

Anger and aggression treatments: a review of meta-analyses

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In the last several decades, researchers have begun to recognize dysregulated anger as a common and debilitating psychological problem among various psychiatric populations. Accordingly, the treatment of anger and aggression has received increasing attention in the literature. The current article reviews existing meta-analyses of psychosocial intervention for anger and aggression with the aims of (1) synthesizing current research evidence for these interventions, and (2) identifying interventions characteristics associated with effectiveness in specific populations of interest. Results demonstrate that cognitive behavioral treatments are the most commonly disseminated intervention for both anger and aggression. Anger treatments have consistently demonstrated at least moderate effectiveness among both non-clinical and psychiatric populations, whereas aggression treatment results have been less consistent. We discuss the implication of these findings and provide directions for future research in the treatment of anger and aggression.

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Introduction

The phrase *anger management* has become commonplace in the Western culture. In the U.S., the term has been used in the media and was the title of a 2003 movie and a television series. A recent Google search resulted in approximately 30 000 web pages (February 27, 2017). Those arrested for assault or domestic violence in the U.S. and other countries are frequently referred for anger management classes as a condition of their release, plea, or probation. Given the widespread use of anger management and the mandate for such treatments in legal systems, knowledge about the effectiveness of these interventions is much needed.

Most mandates for anger management assume that a direct relationship exists between anger and aggression, and that targeting anger would reduce or eliminate the aggression. While the number of studies on this relationship is remarkably small [1[•]], the limited literature suggests that anger does not always lead to aggression, nor is anger a necessary cause of aggression. A recent meta-analytic review, however, found a robust relationship between anger and violent behavior [2], and a recent evaluation of an individually-delivered anger treatment found that reductions in aggressive behaviors were associated with decreases in anger [30]. This emerging literature provides support to the supposition that treatment of anger will result in reduction of aggression. However, some anger management interventions have failed to produce positive effects in prison samples [3]. Given the context in which most people are referred or mandated to such interventions, both anger and aggression serve as related yet distinct outcomes of interest.

We reviewed the literature on anger and aggression interventions to shed light on the effectiveness of anger management programs. Not long ago, the amount of literature on this topic was thin. However, in preparation for this review, we uncovered a large number of studies. As reviewing them all would be beyond the length of this article, we focused our attention on meta-analytic reviews of anger and aggression treatments. A literature search revealed 21 such meta-analyses, most of which focused on specific populations. These meta-analyses represent a substantial database from which to assess whether such treatments work and which treatments appear to be most successful.

Methods

Search strategy and study selection

We searched *PsycINFO* and *PubMed* for meta-analytic reviews published between the earliest available year and February 23, 2017. We used the keywords 'anger' or 'aggression' AND 'treatment' or 'therapy' AND 'meta-analy*' in the title. Our search yielded 76 articles published between 1998 and January 2017, and 75 articles published between 1992 and 2016 from *PsycINFO* and *PubMed*, respectively. After removing duplicates, we inspected the remaining articles for meta-analytic reviews of non-pharmacological treatments targeting primarily anger or aggression. We identified 13 meta-analyses of treatments targeting anger and 8 meta-analyses of treatments targeting aggression, which are included in this review.

Results

Treatments targeting anger

Table 1 summarizes the results of the 13 meta-analyses on treatments of anger.

Table 1

Characteristics of meta-analyses of treatments targeting anger (in chronological order)

Study	Years of publication	No. of studies (<i>k</i>)	No. of participants (<i>N</i>)	Sample characteristics	Treatment type(s)	Treatment setting/modality	Treatment components	Outcome variable(s)	Effect size(s)
Henwood <i>et al.</i> [4]	Prior to June 2014	14	3226	Adult male offenders	CBT-based anger treatments	Prison or community/Group	Self-management, challenging dysfunctional thinking, and relapse prevention; arousal and anger control training and moral reasoning; arousal reduction, communication skills, relationships, addressing cognitive distortions, and problem solving	General and violent recidivism	.77 overall , .72 for violent recidivism
Hamelin <i>et al.</i> [5**]	2002–2005	8	336	Adults with intellectual disabilities	CBT	Not reported/ Individual and group	Discussion of causes, appropriate expression of anger, cognitive restructuring, role play, relaxation and problem solving	Anger	1.52 overall for RCTs (unweighted); .89 within-group for pretest-posttest (unweighted)
Nicoll <i>et al.</i> [6]	1999–2011	9	302	Adults with intellectual disabilities	Treatments with cognitive behavioral framework	Community, institutional/Most delivered in groups	Psychoeducation, self-monitoring, cognitive restructuring, relaxation, self-instruction, role-play and problem solving	Anger	.88 overall ; .84 for group treatments, 1.01 for individual
Kusmierska* [7]	Prior to 2010	17	Not reported	Varied	CBT combined (37 studies) or Novaco's multicomponent anger treatment model (19 studies); non-CBT (16 studies)	Not reported/ Individual and group	CBT: Relaxation, exposure, cognitive restructuring, social skills, systematic desensitization, problem solving, self-instruction training, and education. Non CBT: meditation, forgiveness, use of humor, acceptance and commitment therapy (ACT), the process group	Anger	.58 overall

