

Recommendations for a More Effective Male Batterer Intervention Program Due to the Minimal
Effects These Programs Have on Batterers' Attitudes and Behaviors Regarding Violence

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Recommendations for a More Effective Male Batterer Intervention Program Due to the Minimal
Effects These Programs Have on Batterers' Attitudes and Behaviors Regarding Violence

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Acknowledgements

When I made the choice to earn my graduate degree in criminal justice, there were several reasons behind this decision. I wanted to become more educated about both the criminal justice/social services field and the world around me. I wanted to learn more about how individual circumstances and one's environment can make an impact on decision-making. I wanted to better understand those circumstances that lead individuals down certain paths and how I could make a difference by helping to change people's lives around. Basically, I wanted to be that person who could help individuals get back on their feet and become productive members of society, as well as to help broken communities feel whole again. Another reason for earning my graduate degree was to be able to support my family financially well into the future. Attending the University of Wisconsin-Platteville's criminal justice graduate program has provided me with the knowledge and tools to do just that.

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When questioned by people about the reasons for wanting to work with clients in the criminal justice/social services field, I tell them that some people simply need someone to give them a second chance or a helping hand--by providing the appropriate resources to help them get to that place in life that they either want or need to be in. I want to be that someone. My experience in the criminal justice graduate program will hopefully help me to do just that.

Abstract

Recommendations for a More Effective Male Batterer Intervention Program Due to the Minimal Effects These Programs Have on Batterers' Attitudes and Behaviors Regarding Violence

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Under the Supervision of Dr. Mike Klemp-North

Statement of the Problem

Domestic violence is a very serious social problem, which until more recent years, has not been given the appropriate attention it has required. According to the National Network to End Domestic Violence (n.d.) “Nearly one in every four women are beaten or raped by a partner during adulthood” (section 1). While batterer intervention programs were created to help end the violence of those who perpetrate abuse upon their partners, studies show that these programs have little to no affect on batterers. According to the National Institute of Justice (2003), “Batterer intervention programs do not change batterers’ attitudes and may only have minor effects on behavior, according to these studies” (about this report section, para. 2). This is due, in part, to not truly understanding what domestic violence is, what causes an individual to become a batterer, the characteristics and individual circumstances of a batterer, and what the necessary approaches should be when attempting to intervene and help decrease the high rates of domestic violence that exist today. Furthermore, according to NNEDV (n.d.), “Three women are killed by a current or former intimate partner each day in America, on average” (section 1). With statistics like these, there is an immediate need to further evaluate BIPs to determine what parts are successful in preventing more violent acts as mentioned above. While there have been studies conducted to determine the effectiveness of these batterer programs, there is still a need to

determine what truly works in order to protect current and potential victims in the future. If domestic violence can be first understood, then the next step is to examine what components of BIPs work and do not work and to be able to define what a successful male batterer intervention program might look like. In addition, since females are victims of domestic violence more often than males, the paper will refer to batterers as males.

Domestic violence is a very serious problem in America. According to the National Coalition Against Domestic Violence (2005-2009), “One in every four women will experience domestic violence in her lifetime” (did you know section). To help combat this serious issue, most importantly to protect both current and potential victims, BIPS are being utilized by the courts. While it is a step in the right direction, according to a research evaluation of two BIPs conducted by Jackson, Feder, Forde, Davis, Maxwell, and Taylor (2003), “In the Broward County study, no significant differences were found between batterers in the treatment and control groups” (about this report section, para.3). With more and more batterers being referred to these programs as part of their probation, it is important to know whether these programs are effective but more importantly what parts work and for what type of individual. According to the Office of Justice Programs (2009), “the multi-state study of four batterer programs concludes that approximately a quarter of batterers appear unresponsive and resistant to batterer intervention” (chapter 8, section 1).

Methodology

Information in the form of empirical studies will be collected from secondary sources. In addition, I will collect information that consists of theories regarding domestic violence, such as the life-course theory and social bond theory. I will also include victim statistics and

characteristics of male batterers from domestic violence, counseling, criminal justice, and government websites. In addition, comparisons of current BIPs will be made to determine what those programs consist of that have been minimally effective in changing batterers' behaviors. This information will then be used to support my research problem, as well as to make several recommendations for positive change in this area.

Anticipated Outcome

Batterer intervention programs need to have a positive outcome, thus increasing safety for victims and the community as a whole, as well as preventing other secondary effects of domestic violence. Researching current BIPS that have been somewhat effective in preventing violence among batterers and reviewing empirical studies and available statistics will help identify and recommend those specific components that need to be in place for a BIP to be deemed successful or at least effective in some measure. The outcome of this research paper has the potential to benefit current victims, potential victims, advocates, counselors, law enforcement officials, court officials, and the community as a whole.

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Section I: Introduction

Partner abuse is a very serious social problem, which until more recent years, has not been given the appropriate attention it has required. According to the National Network to End Domestic Violence (NNEDV) (n.d.) “Nearly one in every four women are beaten or raped by a partner during adulthood” (para. 1). While batterer intervention programs (BIPs) were created to help end the violence of those who perpetrate abuse upon their partners, studies show that these programs have little to no affect on batterers (i.e. Klein, 2009; Jackson et al., 2003).

In order to understand the importance of having effective BIPs, it is imperative that society understands the definition and effects of battering, as well as the purpose of BIPs. “Battering is a constellation of physical, sexual, and psychological abuses that may include physical violence, intimidation, threats, emotional abuse, isolation, sexual abuse, manipulation, the using of children, economic coercion, and the assertion of male privilege” (Healey, Smith & Sullivan, 1998, p.xi). Battering, or intimate partner violence, falls under the term domestic violence and refers to those individuals who consistently hurt their partner in various ways. While females are capable of becoming batterers, most batterers arrested for these actions are males (Healey et al., 1998). Only 5 to 15% of those batterers arrested are females, but it is questionable as to whether they were simply defending themselves (Healey et al., 1998). Moreover, since more males are arrested for battering than females, batterers will be referred to as males throughout this paper.

Although those working in the field have not agreed on a typical batterer typology, a general profile has been used by advocates to describe or recognize a batterer. It is typical for batterers to want to have all the power and control in their relationships, and most times, males

who abuse their partner have learned to behave this way (Union County Turning Point, 2010).

The signs of a batterer are both easy and difficult to recognize at times and are as follows:

- Jealous
- Does not take blame for anything
- Behavior can be unpredictable.
- Belittling
- Says he will change.
- Always wants another chance
- Plays on partner's guilt and love.
- His way or no way at all
- Seems charming to outsiders.
- Can abuse his children as well
- Regards his violent behavior as acceptable
- Angry with other women
- Believes in rigid gender roles
- Isolates partner from family and friends
- Controls where partner goes and who partner sees
- Makes excuses for behavior
- Can have drug and alcohol problem coupled with abuse problem

(UCTP, 2010).

On the other hand, it has been difficult to categorize all batterers because they come from diverse backgrounds. Batterers may respond to treatment in different ways because of their varied racial or ethnic identities (Healey & Smith, 2001). Batterers may be recognized by one or

all of the signs listed above, but this does not mean they will all respond or respond in the same manner to BIPs. Those working in the field recognize the differences among batterers, and there seems to be a consensus that no specific treatment plan works for all batterers (Healey & Smith, 2001).

BIPs are programs intended to teach batterers to be non-violent in relationships. These programs are also referred to as spouse abuse abatement programs (SAAPS) (Jackson et al., 2003). It is the legal system's way of decreasing the likelihood that batterers will cause further harm to their current or potential victim (The Advocates for Human Rights, 2008). Batterers either are mandated to attend these programs by the courts or can volunteer as well. Most BIPs emphasize accountability and attempt to teach batterers to restructure their thinking patterns in order to change their attitudes and behaviors in relationships. The priority of BIPs is to protect victims and to hold batterers accountable for their behaviors (TAHR, 2008). However, "Batterer intervention programs do not change batterers' attitudes and may only have minor effects on behavior" (National Institute of Justice, 2003, para. 2). This is due, in part, to not completely understanding what domestic violence is, what causes an individual to become a batterer, the characteristics and individual circumstances of a batterer, and what the necessary approaches should be when attempting to intervene and help decrease the high rates of domestic violence that exist today.

According to NNEDV (n.d.), "Three women are killed by a current or former intimate partner each day in America, on average" (para.1). Statistics like these provide evidence that there is an immediate need to further evaluate BIPs to determine what parts are successful in preventing more violent acts as mentioned above. While there have been studies conducted to determine the effectiveness of these batterer programs (e.g., National Institute of Justice, 2003;

Macleod et al., 2008) there is still a need to determine what truly works effectively and efficiently in order to protect current and potential victims in the future. If domestic violence and offenders can be understood, then the next step is to examine what components of BIPs work and do not work and to be able to define what a successful male batterer intervention program might look like.

Battering is a social problem that must be taken seriously and never be overlooked. According to the National Coalition Against Domestic Violence (2005-2009), "One in every four women will experience domestic violence in her lifetime" (p.1). To help combat this serious issue, most importantly to protect both current and potential victims, BIPS are being utilized by the courts. While it is a step in the right direction, according to Jackson et al. (2003), "In the Broward County study, no significant differences were found between batterers in the treatment and control groups" (p.iii). With the lack of significant change in the treatment group, it is evident in this example that batterer intervention programs are not effective. In addition the possibility that some batterers cannot be treated needs to be studied. With more and more batterers being referred to these programs as part of their probation, it is important to know whether any of these programs are effective. Furthermore, an understanding of what programmatic techniques work and for what type of individual is crucial for addressing this societal problem. According to the Klein (2009) a, "multi-state study of four batterer programs concludes that approximately a quarter of batterers appear unresponsive and resistant to batterer intervention" (p.65). Therefore, since program outcomes have shown little effect on batterers' attitudes and behaviors, it is time to assess these programs and to develop a batterer intervention program using theoretical principles and evaluation evidence.

