	12.5	2.78±1.26
Female perpetrators have been attacked by victims before	16	13.3	48	38.3	14	11.7	20	16.7	24	20.0	2.92±1.38
Female perpetrators have history of abuse	18	15.0	52	43.3	17	14.2	12	10.0	21	17.5	2.72±1.33
Female perpetrators drink alcohol	14	11.7	36	30.0	19	15.8	24	20.0	27	22.5	3.12±1.37
Female perpetrators are drug addicts	18	15.0	28	23.3	17	14.2	28	23.3	29	24.2	3.18±1.42
Female perpetrators are only seeking revenge	13	10.8	53	44.2	16	13.3	18	15.0	20	16.7	2.83±1.29
Female perpetrators are feminists	18	15.0	39	32.5	14	11.7	22	18.3	27	22.5	3.01±1.42
Female perpetrators blackmail victims	17	14.2	42	35.0	19	15.8	20	16.7	22	18.3	2.90±1.35
Female perpetrators grew up with victimized mothers	8	6.7	43	35.8	21	17.5	18	15.0	20	25.0	3.16±1.33
Female perpetrators grew up with victimized fathers	6	5.0	40	33.3	19	15.8	19	15.8	36	30.0	3.33±1.34
Female perpetrators have more income than partner	15	12.5	43	35.8	14	11.7	27	22.5	21	17.5	2.97±1.34
Female perpetrators do this to punish victims infidelity	12	10.0	49	40.8	15	12.5	24	20.0	20	16.7	2.93±1.30
Female perpetrators are just simply wicked	15	12.5	47	39.2	13	10.8	25	20.8	20	16.7	2.90±1.33

Discussion

Domestic violence against men occurs at an alarming rate worldwide (Archer, 2000) and is gradually becoming recognized as a problem with health and legal implications across Nigeria. This study delves into domestic violence against men and makes vital contributions to the understanding of the profiles of the perpetrator. Findings of this study showed that male victims who experienced domestic violence tended to be more among the younger generation of married adult male. This might be due to the obvious notions that patriarchal practices are quickly losing their grip on general society, with women now being on economically equal terms or even better than their spouses, and fighting against any form of oppression as a result of urbanization, modernization and equal sex opportunities. Unfortunately, not all instances of intimate partner abuse can be narrowed down to economic reasons, as this would mean trying to predict abuser profiles through the same parochial set of factors (Dixon & Browne, 2003). This of course translates to mean that perpetrators are neither a homogenous group, nor do they have a unitary profile (Barnish, 2004). Over

time, research efforts have been channelled towards identifying abuser-types through the development of perpetrator typologies based on differences in behaviour, personality traits, histories and others (Holtzworth-Munroe & Stuart 1994, Dixon & Browne 2003, Heckert & Gondolf, 2004). These were done, as was this study, with the singular aim of not only understanding of the origins of intimate partner violence against men, but also to improve risk prediction, and identifying different treatment methods and consequent subject responsiveness to intervention efforts.

Profile Types

Seven profile-types were developed from the findings of this study. These typologies include:

The Economy-influenced Abuser

This profile type is hinged on the economic situation of the family. Economic power, and control of the financial situation of the household lays the foundation for the formation of such profile type as this (Munjal, 2012; Hall, 2016). The table 2 shows that 41.7% of the respondents agreed that female perpetrators are breadwinners of their families, with 42.5% disagreeing with this position, and the remaining 15.8% undecided. However, 51.6% of the total respondents were of the opinion that these female perpetrators were often financially buoyant women with less cause for dependence on their spouses for basic needs. Upon being questioned if the perpetrators earned more than their partners, 48.3% of the victims asserted that their spouses had more income than they did, with 34.2% of the responses arguing otherwise. Of the respondents, 17.5% however were unsure as to whether there was significant difference in the incomes of themselves and their spouses. In this typology, the perpetrator believes that since she is not necessarily dependent on her spouse for her needs to be supplied, it is beneath her to also take some of the lousy behavior that he may put up. Also, her not being financially dependent gives her a sense of freedom which includes the right to stand up for herself in whatever way she deems fit, where and when she deems appropriate. There are two sub-types under this typology which include the Provider-Abuser, and the Non-Provider Independent Abuser. What distinguishes between the two is that while the former is the breadwinner of the family, the latter is not the breadwinner, but is not always dependent on the husband for her needs to be met. One of the respondents noted the role of unemployment and seeming irresponsibility in the fostering of domestic violence against men as quoted below:

What causes it is when the man is weak and unemployed, or is irresponsible. In my own case, my wife first started abusing me physically when I lost my old job and before I got the job with the State government...then, she was the provider in the house,

and it just started with her calling me names and throwing things. I believe she was frustrated with the fact that I was not contributing anything monetary to the home. (*IDI, 47, Civil servant, 2016*)