Table 1 (Continued)

Study	Years of publication	No. of studies (<i>k</i>)	No. of participants (<i>N</i>)	Sample characteristics	Treatment type(s)	Treatment setting/modality	Treatment components	Outcome variable(s)	Effect size(s)
Ho <i>et al.</i> [8]	1982–2007	18	408	Children with special needs (Ages 8–18)	Cognitive behavioral approach	Schools and research clinics/ Individual and group	Direct cognition treatments, affect education, stress inoculation, external trigger recognition, anger arousal recognition, problem-solving skills, self-instructions, assertiveness, relaxation techniques, specific coping strategies	Three dimensions of anger: behavior, cognition, affect	.61 overall ; .34 for behavior, .63 for cognition, .82 for affect, .19 for anger control skills
Candelaria <i>et al.</i> [9*]	1979–2010	60	3386	Children (Ages 5–18)	Anger management interventions for school-age children	Schools/ Groups	Coping skills training, emotional awareness and self-control, problem solving CBT, relaxation techniques, role play or modeling activities	Overall behavioral/ emotional index, conduct/ delinquency, knowledge of anger management principles, blood pressure, anger, aggression, self-control, forgiveness, social skills	.27 overall ; .29 for conduct problem/ delinquency, 1.28 for knowledge of anger management principles, .33 for anger, .34 for aggression
Saini [10]	Prior to 2009	96	7440	Adults (college students, health care patients, incarcerated offenders, mental health clients)	Cognitive, CBT, exposure, psychodynamic, psycho-educational, relaxation-based, skills-based, stress inoculation	Varied/ Majority were group	Not reported	Anger constructs (general, control, person specific, expression, state, trait, driving)	.76 overall ; 1.40 for psychodynamic, .67 for relaxation, .60 for CBT, .83 for CT
Gansle [11]	1984–2003	20	Not reported	Children & adolescents (Ages 5–18)	School based anger interventions	Schools/ Majority delivered in groups	Discussion, role play, practice, modeling, homework, reward for compliance, performance feedback, reward for performance, conducting parent or teacher group sessions, goal setting, visualization/imagery, contracting, academic tutoring, games, and home visits	Externalizing and anger, internalizing, social skills, and academics; beliefs and attitudes	.31 overall ; .53 for follow up data; .54 for anger and externalizing, .43 for internalizing .34 for social skills

Table 1 (Continued)

Study	Years of publication	No. of studies (<i>k</i>)	No. of participants (<i>N</i>)	Sample characteristics	Treatment type(s)	Treatment setting/modality	Treatment components	Outcome variable(s)	Effect size(s)
Sukhodolsky <i>et al.</i> [12]	1968–1997	40	1953	Children & adolescents (Ages 6–18)	CBT for anger-related problems	Majority deliver in schools/ Majority delivered in groups	Instruction, discussion, modeling, role-play, feedback, emotion identification, relaxation, self-instruction, exposure, homework, and reinforcement	Physical aggression, anger experience, self-control, social problem-solving, and social skills	.67 overall ; .79 for skills development and .74 for eclectic treatments, .36 for affective education, .67 for problem solving treatments
DiGiuseppe and Tafrate [13]	1970–1998	50	230	Adults	Any treatments targeting anger	Not reported/ Individual and group	Self-instructional training, cognitive restructuring, problem solving, relaxation, systematic desensitization, exposure, behavioral skills training, combined interventions, anger management training experiential group process based on Yalom's (1995) group treatment, humor, education, meditation, and biofeedback.	Overall, anger, aggression, positive behaviors, other emotions, physiological arousal, attitudes/ cognition, Type A, Self-esteem	.71 overall ; 1.16 for individual, .68 for group
Del Vecchio and O'Leary [14]	Jan 1980– August 2002	23	1340	Adult outpatients defined as angry by pretreatment anger scores	CBT, cognitive (CT), relaxation (RT), and other (O)	Setting not reported/ Majority delivered in groups	To be considered a CBT, the therapy must contain both behavioral and cognitive components; relaxation refers to treatments that provide only relaxation training; treatments that could not be placed in any of these categories were evaluated together and entered into "other"	Anger (control, suppression, expression, driving, state, trait)	.68 for CBT; .82 for CT; .90 for RT; .61 for Other
Beck and Fernandez [15]	1970–1995	50	1640	Adults and children; predominantly clinical	CBT treatments	Not reported	Identifying situational "triggers", cognitive self-statements, acquisition of relaxation skills, problem-solving conflict management and social skills training	Self-reported anger behavioral ratings of anger/ aggression	.70 overall

