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Intergenerational Power Exchange Model: Meta-Analysis of Male Batterers' Intervention Programs

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INTERGENERATIONAL POWER EXCHANGE MODEL:
META-ANALYSIS OF MALE BATTERERS'
INTERVENTION PROGRAMS

by

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INTERGENERATIONAL POWER EXCHANGE MODEL:
META-ANALYSIS OF MALE BATTERERS'
INTERVENTION PROGRAMS

Suzanne VanWeelde, Ph.D

Western Michigan University, 2005

Domestic violence is an ongoing social problem. Many women have suffered from the abuse of spouses and boyfriends. A number of children have been victims, or witnesses of, this particular form of violence. The consequences of abuse are: preventable crimes, victims and witnesses becoming abusers themselves, escalating health and mental costs. Domestic violence has touched every community within the United States. It is not a social problem that sociological researchers can afford to minimize.

Sociological literature has documented the growth of the social problem of domestic violence. As a result of the awareness of domestic violence as a serious social problem, various communities have created intervention projects and assisted those affected by this type of violence. Women have received assistance to empower themselves against abusers. Victims have been assisted, law enforcement has been educated, agencies have been informed, and various programs for the abuser have been initiated. The focus, currently, is to assess the worthiness of programs designed to prevent and intervene in the cases of domestic abuse. Some programs are designed to treat the abusers as outpatients. Some are designed to assess their problem within

correctional facilities. Numerous researchers have analyzed the merits of such programs for domestic abusers. This dissertation is an attempt to apply a meta-theoretical analysis to such programs.

This dissertation is also an attempt to identify and define applied knowledge to the appropriate master theoretical base within the sociological literature. Theory, is itself, a cure for social ills when application is utilized. Many scholars have conducted brilliant research and published these efforts. Some sociologists may choose to read and improve on the theoretical foundations of these works. Other sociologists choose to learn and understand this material and also apply the knowledge to practical problems for the improvement of society. The focus of this dissertation is to identify the applicable theory and create a model to illustrate this working knowledge base.

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Finally, I dedicate this dissertation to my husband and life partner, Jon. He deserves his own diploma for the support throughout all these years. He not only supported and encouraged me, but would not let me give up. His sacrifices – from taking on domestic duties to screening potential interruptions – allowed me to work and study. His prompted "rest & relaxation" sessions were rehabilitating. His brilliant mind consistently challenged me and forced me to be a skeptical investigator. He encouraged me to experiment with life and never feared the consequences of my independence. His faith in me has been remarkable. Mostly, he loved me, for myself. This taught me to achieve, for myself

"You saw the best there was of me.

You lifted me up when I couldn't reach

You gave me faith because you believed

I'm everything I am, because you loved me."
(Celine Dionne, *BECAUSE*)

Sociology has become a mission for me. I truly believe that it is a discipline that gives society hope for the future and understanding of the past. Through the tool of Sociology:

I hope to be an instrument of peace, where there is hate;

I hope to give the gift of love, where there is apathy;

I hope to bring an appreciation for traditions of culture, where there is

misunderstanding;

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I hope to be a light of awareness, where there is no insight,

Sociology has taught me,

It's not what you take when you leave this world behind you,

It's what you leave behind you when you go."
(Randy Travis, *Three Wooden Crosses)*

Suzanne VanWeelde

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DEFINITION OF TERMS

BATTERER as defined by the researcher in the Batterers' Intervention Project of 2003, batterer meaning a male, convicted of a violent chare against a partner.

BATTERING or BATTERY as defined by Wallace, 2002, in Family Violence: Legal, Medical, and Social Perspectives (p. 220) "the unlawful application of force to a person."

PHYSICAL CHILD ABUSE as defined by Wallace, 2002, in Family Violence: Legal, Medical, and Social Perspectives (p. 31) "any act that results in a nonaccidental physical injury by a person who has care, custody, or control of a child."

DOMESTIC VIOLENCE as defined by researcher in the Batterers' Intervention Project of 2003, is any incident of battery and/or physical abuse upon a spouse, life partner, girlfriend, or person whom he shares a child with, whether living with them or not.

INTERVENTION is the act of intervening following abusive behavior, an attempt to stop the behavior.

PARTNER is the person who is in a relationship with the abuser.

PREVENTION is the act of preventing, or not allowing abusers to begin certain behaviors.

RECIDIVISM is the return rate for domestic abusers. It involves a similar charge, with similar sentence after release from the correctional facility.

SPOUSAL ABUSE is synonymous with battery or physical abuse.

SUBJECT is the male identified as a batterer involved in domestic violence.

VICTIM is any person who is harmed by an abuser.

VIOLENCE as defined by Straus and Gelles in their studies of 1975 and 1985, (Wallace, 2002, p. 4) "*violence* was defined as an act carried out with the intention or perceived intention of causing physical pain or injury to another person."

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

I became acutely aware of the very serious social problem of domestic violence within our society. One of the elements that astounded me was the substantive amount of male batterers who returned to the judicial system on similar charges. Noting the extent of the abuse of life partners, children, and other family members, I came to realize the extreme risk factors for all those involved in this distinct social problem – wives, girlfriends, ex-wives, the batterers' own children, the batterers' partners' children, and/or parents.

A personal concern emerged around this issue, and acquiring knowledge of methods for "breaking the cycle" of violence seemed worthy of investigation. One of the major methods of breaking the cycle that came to the surface was the emergence of male batterer interventionist programs. These programs are designed to disrupt the cycle of the batterer by changing the attitude of the batterer by means of interrupting the behavior of the batterer. The designs of these programs are built on psychological and sociological theories. Differing theories being evident, the decision was made to establish that the purpose of this dissertation would be to narrow the varying theories to a specific model, as explanation of the most effective programs for male batterers.

Many different programs designed to combat domestic violence have been initiated throughout numerous parts of the nation. The literature indicates that programs utilizing an "in-jail" concept rather than a "while released" concept are seemingly the

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most effective methods of intervention. Through an investigation of these programs, I will evaluate the appropriateness of such interventionist programs for male batterers, as well as their connectedness to sociological theory, and I will design a model of explanation for effectiveness of such programs.

Why This Study is Important

Many cities and counties in the United States have figures for repeat offences of male batterers significant enough to warrant interventionist programs to reduce the cycle of violence. "Straus et al. (1980) reported that about two-thirds of batterers repeat their assault within one year…" (as cited in Buzawa, 2003, p. 45). Buzawa and Hotaling (2000) studied different community courts, tracking abusers for re-offences for an 11-month period. What they found was that:

> The most important predictor of future offending against female partners was the most recent pattern of offending against female partners: The past served as a good predictor of the future. Male domestic violence offenders who were involved in two or more domestic violence incidents with the same victim during our 4- to 5-month study period were more than eight times more likely than others to have re-offended during the 11-month period following the 4- to 5-month study frame (Buzawa, 2003, p. 45-46).

In Massachusetts, it was found that "95% of those arrested had previously battered the same victim, 94% in the previous six months" (Buzawa, 2003, p. 132). In California, several counties, excluding Los Angeles, discovered that 37.1% of domestic violence inmates released were rearrested (Shuster, 2001, Sec. A). The Kent County Sheriff's Department in Michigan is just one of the counties concerned with such numbers and investigated its own recidivism rates of violators. The return rate for these offenders was found to be at 40% (VanWeelde, 2003, p. 1). These studies are important,

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as the data collected and the theories analyzed can contribute to the application of effective interventionist programs to stop the "cycle of violence."

Research Question

The hypothesis for this dissertation is:

The application of the synthesis of Exchange Theory, Patriarch Theory and Intergenerational Transmission results in an appropriate explanation of an effective batterers' interventionist program.

Significance of Study

Domestic violence has far reaching consequences such as physical abuse, mental and psychological abuse, child and parental abuse, family dysfunction, high medical costs, and decreased productivity within the work force and within social circles which impacts a child's education.

Most professionals in the medical field agree that programs designed to reduce violence are valuable and highly desirable. Intervention efforts by concerned persons and agencies also increase social awareness of the problem of violence. Intervention also highlights the unacceptability of interpersonal violence as a means of resolving conflict. Intervention can provide alternative strategies for dealing with frustration in family relationships which may eventually decrease the incidence of domestic abuse and its medical complications (Eyler & Cohen, 1999, 2569-2576).

The focus of this dissertation is to examine if utilization of the synthesis of Exchange Theory, Patriarchy Theory and Intergenerational Transmission Theory explains effective batterers' interventionist programs, which is an interventionist program having

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the potential to break the cycle of violence and/or the potential for changing the attitude of the male batterer, consequently interrupting his violent behavior. The consequences are expected to be a reduction in the recidivism rate of the male batterer. This synthesis will be demonstrated with a model designed by this researcher.