The purpose of this study is to examine and identify the limitations of batterer intervention programs (BIPs) that have prevented greater success. Success is not based on the batterer being able to complete the program or being able to live a violence-free life. In fact, analyzing the findings from the NIJ studies on BIPs lead researchers to define program success as a noticeable decrease in violent incidents (Jackson et al., 2003). Since partner abuse is a serious issue and appears to be quite prevalent in households across the country, there is a need to not only understand what partner abuse entails but to truly identify those factors that prevent some of the BIPs from being successful. The goal of these programs is to help prevent batterers from using violent and controlling behavior towards their partners. In order to prevent further harm to the current or future victim, emphasis must be placed on what specific components of these programs have claimed success and what parts can lead to failure. Further, it is imperative to address the specific circumstances and individual characteristics of batterers that exist when these programs are deemed successful. Sadly, partner abuse is not a rare occurrence and unfortunately, this problem is not going to disappear. This study intends to demonstrate that BIPs are not truly effective in preventing further battering by the perpetrator and to recommend elements of a more effective BIP. While intervention programs have been developed for batterers in hopes of changing their violent and controlling behavior, the verdict is still out as to how effective these programs are. Do domestic violence treatment classes actually prevent recidivism among offenders? A component of this paper is a review of the few existing programs and studies and to determine whether these programs for domestic abuse offenders are truly effective or unfortunately, are only one important piece of the complex domestic violence puzzle. In doing so, several recommendations for a more effective BIP will follow, including the integration of

community organizations and further research being conducted. The outcome of this particular research paper has the potential to benefit current victims, potential victims, advocates, counselors, law enforcement officials, court officials, and the community as a whole.

Section II: Literature Review

Academic research has shed some light on the topic of intimate partner abuse and the best way to prevent battering and treat those who batter (e.g. National Institute of Justice, 2003; Macleod et al., 2008). A major weakness of this research is that no definitive answers have been found as to how an effective program would be structured, and it is crucial that the pieces be put together to do just that. While more attention has been placed on figuring out why batterers use abusive behavior in close relationships (e.g. Widom & Maxfield, 2001; Schrock & Padavic, 2007) an on-going debate still exists as to what works in treating batterers or whether batterers are even capable of being treated (eg. Jackson et al., 2003; Healey et al., 1998; Klein, 2009). It could be assumed that since these programs have continued to be utilized throughout the years in many states that they are effective. After an extensive literature review no studies were found that provided evidence of standard treatment practices (e.g. Bennett & Williams, 2001; Macleod et al., 2008; Klein, 2009; Woodward & Bechtel, 2008). The lack of evidence will affect how BIPs are developed and run and make it difficult to measure the overall effectiveness of these programs. Moreover, in order to better understand the background of BIPs and the serious challenges and barriers in combating partner abuse as a social problem, it is important to review the past literature that is focused on BIPs. Therefore, the first section of this literature review consists of a history of BIPS. The second section includes a statistical overview of their

effectiveness, and the results of past research. The third section focuses on special considerations, such as those variables and components of BIPs that can affect the outcome of these programs.

A. History of Batterer Intervention Programs

BIPS were first created in the 1970s by pro-feminist men and shelter employees that were frustrated with men who repeatedly beat women (Shrock & Padavic, 2007). These program creators learned from female victims that males used domestic violence as a way to control their victims. The initial programs focused on changing offenders' ideas of masculinity (Shrock & Padavic, 2007). One such program, Emerge, was created in 1977 in the state of Massachusetts, and was the first program developed in the United States for the purpose of educating abusers and ending the violence among intimate partners (Emerge, 2010). Emerge's overall goal is to stop and prevent violence in intimate relationships; therefore, the program focuses on education for abusers, prevention in the younger population, an improved response system, responsible parenting, and public awareness (Emerge, 2010). However, the courts did not perceive domestic violence as a serious problem until around the 1990s (Keilitz, 2004). Up until this time, the law often considered domestic violence to be a private matter between the two parties involved (Mazur & Aldrich, n.d.). In fact, even after domestic violence was defined as being illegal, it seemed as if many working in the criminal justice field did not take it seriously, nor did they understand its complexity, and some individuals felt that resources could be better used elsewhere in the community (Mazur & Aldrich, n.d.). While no evidence had been shown to demonstrate whether these BIPs worked, there was an increase in arrests of batterers, and many of them were deferred to these programs instead of serving time in jail (Shrock & Padavic,

2007). From Emerge, more and more programs were developed across the United States. In total, there are approximately 2,266 batterer programs identified throughout the country (Labriola et al., 2010).

B. Statistics, Results of Past and Current Studies, and Special Considerations

A closer look at the results of past studies and statistics regarding recidivism rates show there are still questions to be answered. In order to better understand the significance and effectiveness of BIPs in decreasing violence, an extensive literature review was done, which includes the discussion of four experiments conducted between 1992 and 2000. In addition, results of a more recent multi-state study will be included, as well as several variables, circumstances, and components that must be taken into consideration when determining program planning and effectiveness.

Ontario experiment.

The first experimental study to be discussed was conducted in 1992 Hamilton, Ontario by Palmer, Brown, and Barrera (Bennett & Williams, 2001). The goal of this study was to determine whether BIPs were more effective than existing practices, such as probation (Bennett & Williams, 2001). The researchers studied 59 males that were on probation for abusing their wives. Of this group, some were randomly assigned to probation and some to a BIP (Bennet & Williams, 2001). It was found that 70% did complete the BIP, while 87% only completed half of the sessions or more (Bennett & Williams, 2001). The researchers then contacted those involved one year after the BIP had finished, but were not successful at collecting many responses for their experiment (Bennett & Williams, 2001). However, Palmer and her team were able to collect some follow-up information to be included in their experiment. According to police records, 10% of the batterers who had attended the BIP re-offended, while 31% of the batterers

on probation only re-offended (Bennett & Williams, 2001). While these findings indicate that short-term BIPs are somewhat effective, the sample size was called into question (Bennet & Williams, 2001). This experiment may indicate the shorter programs have some impact on batterers but not whether the longer programs have the same effect on batterers.

Navy experiment.

The second study to be discussed was conducted by Dunford (2000) at a Navy base located in San Diego, California (Bennett & Williams, 2001). The experiment included a sample of 861 males who had assaulted their wives, and they were randomly assigned to one of the following programs: six months of cognitive-behavior treatment with another six months of monthly group to follow; six months for couples to attend group then six months of monthly group to follow; a strict monitoring system; or safety planning (control group) (Bennett & Williams, 2001). According to Dunford, 70% of the males finished the program they were assigned to, and the findings did not indicate any significant differences between these programs or practices (Bennett & Williams, 2001). In fact, the authors' conclusion is that BIPs do not make a real difference on domestic abuse (Bennett & Williams, 2001). Spouses noted a 30% recidivism rate, while arrest showed a 4% recidivism rate (Bennett & Williams, 2001). On the other hand, it is difficult to draw a final conclusion from this experiment, as the experiment was not free from flaws. One weakness was the sample population was not representative of the typical BIP member, and the groups were held at their worksite (Bennett & Williams, 2001). However, this experiment does indicate that community integrated services may be the best option in

decreasing repeated violence by batterers (Bennett & Williams, 2001). Therefore, this study indicates that BIPs should be considered to be only one of the many important components in making communities safer.

Broward experiment.

A third study was conducted by Feder and Forde (2000) in Ft. Lauderdale, Florida (Bennett & Williams, 2001). Their sample consisted of 404 males who had been charged with domestic violence as a misdemeanor and randomly assigned to probation or probation plus attending the Duluth BIP (Pence & Paymar, 1993) (as cited by Bennett & Williams, 2001). 20 of the 26 sessions (50% usually average) were completed by those males made to take the BIP (Bennett & Williams, 2001). However, after one year had passed, the males who had completed the BIP had no differences in thinking and attitudes towards females than those who had been assigned to probation (Bennett & Williams, 2001). In fact, results demonstrated that those who completed the BIP did not have any changes in their thoughts regarding domestic violence as a crime (Bennett & William, 2001). Most importantly, this experiment leads back to “the support for the *stake in conformity* hypothesis: men most likely to re-offend are those who have the least to lose, as measured by education, marital status, home ownership, employment, income, and length of residency” (Bennett & Williams, 2001, p. 5). Therefore, it is of utmost importance to know whether BIPs are effective but in particular, to consider the individual circumstances that play a role in program completion and decreasing violence in communities.

Brooklyn experiment.

A fourth study, conducted in Brooklyn, New York, reveals no concrete answers to whether these programs are effective. The sample consisted of 376 males who were convicted of a domestic violence misdemeanor, and they were randomly assigned to 40 hours of community

service or 40 hours of the Duluth BIP (Bennett & Williams, 2001). The researchers used information collected from both victim reports and official reports and examined at 6 months and 12 months (Bennett & Williams, 2001). The researchers concluded that batterers mandated to attend BIPs versus community service were actually more likely to be abusive, although not significantly (Bennett & Williams, 2001). In addition, after reviewing official records, it was found that BIP participants had 50% less likelihood of re-offending at both follow-ups than community service participants (Bennet & Williams, 2001).

Findings reveal minimal effects and mixed results.

After analyzing the four experiments' findings, it was found that BIPs have only a minimal effect on batterers' attitudes and behaviors (Bennett & Williams, 2001). That is not to say that the literature does not reveal any positive aspects regarding these programs. When referring to these particular studies, it is evident that changes are being made throughout and at the completion of BIPs. However, it is also evident that in order for these programs to play a significant role in decreasing violence, the following must be considered: programs must be reevaluated, used in conjunction with other services, and studied further to determine overall effectiveness in violence prevention in the long-run.

Furthermore, BIPs continue to demonstrate mixed results, even when several different programs were evaluated during one study. "The multistate study of four batterer programs concludes that approximately a quarter of batterers appear unresponsive and resistant to batterer intervention" (Klein, 2009, p.65). The researchers interviewed victims and abusers and researched arrest reports and found that about 50% of the batterers used abusive behavior towards a past victim or new victim at some point within the 30 months following their initial assault (Klein, 2009). They also found that for those who assaulted a partner again, most of these

incidents took place just six months after enrolling in the program, while approximately 25% of batterers continued abusive behavior throughout the study leading to severe injuries for the victims (Klein, 2009).