Table 1 (Continued)

Study	Years of publication	No. of studies (k)	No. of participants (N)	Sample characteristics	Treatment type(s)	Treatment setting/modality	Treatment components	Outcome variable(s)	Effect size(s)
Edmondson and Conger [16]	1970–1994	10	Not reported	Adults; most are referred clinical sample	Relaxation, social skills, cognitive-relaxation treatment, cognitive treatment	Not reported	Not reported	Reduction in anger	.82 for relaxation, .80 for social skills, .76 for cognitive-relaxation, .64 for cognitive

Note: Bolded text represents overall effect size for each study when available; all effect sizes are weighted unless denoted otherwise. CBT = cognitive behavioral therapy.

Treatment type

Eight of the meta-analyses focused exclusively on cognitive behavioral therapies, which are the most studied type of psychosocial treatment for anger. Several others attempted to correct this overrepresentation either by directly comparing different types of treatments, or by expanding their searches to include non-cognitive-behavioral treatments.

The earliest meta-analysis comparing relaxation, social skills, cognitive, and cognitive-relaxation treatments of anger found that relaxation treatments yielded the highest effect size ($d = 0.82$), followed by social skills ($d = 0.80$) cognitive-relaxation ($d = 0.76$), and cognitive therapies ($d = 0.64$) [16]. This finding was replicated in another meta-analysis, which reported the largest effect size for relaxation treatments ($d = 0.90$) relative to those for cognitive treatments ($d = 0.82$), CBT ($d = 0.68$), or therapies categorized as ‘other’ ($d = 0.61$) [14]. Examining all types of treatments targeting anger in adults yielded a mean effect size of 0.71 [13]. However, a subsequent meta-analysis concluded that psychodynamic therapy yielded the large effect size ($d = 1.40$) based on only two studies, and reported a similar weighted overall d of 0.76 [10]. Finally, one unpublished meta-analysis of both cognitive-behavioral and non-cognitive-behavioral treatments found an overall effect size of $d = 0.58$ [7]. Taken together, these studies suggest that both cognitive-behavioral and other approaches to treatment of anger are comparably and at least moderately effective, with limited evidence favoring relaxation treatments over other types.

Children and adolescents

One meta-analysis examined cognitive-behavioral treatments in children and adolescents found a mean effect size of $d = 0.67$ [12]. Comparisons of cognitive-behavioral treatment subtypes showed that skills development and multimodal treatments were more effective than affective education, which included components such as relaxation training and learning about emotions. Thus, among cognitive-behavioral interventions for anger in children and adolescents treatments directly targeting behavioral changes appear more successful than those targeting internal are (*i.e.*, cognitive and emotional) processes.

School-based interventions

Two meta-analyses of school-based interventions targeting anger have reported small overall effect sizes [9,11]. The use of a more stringent approach to effect size calculations was a possible explanation of the discrepancy between these small effect size and those reported by previous meta-analyses [15,12]. With externalizing symptoms and anger constructs as the outcome, the mean effect size was increased to $d = 0.54$, suggesting that interventions might have been more effective for behavioral targets than for cognitive constructs or for outcomes that were not directly targeted (*i.e.*, academic

performance). Conversely, another study found that the overall effect size ($d = 0.27$) did not differ based on behavioral or cognitive outcome measures, with anger and aggression measures yielding slightly larger effect sizes than behavioral/emotional indices [9^{*}]. Taken together, these studies highlight the importance of specifying primary targets of treatment.

Intellectual disabilities

Two meta-analyses focused on cognitive-behavioral treatments in adults with intellectual disabilities [5^{**}, 6]. These studies reported conventionally large mean effect sizes (d 's = 1.52 and 0.88, respectively). In children with special needs, treatments employing cognitive-behavioral approaches yielded a medium overall effect size ($d = 0.61$) in reducing three dimensions of anger; however, effect sizes for behavior and anger control skills were notably smaller (d 's = 0.34 and 0.19, respectively) [8]. Such discrepancies between anger and behavioral outcomes suggest that despite some conceptual overlap between anger and aggression, treatments targeting anger might not be effective in reducing problematic aggressive behaviors in this population.