Outline of the Dissertation by Chapter

Chapter One is the introduction to the dissertation. This chapter explains how I became acquainted with the problem of domestic violence and how my personal interest developed with this particular social problem. This chapter also identifies why this project is important, the research question, clarifies the significance of the study, and the focus of the dissertation and analysis. This section also includes these chapter outlines.

Chapter Two summarizes the documentation of domestic violence as a social problem. This chapter presents a statement of the problem with a focus on repeat violence, domestic violence and intimates, domestic violence and children, domestic violence being defined as a social problem, and domestic violence and the criminal justice system.

Chapter Three is the Literature Review, which establishes the foundation for the theoretical and methodological rationales to follow. The literature review presents a socio-historical progression of the study of domestic violence and an overview of the literature concerning various programs with a concentration on prevention and intervention of domestic violence.

Chapter Four is the Methods section. This section will describe the methodology utilized and why this type of study is best suited for this research problem. This chapter

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describes the methodology of the program which is the primary example of intervention programs for this dissertation.

Chapter Five is the Theoretical Perspectives section. This chapter provides us with the necessary information concerning the possible perspectives and concepts to build an applicable model for male domestic violence batterers.

Chapter Six describes and discloses the dissertation findings and includes the final discussion and conclusion section. This chapter includes the meta-analysis findings and results of the assessment and evaluation of the dissertation project. This chapter also includes a model for intervention for male batterers utilizing the theoretical bases discussed as appropriate for this social problem. The discussion and conclusion section of the dissertation manuscript gives an overall discussion of the results/findings and an overview of the model provided by this dissertation.

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CHAPTER II

THE PROBLEM

Domestic violence is a learned behavior that negatively affects partners and

children. The family is the first place where most people experience love, and love can

actually become associated with violence in certain cases. Existing statistics provide

some of the strongest evidence that the family can be a violent institution (Van Weelde,

2003, p. 1-2). The National Institute of Justice, 2000, estimates that 4.9 million intimate

partner rapes and physical assaults are perpetrated against U.S. women annually and state

that these findings suggest that intimate partner violence is a serious criminal justice and

public health concern (Tjaden, as cited in VanWeelde, 2003, p. 1-2).

The family is the place where most people first see and experience violence, as

well as love, particularly in the form of physical punishment. Children can learn that

those who love them "are also those who hit and have the right to hit. . . that early

experience with physical punishment lays the groundwork for the normative legitimacy

of all types of violence but especially intrafamily violence" (Little, 1995, p. 234). Love,

therefore, can become associated with violence.

Domestic violence is far-reaching. Estimates for 1991 were that 204 million

children were abused or neglected; nearly 2 million women were battered; and 1 million

elderly persons were mistreated (Kroll, as cited in Little, 1995, p.232). Another finding

which came out of Little (1995) were numerous studies that showed women who were

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abused also had a history of abusing, indicating how much domestic violence also affects

children. Taylor-Browne report that "Abused women may punish their children more

harshly than normal in order to forestall a worse beating from an abusive man, or may

lash out when at "the end of their tether" (Mullender et al, as cited in Taylor Browne,

2001, p. 37). The rate of abuse among this segment of the population was "six times

higher than the base rate for abuse in the general population. . . " (Zigler and Kaufman, as

cited in Little, 1995, p. 240). Buzawa (2003) relates that "abused women are 150 times

more likely to abuse their children..." (p. 27).

Multivariate analyses revealed that the more violence experienced by a woman,

the more she suffered from various forms of psychological distress (Gelles & Harrop, as

cited in Browne, 1993, p. 1080). Results include an overwhelming sense of danger,

intrusive memories or flashbacks, and thoughts of suicide (Browne, 1987; Dutton, 1992a,

1992b; Herman, 1992; Hilberman, as cited in Browne, 1993, p. 1080).

Spousal Abuse:

- From a sample of 6002 households representative of the general population in
  1985, Gelles and Straus found that 30 per 100 women reported incidents of
  severe wife beating (as cited in Eitzen, 1997, p 382).
- Criminologist Jim Fyfe estimates that 25 to 45 percent of U.S. homicides stem
  from domestic fights (as cited in Eitzen, 1997, p 382).

The physical and mental damage to the victims of these crimes also warrants an

investigation into solutions to the problem. The American Academy of Family

Physicians support the findings that common medical complications of partner violence

are chronic in the areas of: increased use of the medical system, including the number of

surgeries, chronic pain syndromes, negative health behaviors, depression and suicide

(Eyler, 1999, p. 3). The National Violence Against Women Survey informs us that the

U.S. medical community treats millions of intimate partner rapes and physical assaults annually. Of the estimated "4.9 million intimate partner rapes and physical assaults perpetrated against women annually, approximately 2 million will result in an injury to the victim, and 31 % will result in some type of medical treatment to the victim"... and because

> many medically treated victims receive multiple forms of care (e.g., ambulance services, emergency room care, or physical therapy) and multiple treatments (e.g., several days in the hospital) for the same victimization, medical personnel in the United States treat millions of intimate partner victimizations annually (Tjaden, as cited in VanWeelde 2000, p. 4).

Consequently, more tax dollars, insurance funds, and church charitable donations are being used to assist victims of what may be a *preventable* crime. Numerous studies have reached the same conclusion: "the average citizen is much more likely to be assaulted in his or her own home than on the streets of the most dangerous city in the United States" (Hotaling and Straus, as cited in Little, 1995, p. 232).

One of the major problems with domestic violence is the evidence documenting the repetitive nature of the social ill. Repeat domestic violence is widespread. The occurrence of repeat violence has been well documented and has become recognized as a severe problem. Many of the domestic violence statistics includes repeat offenses, not just first-time incidents. The National Crime Survey has shown that women who are victimized by domestic violence, but are not killed, are at high risk of being victims again; approximately 32% were repeat victims between 1978 and 1982 (Little, 1995, p. 248). In the Covington Report (2000), which investigated State of Michigan child death reviews, 1999 figures show that 14 percent of child deaths, resulting from cases of domestic violence, were cases associated with previous domestic violence cases

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(VanWeelde, 2003, p. 4). The National Institute of Justice (2000) describes the fact that approximately one-half (51.2 percent) of the women raped by an intimate and two-thirds (65.5 percent) of the women physically assaulted by an intimate said they were victimized multiple times by the same partner (Tjaden, 2000, p. 26).

Among women who were victimized multiple times by the same partner, 62.2 percent of the rape victims and 69.5 percent of the assault victims said their victimization lasted a year or more (Tjaden, 2000, p. 26). For about 1 out of 5 women, the abuse is not an isolated incident but occurs repeatedly (Steinmetz, as cited in Little, 1995, p. 248) and (Tajden, 2000, p. 2).

<div align="center">Domestic Violence and Intimate Partners</div>

Who is doing this abusing of women? We have historically regarded violent people as strange looking monsters and villains. We are taught to "not talk to strangers." There has been an assumption that the primary influences in our lives are our protectors. The introductory material in this manuscript has illustrated a far different truth.

In a face-to-face study conducted in a large community-based family practice clinic (N=351), Hamberger, Saunders, and Hovey found a lifetime prevalence of assaults by a male partner of 39% and a lifetime injury rate of 25% (as cited in Browne, 1993, p. 1079). Eyler (1999) also stated that interpersonal violence and abuse, especially between relatives and domestic partners, are leading causes of morbidity and mortality" (p. 2569).

- The Justice Department estimated that two-thirds of the 2.5 million women victims of violence are attacked by intimate friends or family (Bachman, as cited in Eitzen, 1997).
- The American Medical Association has estimated "that as many as 1 in 3 women will be assaulted by a domestic partner in her lifetime - 4 million in any given year" (Blackman et al., as cited in Eitzen, 1997).
- Up to 15 million women have been abused at least once by a male partner.

<div align="center">9</div>

Every 12 seconds, a woman in. the U.S. is beaten by her husband or lover (Peterson, as cited in Eitzen, 1997).

In 1992, the U.S. Surgeon General ranked abuse by husbands and partners as the leading cause of injuries to women age 15 to 44 (Ingrassia and Berk, as cited in (Eitzen, 1997, p. 382).