Overall, a brief summary of several experimental studies demonstrates that evaluations “almost uniformly report no significant differences in the recidivism rates of treatment and control groups” (Woodward & Bechtel, 2008, p.3). Since the 1980s, 35 evaluations of BIPs have taken place (Labriola et al., 2010). However, most evaluation studies conducted are missing important components or did not produce significant impact on batterers’ behaviors and attitudes.

Special considerations.

One thing to consider when reviewing past and current literature on the strengths and weaknesses of BIPs is that the findings depend on many variables including: individual circumstances and specific components that are utilized during these intervention programs. A California study showed that “men who were more educated, older, had shorter criminal histories, and did not display clear signs of drug or alcohol dependence had a lower likelihood of re-arrest” (Macleod et al., 2008, p.98). It appears that changes in batterers’ behaviors can depend on their financial or mental status, whether they have substance abuse issues, or whether they are supervised during their deferment. Moreover, the outcome can depend on whether they are held accountable when they do not comply or fail to attend the program sessions, require other psychological treatment, and whether they attend a long program versus a short program. The studies indicate a need to look at the effectiveness of these programs considering each case individually.

Most importantly, it is imperative to acknowledge that some evidence does exist indicating BIPs could be more effective if several specific components and special considerations are in place during and after the completion of these programs. A brief overview of several studies demonstrates that cognitive behavioral therapy programs have shown to significantly decrease the chances of batterers reoffending if the program focuses on the batterer's attitudes, beliefs, and values (Woodward & Bechtel, 2008). Second, a study conducted by Gordon and Moriarity (2003) found those batterers who took part in more sessions were not as likely to reoffend than those who took fewer sessions or none at all (as cited by Woodward & Bechtel, 2008, p.4). However, Dunford (2000) did not find that more sessions made a difference in reoffending (as cited by Woodward & Bechtel, 2008, p.4). One possible explanation of this difference is that the longer a batterer is involved with these sessions, the less time there is to reoffend. Third, it was found that drop-out rates are high at 50-75%, and 50% of batterers never make it to the intake interview (Woodward & Bechtel, 2008). In other words, if the court performs a one-month follow-up appointment with the batterer, there was more of a chance the interviews would be completed (Woodward & Bechtel, 2008). Demonstrating that following up with the batterer and continuing to hold them accountable can lead to a more effective outcome.

In addition, an evaluation of BIPs in five counties in California showed that batterers with alcohol/drug problems may have a higher likelihood of not completing the program (Macleod et al., 2008). Therefore, it is important to not only require these individuals to attend this type of treatment but to ensure the courts are helping in this matter (Macleod et al., 2008). In this same study, the results indicate that batterers' financial status can affect the overall

outcome. Many times the batterer is terminated from the BIP for non-payment; indicating that if future enrollment is based more on need than ability to pay, these programs could be more effective in the long-term (Macleod et al., 2008).

Moreover, there are questions surrounding the evaluations of these programs themselves. Many evaluations have been conducted, and there is an agreement between researchers that most of the findings are inconclusive due to poor methodology (Healey et al., 1998). However, with that being said, “Feder and Wilson’s (2005) meta-analysis of the most rigorous studies found that, according to victims, program completion failed to reduce the likelihood of continued violence” (as cited by Schrock & Padavic, 2007, p.627).

Another issue is that while domestic violence is not new, intervention programs could be considered somewhat new and therefore, require more research that can lead to conclusive findings. It is not to say that these programs do not include some important components that have the ability to change batterers’ attitudes and behaviors. It may be that past studies have shown no conclusive findings to determine which parts work or what components are lacking in order to be effective. “In the absence of conclusive research findings, practitioners and academics continue to debate the appropriate content of batterer interventions” (Healey, Smith & O’Sullivan, 1998, p.10). Therefore, these statistics and results of past and current studies indicate that BIPs may not have a significant impact on domestic violence recidivism rates. In addition, these programs could be missing important components needed to become more effective. Studies show that BIPs are not effective as they should be, especially when used alone. One clear outcome of this literature review is that if BIPs are going to continue to be used to prevent further violence in intimate relationships, then they must be utilized in conjunction with other procedures (Klein, 2009).

Section III: Evaluation of Current Batterer Intervention Programs

As the research demonstrates, some batterer intervention programs (BIPS) do have a minimal effect on batterers. In order to truly understand what components are making a small impact, it is important to discuss several popular intervention models or approaches being used by agencies today. Although much attention has been placed on teaching batterers to stop the violence, the previous section's literature review shows BIPs' outcomes vary. Fortunately, some criminal justice professionals and abuse advocates are still searching for solid answers to this social problem, and some groups have managed to develop programs that address batterers' attitudes and behaviors. The Amend, Emerge, and Duluth programs are some of the most well known pioneers in the battle to help end partner abuse and all of these follow a similar plan (Healey, Smith & O'Sullivan, 1998). While future research needs to be done on the Amend and Emerge Models, these programs, as well as the Duluth Model, all three use cognitive-behavioral treatment (Woodward & Bechtel, 2008). Moreover, these models have been adopted by many social services agencies, they have either shown minimal effects towards ending the violence or require more research be conducted to determine what components are needed for a more effective outcome(e.g. DAIP,1983-1995). Therefore, in discussing these models, several important components of BIPs will be highlighted in this evaluation. It will conclude with a review of the most positive and successful components.

A.Amend Model

The Amend Model was created in Denver, Colorado in 1977 (AMEND, 2008). This program runs for 36 weeks to five years and focuses on the power and control theory, cognitive behavioral therapy and confrontational techniques (Healey et al., 1998). It provides counseling to batterers on a volunteer and court-mandated basis, with the hopes of understanding and tackling

the roots of domestic violence (AMEND, 2008). This model includes counseling and advocacy for both the victim and batterer, domestic violence awareness, conflict resolution, and accountability to the batterer, substance abuse help, and community education (AMEND, 2008). Those working under this model believe in effective prevention and intervention, breaking the cycle of violence by teaching men to not use violence, and address those forces in society that make it difficult to tackle domestic violence (AMEND, 2008). In addition, it is important to note that inability to pay for this particular program does not factor in to whether the batterer can attend the BIP (AMEND, 2008).

The Amend program has been evaluated in a multi-state study (Gondolf, 1997) to identify any existing re-assault-patterns that may be present following the completion of a BIP (The California Evidence-Based Clearinghouse for Child Welfare (CEBC) (2006-2010). It was determined that 31% of the batterers re-assaulted within fifteen months of starting the program, and half of the batterers did so during the first three months (CEBC, 2006-2010). Surprisingly, 73% of the victims still felt safe, although 70% of the batterers were verbally abusive and 43% used threats towards victim (CEBC, 2006-2010). Lastly, it was found that if batterers volunteered for the program or had dropped out, they were more at-risk of using violence again (CEBC, 2006-2010).

B.Emerge Model

As mentioned in section two, the Emerge Model was created in 1977 in the state of Massachusetts, and was the first program developed in the United States for the purpose of educating abusers and ending the violence among intimate partners (Emerge, 2010). This program runs for 48 weeks but suggests that one-third of batterers need more time (Healey et al., 1998). In fact, David Adams, program director, does not believe that short-term programs are as

effective as long-term and batterers need at least 4 to 6 months of treatment to ensure they are not manipulating the system (Healey et al., 1998). Advocates teach victim empathy, use confrontation techniques, and teach batterers that abuse comes in many forms-- focusing on batterer accountability and cognitive-behavioral techniques (Healey et al., 1998). The program's overall goal is to stop and prevent violence in intimate relationships; therefore, the program focuses on education for abusers, prevention in the younger population, an improved response system, responsible parenting, and public awareness (Emerge, 2010)

The Emerge program has been recognized as a pioneer in the field and an agency that makes the necessary changes to its program in order to keep up with the current trends in batterer interventions (Healey & Smith, 1998). However, evaluations are scarce. Currently, no peer-reviewed studies have been published and made readily available to the public (CEBC, 2006-2010).

Although the Amend and Emerge models are well-known pioneers in the fight to end partner abuse, studies have not shown evidence of success. These two models provide many useful tools or program components in combating partner abuse but lack strong evidence to support their delivery process and intended outcome. Therefore, it can be concluded that two limitations of these particular models exist. The first limitation is the lack of research that has been completed. The second limitation is for the research that has been conducted regarding BIPs in general, is that research findings are inconclusive in terms of program effectiveness (e.g. Klein, 2009). Social programs should be evaluated to determine whether the desired goals are being achieved (Rossi, Lipsey & Freeman, 2004). Further emphasis should be placed on this type of evaluation if the program is intended to stop further injuries or death from occurring. It is important to reiterate that no studies have been found in the literature to fully support the models

used by these two specific programs, and since Amend and Emerge are considered some of the most well-recognized BIPs, this should be a priority. Therefore, if the Amend and Emerge models are to continue operating as is, further research needs to be conducted to deem these particular programs totally effective.

C.Duluth Model

The Duluth Model was created in the early 1980s in Duluth, Minnesota (Domestic Abuse Intervention Programs, 2008). This model has been very popular in the United States for the purpose of stopping violence against women and focuses on community agencies, both legal and human services, working together to protect the victims (DAIP, 2008). This program's participants attend 2 or 3 sessions that focus on eight different themes and uses a confrontational approach (Healey et al, 1998). Those that utilize this model believe that ending the violence takes more than an individual response. The main goals in using a public response to this problem include the following: protecting the victims from future battering, holding the batterers and interventionists responsible for the safety of victims, providing an opportunity for batterers to change, and punishing the batterer in order to protect the victim (DAIP, 2008). Moreover, the Duluth Model believes that both parties should be respected and that personal backgrounds and present circumstances should be considered during interventions (DAIP, 2008). Overall, it is believed that victim safety is priority and through coordinated efforts, continued analysis of the program's components, batterer accountability, and a consistent and standardized program, further violence will be prevented (DAIP, 2008).