Forensic samples

One meta-analysis focusing on adult criminal offenders reported moderate effectiveness for anger treatments in reducing general and violent recidivism, d 's = 0.77 and 0.72, respectively [4]. Recidivism was considered an important long-term behavioral target of anger management interventions in this population. Importantly, this was the only meta-analysis that included anger management classes, the most commonly disseminated intervention for aggressive and violent behaviors. When considering treatment completion, mean effect sizes decreased slightly (d 's = 0.58 and 0.44 for general and violent recidivism, respectively). Further research is warranted to examine the long-term effects of anger interventions, especially the commonly mandated anger management classes for forensic populations. These authors did not test the difference in effect sizes between group therapy interventions and psychoeducational classes.

Treatments targeting aggression

Similar to the literature on anger treatments, all but one of the eight meta-analyses for aggression included only cognitive-behavioral treatments. The mean effect sizes reported by these meta-analyses varied greatly from small (four studies) to medium (three studies) to large (two studies), ranging from 0.10 to 1.14. Table 2 summarizes the results of these meta-analyses.

Treatment type

Few comparisons of treatment types were available. One study examined the effectiveness of behavioral therapy, cognitive-behavioral therapy, and family therapy in addressing conduct problems in school-age children

[17]. Behavioral therapy represented the majority of treatments in this meta-analysis ($k = 34$), whereas family therapy represented a small minority ($k = 3$). Although family therapy evidenced the largest effect size of $d = 0.80$, behavioral and cognitive-behavioral therapies both yielded medium effect sizes with much larger k 's. These results were consistent with an earlier meta-analysis, which found mean weighted effect size of 0.62 across types of treatments, majority of which belonged in the behavioral therapy category [22]. Thus, it appears that attempts to disentangle treatment effects by type have been largely unsuccessful due to the lack of studies of treatments belonging to categories other than behavioral or cognitive-behavioral therapies.

Treatment population

Aggression was sometimes included as an outcome in meta-analyses of anger treatments, but only in studies of children [9^{*}]. Similarly, all eight meta-analyses of aggression treatments examined children and adolescents exclusively and did not include anger as an outcome, further delineating aggression as the primary outcome of interest for children and adolescents. This was a surprising finding, given that aggressive and violent behaviors are not limited to childhood and can cause potentially more serious consequences in adulthood. Thus, it appears that treatment target often shifts from aggression in childhood to anger in adulthood, but the conceptual basis for this shift across development has not been articulated.

Discussion

Substantial evidence supports the effectiveness of anger and aggression interventions. However, there are several limitations to this literature. First, most of the research presented in this review, with the exception of one meta-analysis [4], included group therapy and not anger management classes. The term *class* implies larger numbers of participants per intervention or session than for group or individual therapy. Also, anger management classes are largely psychoeducational in nature and treatment is not based on an individualized case conceptualization. It is a serious problem that we have little empirical data on the effectiveness of this particular intervention while it continues to be commonly mandated.

Second, no meta-analysis has examined the effectiveness of anger or aggression treatments for domestic violence or child abuse perpetrators, and only one meta-analysis in the current review included abusive parents and spouses in their overall sample [15]. There is a serious lack of progress in this important area of service delivery [24^{**}] given the multi-level consequences of domestic violence, and represents a critical area for future treatment research of anger and aggression.

Third, the therapeutic modalities that appear in the research are predominantly cognitive-behavioral in

Table 2**Characteristics of meta-analyses of treatments targeting aggression (in chronological order)**