In 1992, the United States Department of Justice stated that approximately 22,500 homicides were officially recorded in the United States, and 12% of the murder victims were related to their assailants. Among all females killed, 29% were slain by husbands or boyfriends; whereas only 4% of males were killed by wives or girlfriends (Little, 1995, p. 232). Researchers have found that one-half to three-quarters of all women have experienced some physical violence from their partners. A large national survey in 1985 (Straus and Gelles, as cited in Little, 1995, p. 232) revealed that about 1.8 million women were severely assaulted by their partners.

Women who are pregnant and involved with a violent partner face the risk of especially severe outcomes (Saltzman, as cited in Browne, 1993, p. 1079). In the 1985 National Family Violence Survey of a representative sample, 154 of every 1,000 pregnant women were assaulted by their partners during the first four months of pregnancy, and 170 per 1,000 were assaulted during the fifth through ninth month (Gelles, as cited in Browne, 1993, p. 1079). Taylor-Browne (2001) notes that: "Risks to unborn children are well established with violence frequently commencing or escalating during pregnancy" (Mezey, 1998, as cited in Taylor-Browne, 2001, p. 37). Stanko et al. (1998) "found two percent of women respondents in a general practice waiting-room survey reporting a miscarriage that they considered attributable to domestic violence" (as cited in Taylor-Browne, 2001, p. 37).

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Another correlation attributed to domestic violence is the issue of infant deaths. The relationship between violence towards mothers and subsequent infant deaths has been documented by a study chaired by Vasilenko in 1999. The study discovered that in 50% of investigated deaths of infants, the infants were found to be victims of violence. The study also found that the rate of stillborns was 7.7 times higher in women abused during pregnancy. Vasilenko and associates concluded that violence appears to be a major factor in infant mortality, and programs to reduce infant mortality must address these social problems (Vasilenko, 2000).

Domestic Violence and Children

Children, other than infants and toddlers, also suffer severely because of domestic violence. In fact, studies suggest that young children can be overwhelmed by their exposure to violence (Osofsky, 1996, as cited in DHHS, p. 4). The trauma that this leads to can be realized by other statistics showing the impact upon the children themselves. "One Canadian study found 2.5 times the rate of behavioral and psychological problems in children who had lived with domestic violence as against other children" (Wolfe et al, 1986, as cited in Taylor-Browne, 2001, p. 36). Buzawa (2003) also reported the severity of the consequences of domestic violence for children. Edelson (2000) noted that "there are now more than 100 studies trying to determine the impact of family violence on children …." Edelson reported... that "'externalized' behaviors such as aggression and antisocial behavior were more common … especially boys... 'internalized' behaviors such as unusual fears and inhibitions were also more common, especially in girls" (as cited in Buzawa, 2003, p. 26). Other studies reported by Edelson illustrate lower test scores on "social competency and higher on depression, anxiety, aggression, shyness, and school

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related problems. .. [and] lower scores on tests of cognitive functioning" (as cited in Buzawa, 2003, p. 26).

The U.S. Bureau of Justice Statistics tells us that between 1993 and 1998, children under the age of 12 resided in 43% of the households where intimate partner violence occurred (Rennison, 2000). A 1985 study found that over 10% of American children, about 1.5 million, had experienced severe violence by their parents - kicking, biting, punching, hitting or trying to hit with an object, beating or threatening with or using a gun or a knife. Approximately 1.7 million cases of child maltreatment are reported annually (Barth and Derezotes, as cited in Little, 1995, p. 232). Interestingly, a study by the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services (DHHS) reports that it is being recognized that many of the maltreated children and abused women are coming from the same violent homes (2000, p. 1).

We might consider the consequences of children coming from violent homes. Research illustrates that these children:

> exhibit more aggressive and delinquent behavior and more withdrawn, anxious behaviors in comparison to children from non-violent homes. Additionally, they perform significantly below their peers in such areas as school performance, organized sports, and social activities (Kolbo, as cited in DHHA, 2000, p. 4).

Taylor-Browne reveals "other direct dangers to children include threats from perpetrators to hurt or kill them in order to coerce the adult victim to meet his demands, " and children can be at risk of accidental injury if they get in the way of an attack upon their mother or try to protect or help her" (Pence and Paymer and Dobash and Dobash as cited in Taylor-Browne, 2001, p. 37).

Another consequence found by O'Keefe (1995) is the significance to children who

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have witnessed abuse rather than be a victim of abuse. These children are also more likely to exhibit more aggressive behaviors. They also perceive the father-child relationship as more negative, and are more likely to live in families where there is a greater frequency and severity of marital violence and less marital satisfaction (O 'Keefe, 1995, as cited in DHHS, 2000, p. 5). Also, some explain that the experience of abuse increases the odds of future criminality and delinquency by nearly 40 percent (Widom, as cited in Clinard, 1998, p.170). Indeed, a number of studies of family violence have documented an intergenerational cycle of violence (Gelles, as cited in Clinard, 1998, p. 170).

Domestic Violence as a Social Problem

Intimate partner violence should be treated as a significant social problem. Research shows that intimate partner violence is a pervasive and serious social problem in the United States.

Is domestic violence a societal issue? Is domestic violence a concern needing/requiring special attention and a method of control? "A social problem is a social condition or a pattern of behavior that people believe warrants public concern and collective action to bring about change" (Kendall, 2001, p. 4). Kendall also states that social problems are identified by causing harm to a certain segment of the population such as women - or promotes disadvantages for a significant number of the population - women unable to function and children suffering from exposure to abuse. The fact that millions of women and children are the majority of the population adversely affected by domestic violence is evidence of a significant number and a specific segment of the population within our society attempting to survive in spite of this social condition.

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C. Wright Mills distinguished a social condition or certain behavior as a social problem by stating that "if the condition is widespread and affecting large numbers of people in a region or society, it is a 'public issue' or 'social problem.'" According to the Harper-Collins Dictionary of Sociology (1991),

> identification of a social problem suggests that there ought to be some form of social intervention through social policies, new laws, and new forms of social and community intervention and that there is a relationship between the social problem and some method of social control (p. 459).

The magnitude of the problem and the upsurge of programs designed to combat this social condition point toward defining domestic abuse as a serious "social problem." In Taylor-Brown's, What Works in Reducing Domestic Violence (2001, p. 60), Mullender and Burton state:

> In recent years there has been a decisive shift in public policy towards recognizing domestic violence as a crime, as serious as any other form of assault. As a consequence, ways must now be found through the criminal justice system to hold the perpetrators of the violence accountable for their actions (as cited in Taylor-Browne, 2001, p. 60).

Domestic violence does indeed meet the sociological criteria for identification as a social problem.

Domestic Violence and the Criminal Justice System

Whose responsibility is it to alleviate the pain of the social problem - domestic violence? Law enforcement is crucial in dealing with issues of domestic violence. The police, as the first responders to domestic violence incidents, are able to provide emergency service and have a vital and central role. They are often the only contact that both the batterer and the victim will see together. The role of the responding officer is critical. The first step towards intervention takes place here. The first step towards

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protection of the victim takes place here. The first step towards breaking the "cycle of violence" takes place here.

An officer can describe the anxiety of answering "abuse" calls and confronting unknown levels of conflict. The responding officer may not be trained in how to deal effectively with both the victim and the perpetrator. Certain communities may not even consider domestic violence to be a true crime. In fact, in the National Violence against Women Report (2000), it was found that "only 25% of all physical assaults against females by intimates were reported to the police" (Buzawa, 2003, p. 18). Kaufman, Kantor, and Straus "estimated that at least 93% of cases were not reported" (as cited in Buzawa, 2003, p. 71). They contend that "many victims of domestic violence, due to societal norms, fear of retaliation, or economic or psychological dependence did not report domestic violence" (Buzawa, 2003, p. 72).

Buzawa also states that "historically, many victims failed to contact the police because of police failure to respond appropriately. Police indifference or their refusal to take action has undoubtedly discouraged many victims" (p. 72). It is also noted that many women as "victims may, through past experience, be prone to accept violence as a routine part of their lifestyle..." (Buzawa, 2003, p. 73). These findings suggest that many victims of intimate partner violence do not consider the justice system a viable or appropriate intervention at the time of their victimization. It seems obvious that "regardless of the study, it appears that only a share, between 10% to 50% of cases ever reach the police, meaning that a substantial unfilled potential demand exists for police services" (Buzawa, 2003, p. 77).

It is obvious that several things must happen. The officer needs to be educated

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regarding domestic violence to enable her/him to handle the matter effectively, the victim needs protection and assistance to be independent of the perpetrator, and the batterer needs intervention measures to prevent repeat occurrences of violence.