The Duluth Model has been evaluated to determine its overall effectiveness on decreasing abuse. In 1991, an evaluation was conducted at the DAIP child visitation center, and it was found that mothers experienced less psychological abuse and substantially less physical abuse while

part of the program (DAIP, 2008). This evaluation of the DAIP and other studies conducted from 1983 to 1995 reveal the following:

- 80% of female victims feel a combined community effort helped end the battering against them.
- Batterers did not recidivate as often after DAIP augmented their coordinated response efforts.
- Recidivism rates were lower if the batterer joined the BIP voluntarily but even less abuse occurred when batterer was mandated to join the program by the court.
- If probation officers considered their client (batterer) as a lower level offender when sentenced, the batterer was found less likely to reoffend.

(DAIP, 2008).

Overall, the Duluth Program has been shown to have some very positive results. The components that help make this particular program somewhat effective in decreasing abuse against women are mandating batterers to participate in BIPs and utilizing a combined task force in the community. As with all BIP research, future research is needed in order to find new solutions to the problem in order to increase effectiveness (DAIP, 2008).

D. Components That Have Contributed to BIPs' Success or Failure

The utilization of the Duluth Model has produced some positive outcomes (e.g. DAIP 1983-1995 studies) and at the same time, shown that increased efforts and further research is needed to win the war on partner abuse. While some research demonstrates abuse rates have decreased using these models, there are specific components of these particular programs, as well as others, which have helped lend a hand to their success or failure (e.g. DAIP 1983-1995 studies; Gordon & Moriarity, 2003; Dunford, 2000; OJP, 2009).

Program structure/procedures.

Most of the well-known BIPs follow similar procedures from beginning to end. These procedures include completing intake and assessment paperwork, appropriate victim contact and follow-up, an orientation, an attendance and fee payment protocol, and criteria that must be met in order to graduate from the BIP (Healey & Smith,1998). Whether it is the staff or the clients that are responsible, these procedures can make a difference as to whether batterers will complete the program and can contribute to the overall success or failure of the BIP.

Emerge structure.

Emerge is considered to be one of the well-known BIPs in existence today. The procedures are as follows:

- Clients who attend the Emerge BIP are either self-referred or referred by the court or child protective services
- BIP expects clients to complete an orientation as a first step, where the batterer will complete the necessary paperwork, learn about the program, and pay the fees.
- Clients will then typically begin the sessions the week after, which consists of eight sessions.
- Following the eight sessions, an assessment is completed to take a look at client's attendance and participation in the BIP.
- If clients have been cleared to move on, they will attend the next stage, which consists of 32 sessions; and when completed, clients will be evaluated by group members to help assess progress.
- Clients are expected to be present at all 40 sessions or contact facilitator with reason for absence. One absence is allowed per the eight-week sessions at no charge but two

sessions missed within this time period means paying the usual rate. Third session missed within this same time period can lead to having to complete a contract or closing the client's file.

- Clients are expected to pay fees on weekly basis, and if two payments are missed, they cannot attend; however, Emerge is willing to work with income changes as they arise.
- Clients can be terminated if they do not respect the group members.
- Emerge offers several culture-based programs as needed.

(Emerge, 2010)

Amend structure.

Amend is considered to be another well-known BIPs in existence today. The procedures are as follows:

- Clients are self-referred or referred by court
- Clients complete intake paperwork, which includes demographics, history of abuse, drug and alcohol assessment, etc.
- Clients must pay a fee at intake and for each group session taken. A sliding scale is available to clients. Clients who are unable to pay the fees can sometimes apply for a grant, or probation officers may have vouchers available. Clients are not typically turned away because they lack the financial means to pay for the program or have missed a payment. Every measure will be taken to make it possible for them to attend the program.
- Clients are then placed in a group as soon as possible, usually within one week from completing their intake.
- As mentioned, every measure is taken in attempt to retain clients and ensure they complete the program. If they are disruptive or un-cooperative in group, the clients may

do individual work to see if this changes the situation. If not, the clients will be discharged.

- If a violent situation occurs between the client and his victim while in treatment, the client will be discharged from treatment immediately. He will then start the program from the beginning if possible or referred to a more intensive program.
- On-going assessments are made to decide whether client is progressing, and if client has any problems in group or misses sessions, these are reported to client's probation officer. The P.O. will provide a monthly report to the court as well. Missed sessions are acceptable if there is a good reason for the absence but client may need to do individual make-ups to ensure they are progressing. Amend staff are more interested in helping treat the clients and end the violence then terminating them.
- Amend offers culture-based programs but lost theirs due to these staff members moving on. However, they believe in attempting to be sensitive to clients' needs and will refer out if needed.
- Some clients who are court-ordered to attend the BIP will stay on as volunteers with the program

(G. McCune, personal communication, October 8, 2010)

Duluth structure.

The Duluth program has established itself as one of the most well-known BIPs and has been adopted by many organizations whose mission is to prevent domestic violence. The procedures are as follows:

- Clients are self-referred but most are mandated by courts to attend BIP.

- Courts usually order an alcohol assessment, and if dual treatment is needed, batterer will be referred as needed but at a different site.
- Clients pay anywhere from \$5 to \$15 per class. Those who are having financial difficulties are allowed to pay less. This is because the staff's goal is to keep them in class.
- Clients complete an orientation, which includes intake paperwork.
- Clients attend the BIP for 27 weeks.
- Clients are excused for work as needed.
- No-shows will be suspended when they hit five absences.
- The client, partner of client, probation officer, and facilitator of class will receive a letter regarding suspension, and client will not be allowed back in class until probation officer says and clears it.
- If a client communicates in class that he has recently been violent, it is reported to his probation officer. Then the client may or may not be able to start class over.
- A second suspension is not generally allowed, where the client gets another chance to attend class, unless the probation officer says the client should be allowed to try again. A second violation usually leads to probation being taken away.
- The goal of the program is to keep the batterer in class to change his ways. The staff wants to challenge his belief system not by punishment but by teaching him to be responsible for his actions. The clients are sometimes referred to therapy if needed, and the probation officer will be notified if therapy is suggested.

- The batterer's partner is contacted after a number of sessions have been completed to determine whether the victim has seen any changes. The victim will usually receive a letter to notify them of education that is offered to them as well.
- This program does not offer specific culture-based programs but does have a faith-based program that has been effective.

(DAIP, personal communication, October 14, 2010)

It is crucial to note that the content of these programs is not as important as the structure or the procedures of these BIPs (Healey & Smith, 1998). Since no model has proven to be more effective than another in preventing the batterer from reoffending, more concentration has been placed on the program procedures (Healey & Smith, 1998). These procedures include the intake and assessment process, the orientation, keeping the batterer in the program, and completing an appropriate exit from the program, that may or may not include follow-up treatment (Healey & Smith, 1998).

First, in many communities, the batterer is responsible for making the initial contact with the program staff (Healey & Smith, 1998). However, sometimes the batterer does not initiate this process and never completes the intake interview (Woodward & Bechtel, 2008). Therefore, when batterers are held accountable and courts ensure the batterer completes the intake interview with a one-month follow-up, it is more likely they will attend the BIP and not drop out (Woodward & Bechtel, 2008). During this process, staff can document important information regarding that particular individual, such as education level, alcohol and drug abuse, mental health counseling needs, marital status, and financial status. This is extremely important because research has shown that some of these situations can affect whether batterers change their attitudes and behaviors (Macleod et al., 2008). More importantly, if they do not have the financial means to

pay for their treatment, as some BIPs require, they may be turned away (Macleod et al., 2008). Therefore, if batterers receive dual treatment when needed and their financial situation is considered, they will be less likely to complete the program. Second, a proper orientation to a BIP provides the batterer with the requirements and goals of the program (Healey & Smith, 1998). Third, the orientation/assessment process helps to gain a better understanding of the batterer's problems and the severity as an individual and helps develop proper rapport between the staff and batterer (Healey & Smith, 1998). Fourth, BIP staff must do what they can to keep the batterer in the program, and this may mean not immediately terminating them for non-payment, AODA issues, not having good attendance, or violating a rule of the program (Healey & Smith, 1998). Instead, a warning could be given and the probation officer should be contacted (Healey & Smith, 1998). Lastly, when batterers complete the program, the focus should be whether they achieved the goals and not whether they simply attended all of the required sessions, and a report should be given to interested parties to demonstrate the success of those batterers mandated to take the BIP (Healey & Smith, 1998). These components help ensure the batterer is held accountable and every effort and opportunity is being made so intended changes in their behaviors and attitudes will occur.

Program content.

Cognitive-behavioral therapy.

Although program content could be considered less important than program structure by some criminal justice professionals, research findings have still indicated that the content does play a role in BIP effectiveness overall. The literature review shows that cognitive-behavioral therapy (CBT) decreases the chances of batterers using violence toward their partners if the focus is on the batterers' attitudes, beliefs, and values (Woodward & Bechtel, 2008). It is thought that a

batterer learns to use violent behavior from things he has seen as a child or from the media (Healey, Smith & Sullivan, 1998). It is also thought that batterers are rewarded for their negative behaviors, and the battering gives the individual the power to get whatever he so desires—especially when the behavior is supported by the victim’s submissiveness (Healey et al., 1998). Since batterers need to change their thinking patterns in order to change their behaviors, CBT helps them restructure the way they think by replacing negative thoughts with more positive thoughts (Healey et al., 1998). It also teaches them how to solve problems and communicate more appropriately (Healey et al., 1998). CBT can help a batterer change by focusing on his violent behavior and merely changing it (Healey et al., 1998).

One benefit of using CBT is that it does not require working with a batterer for months on-end and delving deep into his past (Healey et al., 1998). Instead, it provides an uncomplicated approach to changing negative behavior in the present (Healey et al., 1998). Because of this the batterer can stop using violent behavior in his current situation by simply changing the way he thinks (Healey et al., 1998). Another advantage to CBT is that the application of this model works very well with the criminal justice system due to holding the batterer accountable and providing a more swift approach to preventing and ending criminal acts (Healey et al., 1998). CBT teaches a batterer to restructure their beliefs and use of self-talk. While future research needs to be done on the Amend and Emerge Models, these programs, as well as the Duluth Model, all use cognitive-behavioral treatment (Woodward & Bechtel, 2008). Therefore, using cognitive-behavioral treatment seems to be an effective contribution to the effectiveness of BIPs.