Study	Years of publication	No. of studies (<i>k</i>)	No. of participants (<i>N</i>)	Sample characteristics	Treatment type(s)	Treatment setting and modality	Treatment components	Outcome variable(s)	Effect size(s)
Fossum <i>et al.</i> [17]	1980–Feb 2010	56	2821 for between group; 1184 for within group	Children with conduct problems in the clinical range (Age <18 years)	Behavioral therapy (BT), CBT, BT and CBT in combination, Family Therapy (FT)	Varied; Individual, group, or combined	Parent training, anger management, social skills, problem solving skills, family communication, improving parenting	Conduct problems	.64 for between, 1.05 for within overall; .70 for BT, .52 for CBT, 0.51 for BT/CBT, and .80 for FT
Hoogsteder [18]	1980–2011	6	164	Adolescents (Ages 12–18)	Individually oriented treatments with CBT components: mode deactivation therapy, stress-inoculation therapy, the cell-phone program	Individually oriented	MDT: centering, imagery, relaxation techniques (mindfulness), balance training; SIT: psychoeducation, coping skills, exposure; the cell-phone program: self-monitoring and cognitive training	Externalizing behavior, physical aggression, verbal aggression	1.14 overall
Smeets <i>et al.</i> [19]	2000–April 2013	25	2302	Adolescents (Age <23 years)	CBT Treatments	Varied	Coaching and modeling, anger management, social skills training, assertiveness training	Aggression	.50 overall
Barnes <i>et al.</i> [20]	1992–2012	25	30309	Children (Majority from grades K-5)	Cognitive-Behavioral Interventions	School-based/ Group	Problem solving, violence prevention, anger control curricula	Aggression	.14 overall
Özabacı [21]	1997–March 2009	6	307	Children & adolescents (Ages 6–18)	Behavioral, cognitive, or CBT	Varied	Varied	Violence	.10 overall
Fossum <i>et al.</i> [22]	1987–August 2005	65	4971	Children & adolescents (Ages 2–17)	Behavior therapy, family therapy; CBT, psychodynamic therapy; and others	Not reported	Not reported	Teacher reported change in aggression, change in social functioning, and changes in parental distress	.41 for between, 63 for within overall; .62 for between, .95 for within, for aggressive behaviors

Table 2 (Continued)

Study	Years of publication	No. of studies (<i>k</i>)	No. of participants (<i>N</i>)	Sample characteristics	Treatment type(s)	Treatment setting and modality	Treatment components	Outcome variable(s)	Effect size(s)
Wilson and Lipsey [23]	1950-	249	Not reported	Children (Grades K-12)	Cognitively oriented approaches and social skills training	School-based	Changing thinking patterns, developing social problem solving skills or self-control, and managing anger; learning constructive behavior for interpersonal interactions, including communication skills and conflict management; behavioral strategies that manipulated rewards and incentives; counseling for individuals, groups, or families	Aggressive, and/or disruptive behaviors	.21 overall ; .21 for universal; .29 for selected/indicated; .11 for special classes/schools
Robinson <i>et al.</i> (1999)	1967–1995	23	1132	Children (Majority from grades K-5)	Cognitive behavior modification (CBM)	School-based	Cognitive-behavioral interventions designed to assist children with increasing self-control	Hyperactive-impulsive and aggressive behaviors	.74 overall ; .64 for aggression, .79 for hyperactive-impulsive behaviors

Note: Bolded text represents overall effect sizes for each study when available; all effect sizes are weighted unless denoted otherwise. CBT = cognitive behavioral therapy.

nature; only a small number of studies included treatments based on non-cognitive behavioral approaches such as psychodynamic and family therapy. Although there were only a few family therapy studies, the results are promising. The field of psychotherapy is mired in theoretical debates among competing models, but such debates are noticeably absent in anger treatments. Do the proponents of other theoretical orientations believe they have nothing to offer in the treatment of anger and aggression? We doubt it. The quote by Carl Sagan, “Absence of evidence is not of evidence of absence,” prompts us to suggest that treatment research in other theoretical approaches is needed, as they may provide components valuable in the treatment of anger.

Fourth, although many cognitive-behavioral interventions are abundant in the anger and aggression literatures, this family of interventions includes heterogeneous treatment packages consisting of any number of components. Thus, while it appears that behavioral interventions are more effective than cognitive ones for some populations, we are far from identifying which components work best for which clients.

Finally, all treatment studies have pooled all their participants to receive the same treatment regardless of the nature of each individual’s presenting problem. Several taxonomies of anger and aggression problems have been proposed [25*,26**]. However, as anger disorders do not appear in the DSM-5 [27], we do not yet have an accepted taxonomy of anger and aggression problems that informs treatment research. The field has not developed empirically based subtypes of anger and aggression that would clarify targets of treatment, although researchers have provided some useful suggestions [24**,13,28*]. Although the body of literature reviewed here suggests that anger treatments are moderately effective, much remains to be done to inform future treatment of this clinically significant and impairing problem. We are a long way from answering Gordon Paul’s classic questions [29**]: “What types of psychotherapy (for anger) works best for which types of problems, with which types of treatments, by which types of therapies?”

Conflict of interest statement

This certifies that we have no conflict of interest and no financial conflict with the publication of this manuscript.

1. #Denotes meta-analyses included in the current review.References and recommended reading¹

Papers of particular interest, published within the period of review, have been highlighted as:

- of special interest
- of outstanding interest

¹ #Denotes meta-analyses included in the current review.

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