Educating law enforcement has become part of the curriculum within police training. But is this training adequate? A study by Kelly (1999) indicates that there is a clear need for adjustment, within law enforcement. Some of the noted issues for more effectiveness are:

- Women want respectful treatment by, and assertive action from, the police;
- Survivors think domestic violence should be responded to as a crime, but need support and protection in order for this to be a viable option;
- It is crucially important that police officers interview the woman and her abuser separately, in private, in such a way that she is able to give her account in safety;
- A proportion of police officers persist in communicating that domestic violence is trivial;
- There are major problems in translating arrest into effective action against perpetrators; where prosecutions do occur, the sentences passed are perceived by victims as failing. . .
- It would also help if the police. . . routinely knew of other sources of support, including how to access emergency accommodation (as cited in Taylor-Browne, 2001, p. 21).

Adoption of these measures would provide a more adequate response on the part of the officers.

The other matters, stemming from domestic violence, that need attention are the measures used to attempt to keep the perpetrator from re-offending. Measures used by law enforcement are: talking to the couple, holding the batterer in jail until they "cool off," arresting the batterer, prosecuting, sentencing with probation, sentencing with probation and a mandatory program for anger management, sentencing with jail time, sentencing with jail time and a mandatory program, sentencing with jail time and

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mandatory program followed by probation, or sentencing with jail time and mandatory program followed by probation and a community intervention treatment program. Historically, these options have been reduced to "cooling off" time, probation with a mandatory program, or jail time. "Cooling off time has not been shown to be successful as a prevention or intervention. Probation has shown some success. Jail time has demonstrated some success, also. A preliminary review of the literature revealed that these options don't seem to be very effective as "stand alone" methods. This concern is one shared by law enforcement agencies. "We know that incarceration itself does not solve the problem or stop batterers from perpetrating their insipid form of unacceptable behavior and/or violence on their victims" (Abrams, 1999). One of Michigan's local law enforcement administrators states that:

> The Kent County Sheriff s Department has expressed concern that the criminal process consisting of arrest, trial and conviction has not been proven to be an effective means of control for the domestic abuser. It appears that the typical offender serves his sentence, returns to the same environmental condition, with the same mental attitude and then demonstrates a renewal of the violence cycle (VanWeelde, 2003, p. 1).

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CHAPTER III

LITERATURE REVIEW

The focal point of the review of the literature is: (a) the socio-historical process of

the study for domestic violence, (b) various programs with a concentration on prevention

and intervention of domestic violence. These assessments of male batterer programs

include (c) the differing theoretical perspectives evident within the programs which assist

in providing the theoretical structure for this researcher's own model of effective

domestic violence intervention programs.

Socio-Historical Process of Study

To gain the proper perspective on the issue of family violence, we need to

visualize how the issue has been presented in the theoretical and research literature.

Minimal, if any, attention was given by social sciences on the issues of wife and child

abuse until the 1970's. O'Brien (1971) reports that the major family journal, "Journal of

Family and Marriage," did not include a single article with "violence" in the title from its

founding in 1939 to 1969. Gelles (1980) adds that "violence against adults in families

was especially invisible in the rarified atmosphere of social science literature" (as cited in

Finklehor and Gelles, 1983, p. 69). Minimal, if any, attention was given by the social

sciences on the issues of wife and child abuse until the 1970's. Sebastian further explains

this phenomenon in "The Dark Side of Families", as:

> At a very general level, social psychological analysis of aggressive
> behavior examines and consideration is given to forces which motivate or

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impel the individual to perform aggressive behavior and to antagonistic forces which restrain or block the person from behaving in an overtly aggressive manner (as cited in Finklehor and Gelles, 1983, p.183).

Finklehor does acknowledge that even though there has been little in the way of theoretical work on the specific issue of family violence, "theoretical frameworks and propositions have been developed from the study of violence and aggression that are applicable to the issue of family violence" (Finklehor and Gelles, 1983, p.156).

In accordance with Finklehor, behavioral scientists have long studied why people engage in aggressive and/or violent behavior. Most behavioral scientists agree that aggression is carried out to achieve an exact end for the aggressor, sometimes for a reason other than to hurt someone. The majority of all social scientists generally define aggression "as a deliberate attempt to harm another." However, for many individuals, the attack is more of "an effort to achieve some other, noninjurious outcome than to do harm" (Finklehor and Gelles, 1983, p. 168).

Gelles follows the path of the social science community and the development of new awareness regarding violence and its connectedness to domestic abuse. In Finklehor and Gelles', "The Dark Side of families," (1983, p 149), Gelles applied his new awareness to the study of domestic violence connecting wife and child abuse as psychopathological problems to his own theory of exchange/social control. From the proposition that the benefits must outweigh the cost of any action, and there is a pursuit of rewards and avoidance of punishment for behavior to be repeated, Gelles applied that concept to the lack of social control within the family structure, arguing that there is insufficient "cost" of punishment for intrafamily violence.

The early writings on both child abuse (e.g., Kempe et al., 1962; Steele &

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Pollock, 1974; Galdston, 1965, as cited in Finklehor, 1983) and wife abuse (e.g., Snell, Rosenwald, & Robey, 1964), portrayed the causes of domestic violence as arising from offenders' psychological problems. "Women like to be beaten," was a popular conventional explanation. Or, "battered women are crazy," was another belief. There is, however, no scientific data to support either of these points of view, and if, indeed, battered women do behave strangely, it is probably as a consequence (not a causative factor) of being battered. Rather, the earliest research on child abuse found that abusive adults were likely to have been raised in abusive homes (Steele & Pollock, 1974; Bennie & Sclare, 1969, as cited in Finklehor, 1983, pp. 152-153). The explanation for this finding was that being abused as a child produces a personality disorder, which predisposes the individual to a life pattern of violence and aggression.

The relationship between stress and family violence was also a popular view. Skolnick and Skolnick (1977) have stated that "family violence seems to be a product of psychological tensions and external stresses affecting all families at all social levels" (as cited in Finklehor, 1983, p. 153). Behavioral scientists promoted the perspective that "families experiencing high levels of stressful events, such as trouble at work, job loss, death of someone close, or serious sickness or injury, have higher rates of child abuse" (Gelles, as cited in Little, 1995, p. 240). However, it was found with research that the "effects of stress are less of a factor in families that are imbedded in supportive social networks" (Straus and Kantor, 1987, as cited in Little, 1995, p. 240).

As evidence from research mounts regarding family violence, the psychopathological explanations were seen to be deficient. It was becoming clear that multiple factors were associated with domestic violence. The sharpest attack comes from

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the feminist perspective. Analysis in this tradition argues that:

> violence in the family - particularly that directed against women and children - is not unusual, either now or historically. It is the means used by the more powerful to enforce their will on those who are less powerful. In this sense violence by males is not the isolated, idiosyncratic activity of a few but a widespread norm sanctioned by custom and law. To declare the perpetrators of violence "sick" is to deny their responsibility for their actions and ignore the ways in which men have historically enforced their dominance in the family by physical coercion (Little, 1995, p. 256).

The study of domestic violence began to combine the factors of stress and psychopathological problems with the awareness of the consequences of maintaining the power factor involved in the structure of families within the existing societal structure. Stauss summarized the traditional societal view of violence within the familial structure and noted that violence within families is naturally extended by the traditional roles within the family, granting the "head of the house" a license to be the controller, the decision-maker, and the disciplinarian for the entire family.

The Battered Women Research Center at Colorado Women's College contributed greatly to the study of domestic violence with its study of battered women from July 1978 through June 1981. The data they collected indicate that events, which occur in childhood, as well as in their partner relationships, affect a woman's current position within a volatile relationship. It was found that there were certain "susceptibility factors" which occurred with enough regularity to suggest that these factors interfere with the woman's ability to successfully stop the batterers' violence toward them once it is initiated. In brief, women who were socialized to regard domestic violence as normal, became victims themselves, as adults. It was also found through the information gathered about the batterer's childhood and other life experiences that these elements are consistent with a male learning to respond to all emotionally distressing cues with anger

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and violent behavior (Finklehor, 1983, pp. 117-288). This supports the hypothesis that violence is learned.

The National Survey of Family Violence

The National Survey of Family Violence of 1985 provides us with an understanding of the more multifaceted progression of theory associated with family violence. This study was conducted on a national sample of examining the importance of socialization and stressful experiences in the onset of spousal abuse. This study hypothesized that early exposure to violence, coupled with acute stress and inadequate income, have a statistically significant effect on perpetrating spousal abuse. Two important results emerged from these comparisons:

> First, while both childhood socialization and stress variables are related to the probability of perpetrating spouse abuse, as we hypothesized, the early exposure effects are stronger. The most important predictor of the odds of spouse abuse is whether respondents were exposed to their parents' marital aggression, followed in importance by whether respondents themselves were victims of parental aggression (Seltzer and Kalmuss, 1988, p. 484).