Feminist educational approach.

Another approach being utilized by the Amend, Emerge, and Duluth models is the feminist educational approach. Supporters of this model believe that male batterers typically feel

insecure with their masculinity and use violence against women to gain control over them (Healey et al., 1998). Moreover, supporters of this approach question why these men are capable of controlling their anger when dealing with issues concerning most people, especially those in powerful positions, but not with their significant others (Healey et al., 1998). The social structure and culture seems to support males who are violent towards females (Healey et al., 1998). Therefore, interventionist use this model to teach males not to support these societal norms by reintroducing them to society with a different perspective—one of equality and non-violence (Healey et al., 1998).

BIPs are also combining these approaches as well, depending on the needs of the batterer (Healey et al., 1998). However, although the feminist educational approach has been very influential and CBT has proven to be effective under the right circumstances, the *structure* still seems to be priority in creating an effective BIP. In fact, “several studies have found that the type of batterer intervention program, whether feminist, psycho-educational, or cognitive-behavioral, does not affect reabuse” (Klein, 2009, p.65).

Controversial additions to BIPs.

Three additional approaches have been utilized in conjunction with BIPs. The first is couples therapy, which considers both partners to be responsible for the ongoing abuse (NIJ, 2003). However, this approach is controversial because the victim is blamed for the perpetrator’s violence (NIJ, 2003). It can also interfere with the communication between the counselor and the victim, and the batterer may become violent again if the victim complains (Healey et al., 1998). The second approach is anger management, which is used to help batterers learn how to curb their anger before deciding to use violence (Healey et al., 1998). This approach is controversial because learning how to control one’s anger is only one possible answer, and this goes against

the feminist model because the batterer chooses to batter and is not out of control (Healey et al., 1998). Further, referring to this approach as “anger management” could be masking other emotions that should be dealt with accordingly and if batterers are taught they can control their partner in a non-violent manner, they may use this to their advantage (Healey et al., 1998). The Emerge program does offer anger management but not as a stand alone treatment for batterers but more so for those clients who have used violence in non-domestic, non-partner-related situations or for those clients who have been ordered to attend the program by a court (Emerge, 2010). The third controversial approach is batterers anonymous, which is similar to other self-help groups, where former batterers facilitate the group—if they completed their program a minimum of twelve months ago (Healey et al., 1998). These groups are acceptable for batterers who have already completed a BIP but not for those who require an initial intervention (Healey et al., 1998). Further, they have been criticized because the facilitator may not have had enough time between their battering program and working to help other batterers or may be too supportive of the batterer’s attitudes and behaviors (Healey et al., 1998). Therefore, it is recommended that couples counseling not be used, while anger management and batterers anonymous only be used as additional approaches for treatment and only when deemed necessary.

Additional considerations.

Although still debatable, more sessions may prevent batterers from reoffending (Gordon & Moriarity, 2003) (as cited by Woodward & Bechtel, 2008). Therefore, those programs that require batterers to attend programs that are longer than others may prove more effective. Second, for those offenders who have been mandated to BIPs, it is thought that those who are lower-level offenders are less apt to recidivate (DAIP, 2008). Third, if batterers do not have

much to lose from the very beginning, they are more apt to reoffend than those who do (Bennett & Williams, 2001). This means that BIP staff should consider the individual characteristics and situations of batterers at the initial intake interview. Fourth, appropriate follow-up should be conducted with batterers to ensure they are not revictimizing their victim and are still held accountable for their actions. Also, research has shown that if batterers are mandated to join a BIP, less abuse is reported; and if they voluntarily join, there is less recidivism (DAIP, 2008). This research demonstrates that mandating a batterer to join a BIP may decrease the abuse incidents, but those who join on their own may never use violence again in the future. Lastly, research has shown that all of this combined with community efforts make it possible for BIPs to graduate offenders with changed attitudes and behaviors towards women (DAIP, 2008).

Overall, research has shown that BIPs can have minimal effects on batterers' attitudes and behaviors, specifically if a combination of components is in place. As pioneers in the field, the Amend, Emerge, and Duluth Models apply several of these components at this time. However, the research still demonstrates that while some programs have been effective to some degree, no clear-cut answers exist. Perhaps if more focus is placed on program structure, rather than content, more batterers will be held accountable and eventually be treated—if that is possible. Moreover, a combined task force, along with additional studies regarding BIP's processes and outcomes could contribute to the success, or at least the effectiveness, of these programs.

Section IV: Theoretical Framework

In order to better understand and prevent batterers from using violent behaviors in relationships, it is necessary to discuss the possible causes for partner abuse. Several explanations, in the form of theories, have been used to explain why males abuse their female

partners. The social and cultural, family-based, and individual-based theories have dominated the field, but many advocates pull from several theories in order to better understand the cause (Healey et al., 1998). In this section, the cycle of violence and control and masculinities and crime theories will be discussed, as well as the importance of integrating theories and understanding how they apply to batterer intervention programs (BIPs). It is thought that if there is a general and clear understanding of the possible causes of domestic violence, interventions will be more effective within communities (The Advocates for Human Rights, 2006).

Psychotherapeutic Approach

A. Cycle of violence theory.

The Cycle of Violence theory suggests that children who grow up in abusive households are at risk for becoming batterers as adults (Widom & Maxfield, 2001). The child observes and learns abusive behaviors by the father and models this same behavior in his relationships as an adult. In fact, research has shown that if boys have observed abuse in the home, they are seven times more likely to become batterers (TAHR, 2006). Research has also shown that the chances of children taking part in delinquent or criminal activities as adults increased by 29 percent if they were abused and neglected (Widom & Maxfield, 2001). This study was conducted in a metropolitan area in the Midwest, sponsored by the National Institute of Justice, consisted of 1,575 cases, and the researchers followed this group as small children to the time they became young adults—splitting them into two groups and examining their criminal records (Widom & Maxfield, 2001). The sample was drawn from the same demographics. 667 of the children who had not been abused or neglected were then compared to 908 children who had been abused or neglected (Widom & Maxfield, 2001). The findings showed that those children who had been abused or neglected had an increased chance of being arrested as juveniles by 59 percent

(Widom & Maxfield, 2001). As adults, this risk increased by 28 percent, and the chances of committing a violent crime rose to 30 percent (Widom & Maxfield, 2001). Therefore, the Cycle of Violence Theory posits that if children are abused or neglected in their home, the chances increase that they will use violence as adults. Whether children learn abusive behavior by observation or by being abused or neglected themselves, chances are they will become violent in intimate relationships. This theory has been used to help explain the future implications of keeping a child in the home of an abusive parent or guardian. If the cycle of violence is not broken, this behavior can be passed down from generation to generation.

While this theory has been widely accepted in the field, it is important to understand that not all males who have observed abusive behaviors by their fathers will become batterers (TAHR, 2006). In fact, the connection between observing violent behaviors and battering is just one piece of the puzzle (TAHR, 2006). Batterers' behaviors have also been reinforced by the public because they have been allowed to control their partners using violence (TAHR, 2006). That is why BIPs focus on teaching batterers not to be violent and reeducating batterers regarding appropriate roles in the family and society (TAHR, 2006).

In order to reeducate batterers during interventions, a psychotherapeutic approach may be used, to include cognitive behavior and individual and group psychodynamic therapies (Healey & Smith, 1998). This approach considers past traumatic experiences and personality disorders to be responsible for some violence among batterers (Healey & Smith, 1998). First, the individual psychodynamic therapy focuses on the batterers' unconscious and makes them more aware of the past problem so that they fix it (Healey & Smith, 1998). However, because this approach does not concentrate on the problem of male dominance and focuses on fixing the deep-rooted problems of the past instead, the abusive behavior does not necessarily stop in the meantime

(Healey & Smith, 1998). Second, the cognitive behavioral therapy helps change the way batterers think and therefore, behave and concentrate on the now and not the individual's past (Healey & Smith, 1998). However, this approach does not explain why batterers choose to be violent in some relationships and not in others (Healey & Smith, 1998). Therefore, the Cycle of Violence Theory is a possible explanation of why children grow up to be batterers and should not be disregarded if the goal is to break the cycle of violence.

Feminist Approach

B. Masculinities and crime theory.

The Masculinities and Crime Theory suggests that if a male does not have the appropriate resources to display his masculinity, he will resort to criminal behavior as an alternative resource (Messerschmidt, 2006). In order for some males to “feel like a men,” they must possess specific traits and qualities according to a group of social scientists (Krienert, 2003). Examples of those traits and achievements include the following: possessing physical strength, getting married, having children, and providing for the family (Krienert, 2003). This theory suggests that if males do not possess certain “manly” characteristics or abilities, they will look to alternative resources and routes to secure their manhood. In doing so, some males will use violent behavior to demonstrate how tough they are (Krienert, 2003). Unfortunately, this physical aggression may be used against women and will be continued throughout the males' life (Krienert, 2003). Therefore, in order to continue to validate his masculinity, some males will physically or sexually assault their partner to earn the desired social status (Krienert, 2003). This theory has been used to help explain why males use violent behavior towards women and eventually become batterers.

In order to reeducate batterers under this theory, interventionists use a feminist approach, which includes confrontational techniques. It is believed that domestic violence is simply a reflection of society and its structure of male dominance, and some research has been shown that males who attempt to control their partners do not feel as confident regarding their masculinity as those who do not (Healey & Smith, 1998). Batterers are taught how to have equal relationships where neither the male nor female are in control (Healey & Smith, 1998). However, some research has shown that while batterers might be educated as to how to stop using violent and controlling behaviors with female partners, they do not necessarily stop (Healey & Smith, 1998). They have also been criticized for alienating batterers and making them even more hostile (Healey & Smith, 1998). However, the Masculinities and Crime Theory is not to be ignored considering the culture of society today.