Also the undercurrents of power and control often driven by household economics may play a huge role in the creation of an individual of this profile type (Munjal, 2012). Nwanna and Kunnuji (2016) asserted that educated women were more likely than uneducated ones to fall into this category. They noted that these women were empowered both economically and socially, and more independent than their uneducated counterparts and therefore could afford to fight their partners without minding the consequences. It must be noted that while in Yoruba history, there were women who were breadwinners with lazy husbands, it was however considered a taboo in the traditional patriarchal system to violate the husband physically in the case of his indolence. Often times, women in times past resorted to reporting such lazy husbands to the family heads, or singing abuse-laden songs in his hearing which could even further provoke him and lead to her getting beat up (Apter, 1998; Fadipe, 2012). However, as a result of urban trends, equal rights, disintegration of family core values, bonds and powers of the household system, domestic abuse of men prompted by family economics have become commonplace, particularly in situations wherein there may be little financial challenges for the husband. Another respondent offered his point thus:

Financial problems are underlying factors that cause it. Since salaries have become erratic and I cannot provide all my wife needs, she tends to get angry easily and abuse me a lot, and always seems eager to fight. Sometimes, she throws slaps at me, but I don't respond because I don't believe in beating a woman. (*IDI, 37, Civil servant, 2016*)

The Physical-attribute Influenced Abuser

Physical Size, strength and age may also be major determinants of what goes on in the abuser-victim relationship, and determines how the victim may be abused. This typology may be further sub-divided into three. The first two involving; one in which the female perpetrator may be physically stronger than the victim and may beat up the victim with reckless abandon, and the other in which the female perpetrator is smaller or weaker than the victim and may resort to the use of any weapon (s) that she may lay her hands upon. The latter sub-typology more often is expressed as a result of the need to retaliate or punish for an offence, while the former usually is expressed in a bid to reject some of the expectations that patriarchy lays upon the wife in the home, or just as in the latter, the need to retaliate (Hester, 2009). The third factor herein is

the age of the perpetrator as opposed to the age of the victim. In such scenarios, the victim is often much younger than the female perpetrator, and issues of 'respect' may prompt incidences of spousal abuse. This also is driven by the need to exert power and control the affairs of the household (Munjal, 2012). The table 2 depicts that 39.2% of the respondents believed that their wives were physically stronger or bigger than they are, with 47.5% believing that their wives are male-usurping radical feminists.

The mistake I made was to marry a woman older and bigger than I am. At this my young age, it is something I regret. She always accuses me of sleeping around because she is getting older and is not attractive anymore. When we have a slight disagreement, she starts throwing things at me or slapping me around...see this scar, I got it last month when she hurled hot oil at me while we were having one of such disagreements. That's why I hardly want to go home after I close from my workshop. I stay with some of my friends or some of my girlfriends till nightfall. (*IDI, 29, Artisan, 2016*)

The Peer-influenced Abuser

The Yoruba have a saying "*Egbeburuku lo n baiwarere je*" (Bad peers corrupt good manners). This is believed to hold true in this situation wherein her peers may instigate the female perpetrator into the act of violence against her spouse, particularly if she belongs to a gang (Umaña and Rikkers, 2012). Also, in situations where the husband has more than one wife or keeps concubines (Adebayo *et al.*, 2010), his wife may be spurred to abuse him in any way she can, particularly by friends or siblings, who may even join in. Sometimes, co-wives connived to abuse their husbands (Ashimi and Amole, 2015)

When a man has more than one wife there would be violence against him in the house. Oftentimes, the wives usually gang up on the husband especially when they feel threatened that he has another female conquest. (*IDI, 57, Civil Servant, 2016*)

Another thing that has greatly influenced the creation of this typology is the age of feminism in Africa where women talk about emancipation and women liberation, and discourse concerning issues such as marital rape and wife-beating which were apriori not problems in general society are in the age of modernization and urban development not only condemned but also criminalized. Consequently, some women exploit the situation and deal with their husbands for the slightest offenses knowing that he dares not retaliate. This also leads to the creation of the "*Emi ko le gbaigbakugba fun okunrinkankan*" (I cannot tolerate any nonsense from any man) type of women in many families.

The Substance-induced Abuser

The use of alcohol and other psyche-influencing substances such as narcotics may also play a huge part in the creation of a domestic violence perpetrator typology. In studies which focused on male perpetrators of domestic abuse, consistent emphasis has been laid on alcohol consumption by the perpetrator among other key predictors to be responsible for intimate partner violence (Dauvergne & Johnson, 2001; Hirschel & Hutchinson, 2003). Heckert and Gondolf (2004) further pointed out certain risk markers which predict further violence among known domestic violence perpetrators, and among those markers listed, alcohol consumption feature prominently. Bell *et al.* (1999) noted that Standard practice in Canada was to insist on alcohol treatment when alcohol is considered a relevant factor in domestic violence cases, thus noting how important alcohol and other substances can be when abused. Unfortunately, alcohol consumption is not limited to men, and even in Nigeria, many women, even the married ones, are known to be consumers of alcoholic drinks and users of drugs (Dumbili, 2015), and as such are affected by it to the extent that the abused substances often affect their spousal relations and lead to many women abusing their spouses (Leonard, 2008). When asked about issues of substance-use, 41.7% stated matter-of-factly that their partners used alcohol on a regular basis, with 38.3% of the respondents stating that their spouses engaged in the use of narcotic substances (Table 2). Statement from the IDI further supported this:

My wife consumes a lot of alcoholic drinks. She also used to smoke weed (marijuana) a lot before, but God has taken control to a large extent. I don't begrudge her drinking, because she used to drink and smoke when we met, and it's their culture in their place...She is from Bayelsa. She's a good woman, strong and hardworking and that was why I married her. It's just the drinking. I as a person too used to drink, and we used to fight a lot, but I have stopped drinking, and I try to avoid fighting with her, but she whenever she's upset and had something to drink, the neighbours usually have to come to rescue me. (IDI, 34, *Businessman, 2016*)

The Retaliator

Retaliatory spousal abuse against the husband although classified into an all-embracing typology can take several forms. In one instance, the female perpetrator may engage in domestic abuse of her husband in retaliation of domestic violence or other maltreatments (Hoaken and Pihl, 2000; Fox, 2008), which she has suffered at his hands. At other times, especially when another woman or a child-born with another woman outside the marriage is involved, retaliatory intimate partner violence often ensues (Abodunrin *et al.*, 2014). As shown on Table 2, 50.8% of the respondents believed that sometimes, their

wives did what they did to them in a bid to punish their infidelity. In some cases, retaliatory abuse could be seen as an act of self-defense (Swan, 2006; Nwanna and Kunnuji, 2016). Also, it could be a reprisal on any man who comes her way for something she had experienced in one of her past relationships. A respondent commented of one such woman perpetrator as such:

...the woman has been in a bad relationship and she is trying to unleash the anger on her present man. Unfortunately, at the time, I was the man. I really suffered a lot. Eventually I could not take it anymore, and we got separated. (*IDI, 39 unemployed, 2016*)

Developmental-induced Abuser

The issues children experience while in their formative years often tend to stay with them throughout their adult life and often influence their behavior over time (Holtzworth-Munroe & Stuart, 1994; Barnish, 2004). More often than not, this profile type develops when girls who watched their fathers beat up their mothers while they are growing, become women and in a bid not to become the victims that their mothers were turn to the perpetrators themselves in what may be a form of retaliation against men, or a drive to take over 'power' or at other times, a refusal to be victimized (Dawes, 2004; Hall, 2016). On the other hand, in a situation wherein the child watches the mother beat up the father while growing, such a child may grow up thinking that is the order of things and as such continues to perpetuate it. An interviewee notes this below:

A woman can become a perpetrator if the woman used to be a child from a family when the mother abuses the father or the father abuses the mother. My wife's mother used to be beaten up by my late father-in-law. I believe it had an effect on her while growing up. Although I knew about the domestic violence issues of her parents, I had no idea how much it had affected her until after our daughter was born, and then she started getting violent with me. (*IDI, 28 unemployed, 2016*)

The Troublesome Aggressor

Some perpetrators of domestic violence against men can also be classified as being of a violent disposition (McLaren, 2010). Similar to what is obtainable in Holtzworth-Munroe & Stuart (1994) typologies of abusive men, women too often display anti-social and violent traits. Often times, these women do not limit their violent behavior to their spouses alone, but to all who cross their paths. These women are believed to be troublesome or generally violent (Gabora, Stewart, Lilley & Allegri, 2007), and when married become a thorn in the flesh of their husbands for little or no reason. They often do not need provocation before dealing with their husbands in any way possible. 51.7% opined that their wives were naturally wicked hence their behaviour (Table 2).

Many of the respondents agreed on this point, and this is portrayed in the responses below with the latter respondent highlighting that the denial of sex, food and verbal abuses are secondary forms of domestic violence that men often suffer asides physical bashing:

Some women are just violent on their own, they can cause trouble at any time. (*IDI, 37, Civil servant, 2016*)

Some women are just simply wicked and they think their power should be misused and once they get a man to love them they then overpower him and abuse him. Women have three powers they use mostly for their male victims. The power of the spoon that is they can deny him of food, the power of the tongue... they can talk down on him and insult him and verbally abuse him and lastly the power of sex, they deny him of sex to punish him, sometimes for no reason. (*IDI, 48, Civil servant, 2016*)

Conclusion

The paper examined domestic violence from a dimension that is not common in the literature, wherein the females are the perpetrators; a subject area that has received very little academic attention in Nigeria as a whole, and even far less in Ibadan North Local Government area. It identified the factors that have been implicated in domestic violence against men in the home, specifically focusing on abuses perpetrated against men by women. It has confirmed that perpetrators of domestic violence against men are varied. It refutes notions that give the impression that men are only abusive to women while women are passive recipients of abuse. The under-reporting of domestic violence against men due to embarrassment or fear of ridicule is a major challenge in Nigeria as a result of the sensitive nature of the subject. The victims are often in self-denial. Male victims are often disbelieved due to the patriarchal nature of the Nigerian society wherein it is believed that men are usually spouse-abusers.

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