The study found that:

> Modeling of family violence is relationship-specific. Adults exposed to violence in their childhood families, as well as adults exposed to recent stressful experiences and chronic economic strain, are more likely to have perpetrated spouse abuse in their current marriages than adults exposed to only one or neither of these factors. While these effects are significant, the early childhood exposure to family violence has a substantially greater affect on spouse abuse than does either exposure to recent stressful experiences or chronic economic strain (Seltzer and Kalmuss, 1988, p.487).

The research specified that early exposure to abuse is a determining factor in domestic violence. Again, this supports the earlier hypothesis of domestic violence being a "learned" behavior.

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Once domestic violence was established as a true crime and social problem, society was able to study and report on this social condition which led to theoretical perspectives and offered explanations and predictions. These perspectives ultimately have had the effect of increasing societal awareness of the need to provide assistance to victims and programs for abusers.

Straus and Gelles

Two of the most important studies of family violence were carried out by Straus and Gelles in 1975 and 1985. These studies were deemed as important because of the large number of subjects, the sophistication of their measurements, and the location of violence within the family setting.

"Both surveys involved interviews with a nationally representative sample of 2,143 respondents in 1975 and 6,014 respondents in 1985" (Wallace, 2002, p. 4-5).

These surveys are still cited by numerous professionals in various materials pertaining to domestic violence. The studies surveyed subjects from the fifty states of the United States and evaluated several different family relationships. They found that the years between their first study in 1975 and the second study in 1985, the topic of abuse had received considerably more attention and that a decline in reported cases of abuse had occurred. Even though they saw a decline in abuse, they still found that one out of every thirty-three children, between the ages of three and seven, were victims of abuse (Wallace, 2002, p. 4).

Because of the change in the laws regarding mandatory reporting, other sources of data came from clinical studies and reports from the medical profession, psychologists, and counselors; with increasing recognition of the social condition, official reports of

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private and public agencies provided data; with reforms in government and law enforcement, Uniform Crime Reports and National Crime Victimization Surveys also provided valuable information. These all assist in providing models for social scientists in developing theories, which in turn provide models for action or intervention strategies to combat this serious social problem.

Becoming Aware

As a result of research studies and feminist political activism, it became generally accepted that there was a need for assistance for victims of domestic violence, such as women's shelters. There also arose an awareness for the need to identify factors entwined with the theories of domestic violence, such as the cost of violence, broad social awareness, substance abuse, anger management, differential power, and learned/ intergenerational parenting skills and molding these into prevention and intervention programs for the male abuser and female victims.

Current concern for domestic violence began in the United States with "the movement to prevent child abuse initiated by the identification of the battered child syndrome in 1962, followed by the shelter movement to assist battered women in the early 1970s" (Little 1995, p. 265) and progressing to an acknowledgement of the need for prevention and interventionist programs for the abuser. Since that time, the study of domestic violence has progressed from a study of male aggression to a study encompassing synthesized theoretical perspectives and the emergence of specialty areas within domestic violence research. Also, since the inception of these studies, public and societal awareness have consistently increased within the social science and human services disciplines and within community response programs. Law enforcement,

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medical practitioners, the clergy, and teachers have become better educated regarding this social problem. Political action, with respect to family violence, has increased, and the results are evident in the changing norms and legal sanctions. "Today, every state has laws requiring reports to authorities of suspected child abuse..." (Little, 1995, p. 265).

Programs for Prevention/Intervention

When we ask why we need programs for the batterer, we know that there are women's shelters and other options for them to get away from their perpetrators. There are a variety of critical services that exist currently for "women victims of a partner's violence, most of them engendered by grass-roots or advocacy movement-including safe houses for women victims and their children, crisis lines, support groups, and legal advocacy (Schechter, 1982, as cited in Browne 1993). Should we continue to exclusively focus on the women and children? Simply put, "No." What about the women who insist on staying with the male batterer, for whatever reason? What about other partners who may become involved with this man? What about the other people involved in the life of the man? Can we guarantee that this violence will not be repeated in another relationship situation? Considering the overwhelming evidence of violence being a "learned behavior," it is apparent that the future generation is bound to repeat this volatile action. Can we ignore this fact without attempting to abort the phenomenon? In these cases, it seems obvious that intervention is what is needed. These men have already become violent and, thus, require some form of intervention.

Prevention programs are usually the most appropriate solutions to control for social ills. However, we are looking at methods to assist the male batterer who has already exhibited behaviors associated with an out-of-control person. This is whom we

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are concerned with. We need to deal with the man who needs help <u>now</u>. This is a major

factor in reducing violent offenses against partners, children, and others. While they, too,

are being helped, the prevention or reduction of abusive behavior is mandatory to the

well-being of all concerned.

Methods of assisting the male batterer in reduction of violent offenses against

their partners take root in theoretical foundations. I first examine the usual methods of

restraint for dysfunctional societal members and then discuss specific programs that have

made the most of abstract theory.

Social Control

We are aware that society itself has methods of "social control" for its members.

The strongest and most enduring form of social control within society is by

internalization of the norms. We need to examine why this method is not effective

enough to prevent and/or intervene for domestic violence, since social control measures

generally do serve to ensure conformity of the societal values and norms. People usually

conform to the accepted norms because they know of no alternatives and thus accept the

legitimacy of the norms. Each of us only knows what we have experienced. In some

situations, people conform because of pressure to do so, and the social cost is too high to

not conform. The use of formal and informal sanctions, combined or alone, has not been

an effective tool within the social problem of domestic violence. Clinard and Meier,

1998, describe the process of social control:

> Sociologists can distinguish between two basic processes of social control.
> (1) Internalization of group norms encourages conformity through
> socialization, so that people both know what society expects and they
> desire to conform to that expectation (Scott, 1971). (2) Social reaction

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influences conformity through external pressures in the forms of sanctions from others in the event of anticipated or actual nonconformity to norms. These possibilities don't define mutually exclusive processes; they can and do occur together (as cited in Clinard & Meier, 1998, p. 32).

The Internalization processes were defined as follows:

> Internalization of group norms achieves social control when a person learns and accepts the norms of his or her group. This is a result of the overall socialization process that motivates members to conform to group expectations regardless of other external pressures. Society need not exert conscious effort to secure compliance with such norms, for they define the spontaneous and unconscious ways of acting that characterizes the bulk of any culture's customs. A great deal of conformity to norms results from socialization that convinces people that they should conform, regardless and independent of anticipated reactions from others. Social control processes teach how not to engage rather than how to engage in deviant behavior (Gotttredson and Hirschi, 1990, as cited in Clinard and Meier, 1998, p. 32).

The logic here is obvious; internalization of norms may be unique within differing groups for cultural or other reasons. Social learning and intergenerational transmission theories are built on the concept of socialization of norms. The norms vary, and within violent homes, abuse can actually be the norm.

By utilizing preventive and interventionist methods to stop domestic violence, we are attempting to alter the norm for a certain (violent) segment of the population. Society has, however, recognized that the norm of abuse is not beneficial to any segment of society. We have defined domestic violence as a social problem. We have determined that domestic violence is inherently harmful.

Justice System

Another question might be, "Why don't we simply utilize the current laws, law enforcement, and the courts or modify the system to be more efficient?" It would have

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been appropriate if these methods had been more effective; however, the facts illustrate that the courts and law enforcement are inadequate in answering to the problem of domestic violence.

As previously stated, the judicial system has not been effective enough to reduce the repeat incidents of violence. The "Orders of Protection" have not been effective, often leading to more serious abuse, even murder of the partner. Orders restraining the batterer from the home or from proximity to the victim only work if the assailant respects such orders. The women and children also cannot live "in hiding" and have any quality of life for themselves. Living in hiding is contrary to finding and maintaining employment, raising and educating children, and other aspects of a normal life.

Educational Program

If society demands more efficient public response, community involvement, and more efficient law enforcement, then we need to provide constructive sentencing options and alternatives to the "arrest, convict, go back home and hit" scenario we see today. We need to assess programs attempting to provide alternative options for anger and demonstrate how such programs constitute an effective way of combating the problem.

Most models of intervention have moved toward accepting domestic violence as a crime and holding the batterers responsible for their behavior. "Men's violence is defined as learned and intentional behavior rather than as the consequence of individual pathology, stress, alcohol abuse or a 'dysfunctional' relationship" (Respect, 2000, as cited in Taylor-Browne, 2001, p. 63).