C. Tailoring interventions to meet the individual needs of batterers.

Although many theories exist to help explain the causes for intimate partner abuse, the theories connected to the feminist and psychotherapeutic models are two of the most popular among BIPs. According to a report published by the National Institute of Justice, no single theory explains why males use violence against their female partners; but the Feminist Theory has greatly influenced BIPs (Healey & Smith, 1998). Those programs that are larger and have been around the longest tend to follow the Duluth Model (Healey & Smith, 1998), which uses cognitive-behavioral therapy to end the controlling behaviors of males. However, while Emerge and Amend follow this model, they use different techniques in their treatment (Healey & Smith, 1998). These three models are pioneers in the batterer intervention field and all three use the feminist education approach and combine cognitive-behavioral techniques as well (Healey & Smith, 1998). However, the conclusion of the NIJ report read that “no single theoretical

intervention model has yet proved more effective than any other in reducing recidivism” (Healey & Smith, 1998, p.5). Therefore, it is imperative that interventions are chosen based on individual needs and that combining theories may be required in certain circumstances for treatment to be effective.

D.Importance of integrating interventions/theories.

When conducting batterer interventions, it is important to not only be familiar with the general theories of domestic violence, but to also integrate them when needed due to the complexity of the issue. Males have different childhoods, characteristics, attitudes, and values. Because of this, there is no correct theory to follow when treating batterers. Instead, it is important to pull from different theories and connect those that apply to the individual. There is no “one size fits all” theory for intimate partner violence, and therefore, examining those most related to the batterer’s situation is the best practice. In addition, there may be specific parts from two different theories that apply to the batterer and his intervention and when combined prove to be effective in treating batterers. The BIP staff, as well as the criminal justice professionals, need to have the basic understanding of applicable theories but most importantly, have the ability to connect the dots for an appropriate intervention.

Weaknesses of BIPs.

The effectiveness of BIPs has been questioned by the public and its stakeholders for many years. It is important that the outcome reflects the goals of these programs. It appears at times that the main focus has been placed on what components work and what roles the courts should play in helping batterers to stay violence free. However, a 2009 study was completed by a group of researchers at the Administrative Office of the Courts’ Office of Court Research that focuses on a different aspect. Researchers concluded that more focus should be placed on

batterers' individual characteristics and not on the specific components of BIPs or the jurisdiction of the court (Carrizosa, 2009). The study shows that batterers who are employed, educated, do not have extensive criminal histories, and do not have substance abuse issues are more apt to benefit from BIPs and less likely to recidivate (Carrizosa, 2009). Not only are batterers more likely to complete the BIP but they are less likely to be violent again and less likely to be arrested again. Therefore, if batterers are to eventually be violence-free, it is imperative that assessments are completed during and after the completion of these programs and that the appropriate resources are provided when needed (Carrizosa, 2009). It appears from these findings that a well-adjusted individual with fewer personal situations to worry about has a better chance of being violence-free during and after attending a BIP.

Section V: Recommendations

It has been demonstrated throughout this paper that partner abuse is a serious social problem and that batterer intervention programs (BIPs) need to be revised to be more effective. In addition to making revisions to batterer intervention programs themselves, a more integrated system is needed within communities. Moreover, it is crucial that BIPs are not considered to be the only answer to eliminating violence from intimate relationships, as this subject can be complicated. It is also extremely important that further studies be performed in order to not only understand the effects of BIPs on offenders but to clarify previous research. Therefore, the following section will first discuss several recommendations in creating a more effective BIP. Second, several additional issues will be highlighted regarding batterers and treatment. Third, the need for more studies will be discussed.

Effective Assessments to Consider Individual Situations

Although batterers can fall under a typical profile, no batterer's individual circumstances or needs are the same as the next. The Broward Experiment reveals that if an individual has little or nothing to lose, he is most likely to re-offend (Bennett & Williams, 2001). Those individuals who have a solid foundation, such as employment, education, and home ownership will have a better chance of completing the BIP and remaining violence-free in the future (Bennett & Williams, 2001). In addition, batterers have been prevented from attending treatment due to their inability to pay (Macleod et al., 2008). It is important to note that not having the ability to pay the fees required for a program should not be a determining factor for whether a batterer is turned away. Therefore, it is important that individual situations and needs are taken into consideration when sending a batterer to a treatment program. An assessment should take place at the time of the initial interview as well as at the end of the program. The idea is that if individual circumstances are considered and specific needs are met with appropriate resources, batterers will be able to focus more on the treatment aspect and less on any negative circumstances affecting them.

Court-Mandated Attendance

There has been some debate on whether voluntarily attending a BIP or being court-mandated leads to more effective results in decreasing violence among batterers. However, section three provides two studies and one program's view which support court-mandated treatment. First, a multi-state study (Gondolf, 1997), which included the Amend program, demonstrated that those batterers who voluntarily joined a BIP or dropped out were less likely to change their violent behaviors in the future (CEBC, 2006-2010). It is very possible that those batterers who are mandated by the court to attend BIPs are more likely to succeed during and

after the program. Second, an evaluation of the Duluth program shows that batterers who voluntarily join a BIP are less likely to reoffend but even less abuse has been reported when they are court-mandated to attend a BIP (DAIP, 2008). However, the Brooklyn Experiment concluded that when batterers were randomly assigned to attend 40 hours of a BIP using the Duluth model or 40 hours of community service, those batterers in treatment were more likely to be abusive (Bennett & Williams, 2001). Although it is still debatable, it is recommended that batterers be mandated to attend BIPs in order to ensure the best outcome.

Long Programs Versus Short Programs

The most effective length of BIPs is unknown at this time; however, it has been shown that length of BIPs affects the program outcome. Also, research indicates that longer programs are more effective (i.e. Jackson et al., 2003). It appears that batterers are less at-risk of abusing their partner or new victim if they have attended a BIP but even more so if they have attended a long program. It is thought that if batterers are busy attending the program they may have less time to re-offend (Woodward & Bechtel, 2008). Learning how to change attitudes and behaviors is not something that typically occurs in a short time. For a batterer to “unlearn” what he has known his entire life, it must be realized that this takes time—months to years. A longer program, which means a minimum of 16 to 24 weeks, could have a more positive outcome. The Emerge program, one of the most widely recognized BIPs, believes that some batterers require even more sessions than its typical 48 week-program (Healey et al., 1998). In fact, the program director of Emerge believes batterers require a minimum of 4 to 6 months simply to determine whether they are responding to the BIP or simply playing the system (Healey et al., 1998). Therefore, it is recommended that batterers attend 48 weeks and no fewer than 24 weeks of treatment for the most successful outcome. To expect any individual to change the way he or she

thinks and behaves in just a few short months does not seem realistic, especially when considering the typical characteristics of a batterer and that individual day-to-day circumstances play a large role in the outcome.

Utilize Appropriate Treatment Models

Different approaches have been used by BIPs to treat batterers. First, cognitive therapy has been used to help batterers restructure their thinking processes they have become accustomed to over a lifetime, and therefore, replace negative thoughts with positive ones (Healey et al., 1998). Batterers learn to change the way they behave towards their partner, communicate more effectively, and solve problems in a positive manner (Healey et al., 1998). Second, the feminist approach has been used to teach batterers to stop supporting social norms and to treat females equally and not become violent when they are not feeling in control of a situation concerning their partner (Healey et al., 1998). Both of these approaches have been used by the Amend, Emerge, and Duluth BIPs, on their own and combined, and both have been effective to some extent.

On the other hand, Klein provided a statement that calls both feminist and cognitive therapy approaches into question. "Several studies have found that the type of batterer intervention program, whether feminist, psycho-educational, or cognitive-behavioral, does not affect reabuse" (Klein, 2009, p.65). Yet, the literature review shows that cognitive-behavioral therapy (CBT) decreases the chances of batterers using violence toward their partners if the focus is on the batterers' attitudes, beliefs, and values (Woodward & Bechtel, 2008). CBT has also been shown to work more quickly than other approaches and marries well with the goals of the criminal justice system. Moreover, using CBT techniques helps hold batterers accountable immediately and therefore, to unlearn negative attitudes and behaviors towards their current

relationship in a short time period (Healey et al., 1998). Because of this, it is possible interventions will have a more immediate effect on batterers, and further violence may be prevented. Therefore, it is recommended that CBT be considered the standard approach during treatment. It should also be combined with the feminist approach when needed—especially if the batterer is following social norms and seeking control in his relationship due to being insecure with his masculinity. However, batterers respond differently to different types of treatment and come from different backgrounds. This means that a one-size-fits-all approach may not be suitable for these types of programs. Due to the lack of research focusing on content, program structure also needs to be emphasized in recommendations for BIPs.

More Emphasis Placed on Structure Rather Than Content

BIPs must pay attention to their program content and the way in which it is delivered. However, while the content can play a role in whether a program is effective, more emphasis should be placed on structure. Proper procedures usually include an orientation, intake and out-processing paperwork, attendance measures, missed payment protocols, etc. (Healey et al., 1998). First, section three emphasizes the importance of a proper orientation, where the BIP staff provides batterers with the requirements and goals of the program (Healey et al., 1998). Second, it states that the orientation and assessment process can help staff get a better understanding of batterers' backgrounds, severity of the offense, resources needed, and to develop good rapport between the two parties (Healey et al., 1998). Lastly, after completion of the BIP, all documentation can be presented to the interested parties to determine whether batterer responded to treatment or simply played along (Healey et al., 1998). It is extremely important that batterers are assessed at the beginning, middle, and end of treatment to determine whether they have changed their attitudes and behaviors regarding their female partners. If they do not respond to

treatment, do not attend the sessions, are use violence in their current relationships during treatment, or require follow-up treatment, staff members must communicate with probation officers to remedy the situation.