> One way of thinking about what is being aimed for is as an equation: Behavior + Attitude = Conduct. It is the whole pattern of conduct that is unacceptable in perpetrators and which should be of interest to the courts

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and policy makers, not simply a set of isolated behaviors. Certain behaviors could be extinguished while still leaving women to live with threats and fear (Taylor-Browne, 2001, p. 67).

Do Batterers' Intervention Programs Really work?

While investigating the literature on programs for intervention and prevention programs for the male batterer, it was interesting to note the wealth of information on construction of programs and their connectedness to programs for the batterers and how necessary they are. At the same time, it was increasingly difficult to find the theoretical bases for these programs. Programs were developed with abstract theory being apparent, but the literature often did not specify the exact theoretical base the program functioned under. It was easy to find program evaluations but arduous in digging up the original abstract theory. After a brief introduction for this section, I will identify programs' substantial evaluations, depict the theoretical bases they operated under, and examine the responses of others' assessment of intervention programs:

- Most report successes in reducing overt violence - in the range of 53% to 85%, according to a review by Edleson and Tolman (1992) (as cited in Taylor-Browne, 2001, p. 78).
- Syers and Edleson (1992) found that court-mandated attendance at a program that followed police calling at home and arresting the man was more effective in ending repeat violence than other combinations of criminal justice actions (as cited in Taylor-Browne, 2001, p. 88).
- Hotaling and Buzawa (2001) reported that "more than two-thirds of victims believed psychological counseling for offenders, such as batterer treatment, offered the greatest potential for preventing reoffending (p. 218).
- Many judges now realize that traditional sentencing fines or incarceration has only had a limited and indirect effect on batterers in which violence is typically unpredictable and irrational.
- A recent evaluation of three counseling programs for wife batterers in Texas found that it was possible to stop or reduce the violence in a majority of cases (Little, 1995, p. 261).
- Olsen, Capoverde, Holmes, and Mumm (1996) evaluated a ... intervention program for families with substantiated abuse or neglect reports and at high

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risk of re-abuse... .such programs tend to not only decrease negative behaviors but also encourage more positive relationships among family members (Fennell and Fisher 1998, as cited in Mignon, 2002, p. 244).

Gondolf, 1988

A project of lengthy duration was conducted by Gondolf where a 53% combined success rate has been found across four types of programs. "Court-mandated perpetrators in four cities have been followed up at 12, 15, and 30 months..... Nearly half the men (47%; both completers and non-completers) used violence at some point during the 30 months" (p. 78). "The most dangerous time was the first six months. . . . the vast majority of those who were not violent at 15 months were still violence-free at 30 months" (as cited in Taylor-Browne, 2001, p. 78-79). All four of the audited programs had certain similarities. "All were linked to the courts, all used cognitive behavioral techniques, all were gender-based in the analysis offered of partner violence, and all were integrated with partner services" (Gondolf 1998a and 1998c, as cited in Taylor-Browne, 2001, p. 79-80).

CHANGE Program (2000)

The evaluation of the CHANGE program and of Lothian Domestic Violence Probation Project by Dobash .. et al (2000) in Scotland found 67% success in avoiding further violence for a year after the programs, as measured by partner report, as against only 25% success for men subject to other disposals. Most of the re-assaults...occurred in the first three months...Both the men and women concerned considered the improvements to be a result of the program and most men were very positive both about the group and about their own hopes for the future (Taylor-Browne, 2001, pp. 80-81).

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In Harm's Way: Domestic Violence and Child Maltreatment

A study entitled, <u>In Harm's Way: Domestic Violence and Child Maltreatment,</u> 2000, investigated several batterers' intervention programs and surmised that a programmatic approach to domestic violence is more effective if it receives community support. The study acknowledges that community involvement from the courts and others is needed to get more men into interventionist programs and to hold them accountable for attending and completing the programs. In fact, the study found that an evaluation of the court review process for men referred to batterers counseling from the Domestic Violence Court in Pittsburgh, dramatically increased compliance with batterer counseling and that court review and batterer counseling together lowered recidivism (DHHS, 2000, pp. 1-24).

Duluth Project

The pro-feminist Domestic Abuse Intervention Project I out of Duluth, Minnesota (Pence and Paymar, 1990) has been influential in introducing both gendered and social learning group work. The Duluth Project utilized the patriarchy (feminist) theory as a major influence. The Duluth Project's most frequently mentioned influence was cognitive behavioral work, with a self-description of projects as "educational" regarding male dominance as a factor in domestic violence. Gondolf, 1998, states that:

> Recent evidence has emerged that altering gender attitudes may positively affect the success rates of perpetrators' groups. This comes from research with a four site longitudinal sample, comparing different group work models. . . which asked participants how they avoided further violent incidents (as cited in Taylor-Browne, 2001, p. 65).

Gondolf (1997: 85) suggests that intervention programs emphasize more work on

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gender beliefs in order to combat social reinforcement of negative attitudes towards women, noting that this might require longer and more discussion-based group programs, linked with community outreach and public education efforts, also directed at attitude change (as cited in Taylor-Browne, 2001, p. 66).

Another research study indicates that the factor of patriarchy is mandatory for inclusion in interventionist programs. Dobash and Dobash (1979) have long been known for their view that a patriarchal society encourages violence toward women (Mignon, 2002, p. 115).

According to Straus and Smith (1990), research suggests that:

> A large part of the explanation of child abuse is in the very nature of American society and its family systems. This has profound implications for the prevention of child abuse. Although psychotherapy may be appropriate in some cases, a more fundamental approach lies in such things as a more equal sharing of burdens, or child care, replacement of physical punishment with non-violent methods of child care and training, reducing the stresses and insecurity that continue to characterize our economic system for many families, and strengthening the ties of individual families to the extended family and the community (Little, 1995, p. 260-261).

In Case Studies in Partner Violence, (1999) published by the American Academy of Family Physicians, Eyler and Cohen state the magnitude of the concept of power regarding domestic violence. Eyler and Cohen state that any misuse of power, especially that which involves physical violence or psychological intimidation, constitutes abuse. They define a perpetrator as a person who performs or permits the actions that constitute abuse or neglect (Eyler, 1999, p. 2569).

The National Institute of Justice also reveals the importance of power within domestic violence prevention/intervention measures. The National Institute of Justices'

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studies reveal wife assault is more common in families where power is concentrated in the hands of the husband or male partner, and the husband makes most of the decisions regarding family finances and strictly controls when and where his wife or female partner goes. The study also expresses that violence against women is often accompanied by abusive and controlling behavior. N.I.J. states that their findings support the theory that violence perpetrated against women by intimates is often part of a systematic pattern of dominance and control (Tjaden, 2000, p. 3). The word power is derived from the Latin word potere, meaning "to be able." Power is, thereby, the ability to make things happen. Power is viewed by some in the sociological community as an integral part of theory when dealing with domestic abuse.

Syers and Edelson (1992) revealed an additional factor as responsible for lowered recidivism rates. Their study illustrates the theory of cost/benefit in exchange theory as evidence of prevention/intervention. The study demonstrates the effectiveness of increasing "cost" for the male batterer. The more cost implemented, with these subjects, the less negative behavior repeated. These researchers collected information immediately after the arrest of batterers at intervals of six months and twelve months later (as cited in Taylor-Browne, 2001, pp. 88-89). The least repeat violence was found among men who were arrested and ordered to treatment, followed by men who were arrested but not ordered to treatment, with the highest amount of repeat violence among men who were not arrested. This investigation illustrates the value of awareness, intervention programs, and the effectiveness of intervention.

Other illustrations of the value of intervention programs utilizing the exchange theory are studies by Babcock & Steiner (1998) and Steinman (1990). They examined

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the effects of batterer treatment and recidivism. There was a difference found between batterers who completed treatment, those who dropped out, and those who did not receive any treatment. Those who completed treatment and those who dropped out after having received some treatment were less likely to re-offend than those who received no treatment. It has also been demonstrated that there was a relationship between the number of sessions attended and reduction in rearrests. Research conducted by Steimnan (1990) evaluated effectiveness in deterring re-abuse and found that when police action was coordinated with other systems, perpetrators were significantly less likely to re-offend (Sheperd, 1999).