Also, it is true that keeping the batterer in the program is important if lessons are to be learned. This means not terminating the batterer who misses a session or two or cannot attend due to non-payment. Exceptions should be made in certain circumstances when AODA issues, financial stressors, or less than perfect attendance is evident (Healey et al., 1998). It is recommended that a warning be given for those who miss a meeting or two and probation officers be contacted (Healey et al., 1998). On the other hand, this does not mean that when batterers drop out, violate every rule, or abuse their partner during treatment, there should be minor repercussions. These situations call for more drastic measures. Therefore, all BIPs should include standard procedures and have measures in place to determine growth in the program. In addition, for those batterers who have graduated treatment, program staff should determine whether follow-up treatment is necessary or whether any additional needs exist that could determine whether batterers remain violence-free. Communication between all interested parties should be on-going regarding both successes and failures. Lastly, it is recommended that BIPs have a protocol to follow for those batterers who have not responded well to treatment, need additional or more serious treatment, or are unable to be treated and may need prison time.

Understanding and Applying Theories Related to Battering

Early prevention is of utmost importance in preventing battering. Much discussion has taken place regarding batterer interventions, but prevention is equally important if not *more* important. A study sponsored by the NIJ concluded that children who had been abused or neglected in the home are more likely to continue the cycle of violence as adults in their families

or intimate relationships (Widom & Maxfield, 2001). If children are prevented from witnessing or experiencing abuse or neglect, then perhaps fewer males will become batterers in the future. Special attention should be made to those children who may be living in abusive homes. School staff, medical staff, court representatives, counselors, advocates, friends, and family should be aware of signs of abuse or neglect in the home and report as needed.

In addition, Healey and Smith (1998) discuss domestic violence as a reflection of society, and state that males who try to control their female partners are not confident with their masculinity as it relates to society. This has been used to help explain why males batter and should be considered when treating batterers. If they are to stop using violence in relationships, then they must first address those issues that they feel do not match society's requirements. Also, they must learn it is acceptable to be on equal levels with their female partners. If individuals' pasts and present circumstances in society can be understood, then it is possible to prevent and address those issues that lead to battering. Overall, it is imperative that society as a whole understands the causes of battering so that they can better understand the ways to treat, or better yet, prevent this problem from occurring.

More Supervision to Ensure More Accountability

Supervising and holding batterers accountable is extremely important, considering the possible physical and emotional injuries and even lethal situations that can arise from ongoing partner abuse. First, the importance of follow-up appointments has been shown in the literature review (e.g. Woodward & Bechtel, 2008). According to a study conducted by Gordon and Moriarity (2003), drop-out rates soared to 50-75%, with half of the batterers never even making it to the initial intake interview (Woodward & Bechtel, 2008). If these appointments are made and kept by the involved court, there is more of a chance the interviews will be completed

(Woodward & Bechtel, 2008). It is of concern that some batterers do not even attend the initial interview. In addition, these particular drop-out rates are unacceptable if the goal is for batterers to complete the program and to stop using abusive behaviors. As discussed in section three, Emerge is one particular program that uses evaluations during group to assess progress and places importance on regular attendance (Emerge, 2010).

However, it is not simply the BIP's responsibility to hold batterers accountable and to supervise their actions. First, the courts need to be involved at the beginning and end of the program. When a batterer completes a program, the success should be able to be demonstrated and not concluded because the batterer simply attended all of the sessions (Healey & Smith, 1998). Second, batterers should be monitored during and after treatment to ensure they are not revictimizing their victim or a new victim. Probation officers play a key role in supervising batterers, and should be assigned to these types of cases (Healey & Smith, 1998). This will help ensure the batterers are supervised during their deferment and are held accountable when they do not comply. If their caseload is too high, perhaps they should have them decreased so that they can concentrate on monitoring batterers and overseeing domestic violence cases as a whole, especially the most extreme cases (Healey & Smith, 1998). Perhaps if batterers are supervised intensely and the courts are alerted when non-compliant or treatment has been unsuccessful, fewer victims will fall between the cracks of the system.

Low-level Offender or High-Risk

There is a difference between a low-level offender and a high-risk offender. Those batterers that have shorter criminal histories are going to be less likely to violent again (DAIP, 2008). Probation officers and other interested parties should know if their clients are low-level or high-risk offenders to better understand the risk involved in becoming violent again.

Assessments should be done to include the criminal character of the batterer (Healey & Smith, 2001). This could help determine whether the batterer will be reluctant to being treated and whether they will reoffend (Healey & Smith, 2001). Section three included findings from the Duluth study and showed that if probation officers considered his or her client as a lower level offender when sentenced, the batterer was found less likely to reoffend (DAIP, 2008). Therefore, it is helpful for those in this field to be aware of those offenders who are more at-risk for recidivating. Therefore, during the sentencing period, if a batterer is deemed capable of committing more violent acts more frequently, then they will be monitored more often or not be mandated to attend BIPs when they really require a harsher sentence.

Dual Treatment Needs

Sometimes a batterer requires more than one type of treatment in order to be successful in the BIP. If a batterer's need for domestic violence treatment is competing with his need for psychological treatment or substance abuse treatment, this could result in failure. Macleod et al., (2008) discusses the results of a five-county BIP study conducted in California. The results demonstrated that batterers who had an additional substance abuse issue to deal with could be less likely to complete the BIP (Macleod et al., 2008). Those who suffer with psychological disorders may require additional or alternative treatment from a professional. Therefore, if it is determined that a batterer has a drug and or alcohol problem or requires other counseling, it may be necessary he receives dual treatment in order to achieve greater success.

Community Integrated Services

It is understood that BIPs serve a very important purpose in the criminal justice system. However, it is now becoming more and more apparent that a combined task force, or community integrated services, is equally important in responding to battering. "Batterer programs are not

treatments in the medical or therapeutic sense, so it is not surprising that their effect is small” (Bennett & Williams, 2001, p.8). Coordinated efforts can reinforce what BIPs are trying to do and motivate batterers to change their attitudes and behaviors (Healey & Smith, 1998). “The combined impact of arrest, incarceration, adjudication, and probation supervision may send a stronger message to the batterer about the seriousness of his behavior than what is taught in an intervention program” (Healey & Smith, 1998, p.9). Victims are sometimes very vulnerable to problems within the system and can be negatively affected if there is a breakdown in communication in the system, poorly trained or untrained staff, or an individual or agency not following through with a concern (Healey & Smith, 1998).

In addition, the results from the Navy Experiment and an evaluation of the Duluth Model discussed in section two further support this recommendation. First, researchers for the Navy Experiment concluded that community integrated services may be the best option in decreasing *repeated* violence by batterers (Bennett & Williams, 2001). Second, researchers for the Duluth Model found that batterers did not reoffend as often after the Domestic Abuse Intervention Programs (DAIP) augmented their coordinated response efforts (DAIP, 2008). In addition to this finding, 80% of the female victims felt the combined efforts helped in ending the battering against them (DAIP, 2008). BIPs should be considered as only one important part of a community combined task force. Therefore, it is recommended that all BIPs become part of an integrated community response team. A public response to this crime can lead to better protection of victims, holding the batterers and interventionists responsible for protecting the victims, and providing an opportunity for the batterers to change, and being able to use stricter punishment when necessary—even if it means jail or prison (DAIP, 2008).

Consider the Consequences of Using Alternative Approaches to BIPs

BIPs are considered a controversial way of treating offenders. However, several additional approaches to BIPs have been called into question as well. Section three discusses three controversial ways for treating batterers--couples therapy, anger management, and batterers anonymous. First, according to critics, couples therapy can lead to the victim being blamed for the batterer's violence against them (NIJ, 2003). Second, critics feel that anger management does not fit the bill because a batterer chooses to batter and is capable of managing their anger in other situations (Healey et al., 1998). While Emerge does offer anger management, they do not use it as a way to treat violent batterers but for those who have used violence in non-partner related incidents (Emerge, 2010). Third, batterers anonymous has been criticized because the facilitator is a former batterer (Healey et al., 1998). The former batterer may not provide appropriate treatment if newly reformed or may not use aggressive enough tactics with the batterer (Healey et al., 1998). Therefore, it is recommended that if these three treatments are to be utilized, they should only be used as additions to BIPs when deemed necessary. Otherwise, these controversial additions should be omitted from BIPs.

Additional considerations.

Knowledge of batterers' personality traits, characteristics, motives.

Batterers have been able to talk their way through a court hearing a time or two. According to section one, although no batterer is exactly alike, batterers generally fall under a typical profile when it comes to describing their characteristics and personality traits. Batterers can appear to be charming individuals to those outsiders who do not know or live with them (UCTP, 2010). In addition, it can be difficult to determine how a batterer will behave from one moment to the next, making it challenging to predict their behaviors (UCTP, 2010). Therefore, it is recommended that communities learn to recognize the signs of a potential batterer. Whether a

female is looking for a future partner or a judge is trying to determine fact from fiction in a domestic violence case, it is imperative that the characteristics of a batterer be known. Being aware of the signs and educating communities about prevention is extremely important when it comes to preventing further neglect, injuries or deaths from occurring—maybe even promptly addressing a child who is modeling his father’s controlling behavior in the home.

Although the typical batterer can be recognized by certain characteristics and behaviors by domestic violence advocates, they cannot truly be categorized due to the diversity in the batterer population (Healey & Smith, 2001). Batterers come from different cultures and therefore, express themselves differently and react to situations differently (Healey & Smith, 2001). Therefore, it is equally important to recommend BIPs take into consideration racial and ethnic identities—creating more culturally focused programs and staffing them appropriately. Moreover, assessments should include batterer demographics, and staff should be aware of how these differences can affect batterer retention and treatment outcome (Healey & Smith, 2001).

Properly Trained Staff

As with all legal and social services agencies, staff who work with batterers must be fully educated on the topic of domestic abuse. First, they must be fully aware of the typical batterer’s attitudes and behaviors concerning their victims and view of the world around them. Second, they must be aware of the implications of leaving a child in the home or care of a batterer. Previously several theories were discussed that have been associated with battering and according to the Cycle of Violence theory, children who grow up in abusive households are at risk for becoming batterers as adults (Widom & Maxfield, 2001). In fact, boys are seven times more likely to become batterers if they witness abuse in the home (TAHR, 2006). These statements emphasize the importance of having properly trained staff tending to this social

problem—for present and future implications. Third, prior to batterer’s trial, staff should collect all information regarding batterer so that prosecutor and judge are properly informed and batterer does not manipulate the system and be released (Healey & Smith, 1998). Fourth, victim advocates should play an integral part in the system and at every stage of the process, support the victim, and help with case history when court needs it (Healey & Smith, 1998). Also, law enforcement officials need to meet the needs of victims and follow through with their allegations, as well as enforcing warrants for those batterers who are not compliant during probation (Healey & Smith, 1998). In addition, judges should be aware that child abuse can go hand-in-hand with partner abuse, and they must ensure the batterer is promptly enrolled in BIPs, respond forcefully, know state standards for individual BIPs, and issue jail time whenever necessary (Healey & Smith, 1998). Moreover, probation officers need to continue to provide intense supervision and understand batterer typologies and assist with BIP meetings and assessments (Healey & Smith, 1998). Lastly, prosecutors who focus on domestic violence cases should be supported by police, probation officers, and advocates (Healey & Smith, 1998). Prosecutors should also pay close attention to criminal histories and go ahead with cases without victim testimony if needed (Healey & Smith, 1998). In addition, prosecutors should work with advocates along the way, follow through when batterer is not compliant during probation or treatment, and ask the judge to mandate participation in a BIP while on probation (Healey & Smith, 1998). Overall, if staff are properly trained and know their responsibilities in the process, further violence can be prevented by the batterer.

Desire to Change

Individuals typically decide to change when they so desire. This is true for batterers, whether they have been abusive on one or several occasions. Like drug addicts or individuals

with other addictions, it is the batterer's and only the batterer's responsibility to change. While interventionists can guide and educate batterers regarding positive behaviors, no one can change them without their own input. While advocates, police officers, judges, and even victims can hold them accountable, perpetrators may never stop using violence in their relationships. They may continue to abuse their partners or find new victims if they lack the desire to change.

According to UCTP (2010), a typical batterer will blame others for their mistakes, say that they will change and do not, and may have difficulty giving up control. They may put on a show for outsiders to manipulate a situation, use their children to hurt their partner, or enforce strict gender roles in their home (UCTP, 2010). These characteristics, and others, make it difficult for batterers to want to change when they do not feel there is a problem or will not accept responsibility for their actions. These characteristics allow them to trick and control those around them and continue their abusive behaviors in one relationship or move on to several others.

Therefore, it must be noted that the desire to change plays a huge role in whether batterers will stop abusing their partners. Batterers may never develop the desire to change simply because they attended a BIP or were reprimanded in court when non-compliant. Batterers may even be prevented from changing due to other barriers in their lives, such as substance abuse issues and fear of losing their status in society. That is why removing these hindrances, learning their characteristics, holding them accountable, sorting out truth from fiction, and taking away their need to control their partner is important in helping them to develop the desire to change.

Batterers may find that when they are exposed to the world, they will no longer be able to hold onto that control and that their behaviors will no longer be tolerated.

On the other hand, if a batterer has a long history of battering and treatment following the incidents, it may be that a harsher punishment, such as prison time, is needed. Why gamble with

the current or next victim's life? This paper discussed several recommendations for developing a more effective male BIP but never mentioned that all batterers are capable of being treated. They may have mental disorders or developmental delays interfering with their treatment--or simply lack the desire to change their attitudes and behaviors if the violence is to be curtailed.

Unfortunately, batterers have gained the reputation of denying problems in their relationships, shifting blame to their partners, and sometimes telling so many lies they forget which statements are really true. BIPs are only as effective as batterers want them to be.

Further Research

Limited information has been published regarding the effectiveness of BIPs and what is available has been criticized for being flawed methodologically. It can be difficult to find evaluations in the literature, and as of yet, no peer-reviewed studies are published for public viewing (CEBC, 2006-2010). In addition to limited studies and flawed research, recidivism rates do not always match the victims' reports of whether the batterer has been violent again. For example, according to the Navy Experiment results in section two, the spouses of batterers reports a 30% recidivism rate, while arrests only showed a 4% recidivism rate (Bennett & Williams, 2001). However, adding to the confusion regarding studies on BIPs, the Navy Experiment was flawed for several reasons (Bennett & Williams, 2001). Moreover, it can be difficult to determine whether research findings regarding the effectiveness of BIPs are inconclusive (e.g. Klein, 2009). Whether it is a problem with flawed studies, the lack of conclusive research findings, or the lack of studies available to the public, it is quite evident that further research is needed. After all, there is little need to continue to operate an intervention program that has not been proven to be successful at all levels. Further studies could impact the

theories, content, and structures being applied to BIPs. This could prove to be the key in creating a more highly effective intervention for reducing violence in communities.

Section VI: Conclusion

Battering is no longer a private matter between a male and his female partner. Battering is a very serious social problem and has many victims. Although the batterer's partner bears most of the abuse, a ripple effect is usually created surrounding the individual. The victim's children, other family members, friends, and community as a whole can be affected both short term and long term. Batterers can cause physical, mental, emotional, and financial strain on their victims, and the effects can lead to the draining of precious community resources and a lot of time spent dealing with related issues. BIP must be more effective if the cycle of violence is to be halted. Batterers must be held accountable, face consequences when they are not compliant, and learn how to change their attitudes and behaviors towards female partners. BIPs must have the ability to teach batterers appropriate thinking patterns, taking into consideration individual characteristics and situations and their specific needs. In addition, treatment should not be expected to change a batterer overnight or even in a few months. It may take years for a batterer to change old habits and unlearn violent behavior that has always been used to control a situation. Also, it must be remembered that some batterers will not change their ways if they lack the desire or are struggling with other addictions or disorders. Most importantly, BIPs should not be considered as the only answer to preventing or ending the violence. It should be thought of as only one piece of the puzzle. It sometimes takes a community collaboration to ensure people are no longer being made victims and batterers are being held accountable.

Batterer intervention programs need to have a positive outcome, thus increasing safety for victims and the community as a whole, as well as preventing other secondary effects of

domestic violence. Researching current BIPS that have been somewhat effective in preventing violence among batterers and reviewing empirical studies and available statistics has helped identify and recommend those specific components that need to be in place for a BIP to be deemed successful or at least effective in some measure. A summary of the recommendations is as follows:

1. Assessments must be made at intake, on an on-going basis, and at the completion of the program.
2. Although still debatable, batterers should be mandated to attend BIPs for the best outcome.
3. Although most effective length of BIPs is unknown, batterers should attend 48 weeks of treatment or at least a minimum of 24 weeks.
4. Although content of BIPs has been debatable, CBT should be used due to its ability to have a more immediate effect on batterers. Also, it should be used in conjunction with the feminist approach when deemed necessary.
5. More emphasis should be placed on procedures or the structure of BIPs.
6. All BIP staff members and interested parties (i.e. teachers, medical staff, school counselors, judges, parental evaluators) should be knowledgeable regarding those theories related to battering.
7. Batterer should be supervised at all times to ensure accountability and to ensure victim safety.
8. Probation officers and other interested parties need to know whether their offenders are high-risk or low-risk.

9. Batterers who require dual treatment should be provided with it or be directed to the appropriate resources.
10. Community integrated services should be recognized as one of the most important components of decreasing violence in communities.
11. Do not utilize alternative approaches with batterers, such as anger management and couples counseling, unless they are used as a supplement to treatment.
12. All staff and interested parties should be aware of how a typical batterer thinks and behaves and be familiar with their characteristics, traits, and motives. It is also important to be aware of cultural differences and be able to be sensitive to these differences during treatment
13. All staff and interested parties should be properly trained regarding domestic violence, especially the signs and effects of battering. Problems should be identified and dealt with immediately with the victim in-mind in order to reduce violent incidents.
14. BIPs do have the potential to be effective in reducing violence among batterers, but it is important to realize that batterer's desire to change plays a vital role in the outcome of these programs.
15. Future research is needed regarding the effectiveness of BIPs.

The safety of current victims and potential victims of domestic violence is of utmost importance. If these victims are to be protected, batterers must be held accountable for their actions, as well as taught how to change their attitudes and behaviors about violence towards women. It needs to be fully recognized how problematic domestic violence can be for the

community as well. According to The Advocates for Human Rights (2006), “A survey on violence against women in Canada revealed that 30% of battered women had to cease regular activities because of the violence, and 50% had to take sick leave from work because of injuries” (para. 3). In order to prevent recidivism and the rippling effect in the community, which can be created due to these attitudes and behaviors, batterer programs need to have a positive impact on batterers and do what they were intended to do when established. However, according to Macleod et al. (2008), “Research into the effectiveness of court-ordered treatment for batterers and periodic review of batterers has produced mixed results on whether or not these programs reduce the likelihood of further violence from an abusive partner” (p.3). By discussing domestic violence, the characteristics and individual situations of batterers, and the factors contributing to the partial effectiveness of several current programs, it was possible to recognize the important components of BIPs and therefore, make recommendations for a more effective male BIP. In doing so, current victims and potential victims could be protected from further harm by batterers.

In addition to protecting current and potential victims, it is important to recognize that changes to BIPs could have positive effects on communities overall. As a result of these changes, those resources that are being exhausted for domestic violence purposes may be used in other important places, the number of court cases may decrease, and fewer employers will lose their employees and the money they have put into training their staff. Moreover, jails and prisons may house fewer offenders, children of batterers and the victims may suffer less and not continue the “cycle of violence,” fewer healthcare expenses will be related to abuse, and communities may feel whole again.

Therefore, because BIPs have only shown little to no effect on batterers’ attitudes and behaviors, these programs must be revised and further researched in order to continue delivering

these services. If all these components are taken into consideration, it is possible that fewer batterers will fall off the radar and reoffend, and more victims will be protected, as well as the communities they call home. The outcome of this research paper has the potential to benefit current victims, potential victims, advocates, counselors, law enforcement officials, court officials, and the community as a whole.

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