LA Program - An Initial Program

While reviewing programs for abusers, a program emphasizing anger management, parenting skills, and substance abuse in Los Angeles, California emerged as a successful model. It is also apparent from its description which theoretical base it is implementing. The Los Angeles County Sheriff's Department (L.A.S.D.) manages the nation's largest jail system and "maintains an average daily inmate population of nearly 20,000. Several thousand of these inmates are incarcerated for abusing their intimate partners" (Shuster, 2001, Sec. A). Due to the "pressure from victims and their advocates ...to respond seriously to domestic violence" and the "growing trend across the country in batterers intervention programs in jails and prisons" the LA.S.D. decided to begin a program to "turn around these repeat offenders" (Shuster, 2001, Sec. A). A program was developed in conjunction with an "outside agency" to combat the problem of domestic violence and run through the education department of Biscailuz Recovery Center. The program has been in effect for eighteen months, and as of January, 2001, there have been

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"3.9% of program graduates reconvicted in the last year." In contrast, "12.1 % of prior inmates NOT taking part in our program were reconvicted on D.V. crimes within the last year (VanWeelde, 2003, p. 4). An unexpected positive result was the decline of violence within the jails and prisons where domestic violence programs are taught. "Bascailuz hasn't had any reports of assaults-against staff or inmates-and deputies have never used pepper spray or any other force" (Shuster, 2001, Sec. A). Kivel, co-founder of the former Oakland Men's Project who teaches and writes about male violence says, "these are really important experiments in changing the male culture and leavening the community" (Shuster 2001, Sec. A).

The Los Angeles program utilizes parenting skills, anger management, communication skills with partners and children, social awareness of the consequences of domestic violence, problem solving, and alternatives in handling anger. Parenting skills were emphasized as recognition of social learning/intergenerational transmission or Cycle of Violence theory.

Those convicted of domestic abuse were found to be victims of the "cycle of violence" themselves. Social learning is also cited as a consequence of poor communication skills and anger management. Substance abuse was found to be a major focus for the inmates who, themselves, confirmed the need for help in this area.

Patriarchy, with the consequences of differential power, isolation and control was found to have impact with these inmates, as it became apparent that male dominance was considered to be a major determinant of self-worth. The reason the L.A. program was begun was because of the high recidivism rates L.A. experienced.

Law enforcement was the first in the community to acknowledge that

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incarceration was not effective enough to combat the social problem of domestic abuse. The "cost" of incarceration did not outweigh the "benefit" of being in charge of his life through abuse.

Kent County Program: The Batterers' Intervention Program

As inspiration from the L.A. program, Kent County was prompted to begin a similar program. The purpose of this project, the "Batterers' Intervention Program," was to reduce the recidivism rate of male abusers and attempt to break the "cycle of violence" by introducing a program designed to modify the attitudes of convicted male batterers who were serving a sentence for domestic violence charges through the Kent County Corrections Facility (VanWeelde, 2003, p. 1). This project entailed the cooperation of the Kent County Sheriff s Department, the Kent County Correctional Facility, and three community agencies. Educational sessions were designed to attain similar agency goals, with the main objective being to "break the cycle of violence" by changing the attitude of the abuser, and consequently, their abusive behavior.

Educational sessions were conducted for six months; pre and post-tests were administered to measure the accomplishment of the agencies' goals and objectives, and monitoring of all released subjects followed (VanWeelde, 2003, p. 7-8). The report for this project revealed successful attainment of goals and a lowered overall recidivism rate. However, the study showed that there was not a statistically significant resultant lower recidivism rate among those who completed the educational sessions, as compared to those who did not complete the educational sessions.

The application of theoretical bases for effective programs can be summarized from the aforementioned program descriptions: First and foremost - a male-based

treatment batterer program with court-mandated attendance, following arrest and sentencing. Secondly - reinforcement of positive behaviors and discouragement of negative behaviors, through use of cognitive behavioral techniques. Third, holding the men accountable for attending the educational sessions of the program. Fourth, the educational sessions need to utilize methods to alter gender attitudes, make the men aware of the "family unit" and roles and responsibilities for each family member, teach alternative techniques of child raising, stress reduction, problem solving, and methods of creating bonds with friends, extended family and the community

In conclusion, introspection of how they were victims themselves within a "cycle of violence" can lead to a tremendous enlightenment of their situation. Also, the men's comprehension of their misuse of power and their personal need for power and control are key components of any effective batterer program.

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CHAPTER IV

METHODOLOGY

This chapter will explain the research method used for this dissertation. This section will describe the meta-analysis design implemented, and why. There will also be discussion of the research question and the research problem. For an extended analysis of studies, a meta-analytical approach will be used. Meta-analysis is a methodological process entailing analyzing research studies previously done, through conducting a secondary analysis.

This method of research is appropriate as meta-analysis, as meta-analysis is an effort to expand our understanding of domestic violence as a social problem. While researchers generally study their appropriate subjects for a particular study, meta-analysts systematically study the underlying structure of the sociological theories involved. Meta-analysis is a reflexive study of the sociologists own discipline. Meta-analysis contributes to the "paradigm" of sociology, as theories garnered from individual research studies are only part of larger paradigms (Ritzer, 2000). "... a paradigm may encompass two or more *theories,* as well as different *images* of the subject matter, *methods* and instruments, and *exemplars* (specific pieces of scientific work that stand as a model for all those who follow)" (Ritzer, 2000, p. 630).

This study will attempt to establish a more thorough understanding of the larger paradigm, while at the same time, emphasizing the merits of interventionist programs for domestic abusers. The study will investigate the effectiveness of such programs designed

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to alter the abusers' attitudes, and therefore, their behavior. This study analyzes and assesses a type-specific program for a specific social problem - domestic violence. The researcher believes that the programs examined are a potentially valuable example of intervention strategies for domestic abusers and possesses the potential for reducing the recidivism rate of batterers. This analysis of intervention programs contributes to the larger paradigm as it relates to the social problem of domestic violence.

In this meta-analysis, the researcher intends to answer the question,

- "Does the application of the synthesis of Exchange Theory, Patriarchy Theory and Intergenerational Transmission result in effective programs?"
- Do these types of interventionist projects have the potential for changing the attitude of the male batterer?

This meta-analysis accomplishes its goals of answering the research questions by: (a) analyzing the literature reviewed and examining for underlying theoretical perspectives; (b) closely scrutinizing these perspectives for precise concepts conducive to explaining and predicting effective male batterer interventionist programs; (c) choosing the perspectives to be used for a model for effective male batterer interventionist programs, and (d) illustrating the model.

CHAPTER V

THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES

In this section, I aim to identify and discuss the various theoretical perspectives

unearthed during the literature review that were considered to be applicable to domestic

violence. I will summarize several of the theories developed from these prominent

reviews and focus on the most appropriate of these. I will select the theory, or theories,

which demonstrates the most potential as an explanation for effective models of batterers'

intervention projects. One key element in this review and selection process is that the

theory[ies] must demonstrate that it has principles which can be applied as an

intervention strategy. The applied theoretical perspective will be utilized to explain

programs for designing prevention and intervention measures for the male batterer.

As stated previously, the study of domestic violence was not, until recently, a

matter of interest to the social science community. "The study of family violence is still

in its infancy. During the 1990's, criminal trials brought the specter of family violence

into our living rooms on a daily basis" (Wallace, 2002, pp. 1-2). The assumed guilt of a

superstar for the murder of his wife and the spousal abuse records from that volatile

relationship did ultimately serve to "wake up" America to the severity of domestic

violence. Statisticians and researchers gathered data, conducting independent research.

This, along with projections from state and federal agencies, clearly established the

widespread existence of domestic violence.

Researchers and social scientists formulated several distinct sub-groupings of

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intrafamily violence, such as child physical and sexual abuse, spousal and partner abuse, and elder abuse. Some social scientists and/or behavioral scientists have maintained a focus on these specific areas and ignored the broader view of family violence. Similarly, others have attempted to view family violence from a broad perspective by creating abstract models and models that are far from being inclusive, thus difficult to test or validate. As a result, there was an obvious lack of "stand alone" theories that were able to sufficiently explain and predict the current social problem of domestic violence. "Not one approach or theory has yet to gain universal acceptance within the field of professionals who deal with this phenomenon" (Wallace, 2002, p. 3). Wallace, (2002) summarizes the factors that appear to contribute to family violence:

> Researchers have interviewed, tested, observed, and evaluated thousands of people in an attempt to discover the factors that contribute to family violence. To date, no one authority has discovered the single correct answer. (p. 9)

Different fields, such as psychology, criminal justice, and sociology have been proactive in investigating the social issue of domestic violence. Each discipline has contributed, alone and in cooperation with each other, to the study of this prevalent societal ill. In Mignon (2002), it states that "sociological theories offer the widest perspective for explaining physical. ... abuse" (p. 114).

According to Gelles:

> A sociological perspective neither excludes nor diminishes the contributions of psychological or social psychological variables; rather, it places these variables within a wider explanatory framework that considers the impact of social institutions and social structures on social behavior (as cited in Mignon, 1993, p. 114).

Several sociological/psychological theories are offered in attempts to explain intimate/family violence. Theoretical perspectives have had a substantial amount of input

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over the years and provided pertinent insights to understanding domestic violence.

Patriarchy theory, Exchange theory, and Cycle of Violence theory are theories of significance when examining domestic violence. It is necessary to examine these theories as contributors to a viable model for interventionist programs.

Patriarchy Theory

Patriarchy theory is a good starting point to examine the theoretical perspectives. Feminist theory, arising from Patriarchy theory, finds its roots within the concepts from the theory of patriarchy. Patriarchy theory brings in the variables of Male Dominance, Power and Control into the study of domestic violence. Patriarchy theory, as defined by Wallace:

> It views society as dominated by males, with women in subordinate positions who are treated by men as possessions and things. Laws and customs combine to uphold this difference in power between men and women and legitimize their different status. This approach views male domination as explaining the historical pattern of violence toward women throughout the ages (2002, p. 14).

These concepts of male dominance, power, and control is further explained by Finklehor and Gelles, (1983). They state that aggression within the family is cited as a common phenomenon, due to the lack of restraints on the "heads of households." It is easy to see how this theory is relevant to domestic violence. Power - and who has it and who doesn't - dictates that the abuser will be the dominator in the relationship. The one with the power, whereas, the one without the power "does not have sufficient power to thwart the perpetrator's"... abuse (Mignon, 2002, p. 114).

Power - the person with the most resources - wins! Power is the ability to impose one's will upon another. Couples who share power or are equals in the decision-making

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process have the lowest levels of both conflict and violence, whereas the partners with the most differential have the highest levels of conflict and violence. Within the issue of power, there may be a *perceived* power imbalance. If the male feels threatened by the other's achievements, this imbalance of power may lead to abuse.

Male dominance, power, and control variables take their foundation from here:

> The major thesis regarding the operation of these forces in the family is that family violence is more common than other forms because family members have especially great instigational potential for one another and because restraints against aggression are weaker in the family than they are in other social settings (as cited in Finklehor and Gelles, 1983, p. 183).

This foundation leads to a sociological view of the use of aggression among men. We can think of aggression as instrumental behavior. For instance, when a man attacks a woman, he may believe he is reaffirming his masculinity or attempting to gain acceptance from his peers (Finklehor and Gelles, 1983, p. 168). This does more than give permission or provide a "license to hit." "Theoretically, it exerts a positive call for aggression under particular circumstances" (Finklehor and Gelles, 1983, p. 168). This approach defines the "patriarchy" theory with the concepts of "power," "control," and "male dominance" for the more vulnerable members of society and those within the familial structure. Gelles and Straus were able to utilize the concepts of power, control, and male dominance from the foundation of the Patriarchy Theory and develop a theory of "exchange/social control" as further explanation for this type of violent behavior.

Exchange/Control Theory

Gelles and Straus (1979) inventoried 15 theories, resulting in their integrated model of family violence. Exchange theory appeared to be the best approach with integration of social control to explain human violence. "An assumption of exchange

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theory which is relevant in explaining family violence is that human interaction is guided by the pursuit of rewards and the avoidance of punishment and costs" (Gelles and Straus, 1979, as cited in Finklehor and Gelles, 1983, p. 156). One proposition derived from an exchange/social control theory of family violence which they provide proposes that people hit and abuse other family members "because they can" - furthering the extent of power, control, and male dominance.

In applying the principles of "general" exchange theory, we expect that people will use violence in the family if the costs of being violent do not outweigh the rewards. "From social control theory we derive the proposition that family violence occurs in the absence of social controls which would bond people to the social order and negatively sanction family members for acts of violence" (Finklehor and Gelles, 1983, p. 157).

In their exchange/social control theory, social control is assumed to be an effort to prevent intrafamilial violence. This assumption follows from exchange concepts which were used to prove that while violence in families can be normative under some circumstances, there are costs for being violent. First, there could be the potential of the victim hitting back. Second, a violent assault could lead to a loss of status, or even incarceration. Thus, there are some costs involved in being violent (Goode, as cited in Finklehor and Gelles, 1983, p. 158).

However, the private nature of the modern family serves to reduce the degree of social control exercised over family relations (Laslett, as cited in Finklehor and Gelles, 1983, p. 158). "Inequality in the home can reduce both social control and the costs of being violent. Finally, the image of the 'real' man in society also reduces social control in

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the home and increases the rewards of being violent" (Finklehor and Gelles, 1983, p. 158). This theory also offers some explanation for the apparent extension of partner abuse to parent-to-child abuse.

In regards to the children of the family, this perspective offers the insight of when the parent perceives the costs of parenting to outweigh the rewards, the alternatives are limited. The relationship between parent and child is difficult to break - with the exception of giving the child up for adoption or foster care, or the death of the child or parent. Thus, with few alternatives and high dissatisfaction, the parent may resort to abusive violence. Many parents justify the use of violence as a child training technique because it tends to bring with it the immediate emotional reward for the parent and the immediate cessation of the undesirable behavior by the child that led to the violence (Finklehor and Gelles, 1983, p. 161).

Exchange theory takes a further step and encompasses the concepts of costs and benefits, availability of resources, and acceptability - lending to an unwillingness to correct "family violence." Two of the most cited theoretical perspectives involving domestic violence, within this setting, are "violence-begets-violence" and "marriage license-is-a-hit license." Strauss says that "husbands become wife beaters as part of a normal progression from using physical punishment against their children to abusing their wives" (as cited in Ellis, 1987, p. 166). Strauss also explains extreme violence as a natural extension of mild discipline. Central to this theory is the idea that male privilege is part of a normative pattern of family life. He states that the cultural norms dictate approval of aggressive behavior for the male, even encouraging this form of showing one's masculinity (as cited in Ellis, 1987, p. 166).

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The "marriage-is-a-license-to-hit" theory by Gelles (1974) maintains that "violence between spouses is often viewed as normative and, in fact, mandated in family relations"(as cited in Ellis, 1987, p. 166). Within this perspective, wife beating is not viewed as deviant behavior but as behavior of a conformist. The central point to this theory is the idea that violence is not seen as deviance, as it is within other circles outside of the family groups. The meaning we derive is that it is acceptable to hit your wife and children, but it is not acceptable to hit your neighbor (as cited in Ellis, 1987, p. 167). "Acceptability" becomes a variable within the exchange theory.

As aforementioned, this theory is based on the premise that persons act according to a system of rewards or punishments. To reiterate, family violence is based on a determination of costs and rewards. As Gelles has stated, "To put it simply, people hit family members because they can" (Mignon, 2002, p. 118). Family members resort to violence to obtain goals as long as what they achieve is outweighed by the cost of aggression. The absence of social controls over family relations increases the likelihood that family members will engage in violence. The privacy of the family unit and the subsequent low risk of intervention decrease the cost of violence, thereby allowing it to occur. Gelles states that, "... the concern for the family privacy and hesitation of social agencies to become involved reduce the costs of [committing] family violence" (Mignon, 2002, p. 118).

Since exchange theory focuses on the costs and benefits of family violence, the acceptability of intrafamily violence, and resource theory we will investigate the next variable formulating this Exchange Theory - Resource theory.

It has long been understood by women who do not work outside the home that the

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one who controls resources; such as money, property, or prestige, occupies the dominant position in a relationship. The more resources one has at their disposal, the more force or power one has - the more dominance that partner exhibits. Society has socialized the population to believe that the males in relationships are the designated powerholders - the dominators within the relationship. Therefore, having abundant resources can cause males to batter. However, this has resulted in a social dilemma for some males, as having inadequate resources can also cause males to batter.

Males who have fewer resources than desired, or expected, may suffer from feelings of deprivation and/or powerlessness and then resort to violence as a way of controlling the spouse and compensating for their own feelings of inadequacy. Males who are not in possession of what society has designated as necessary to be an adequate male, may suffer from feelings of inadequacy, setting off an anger reaction. The woman, meantime, has no resources for achieving feelings of adequacy and this factor even contributes to dissipating any forethought of escaping the abusive relationship. Women who do not have adequate resources feel they have no choice but to remain and be battered.

There is another aspect to the resource variable. Isolation - The male partner attempts to keep females from contact with work colleagues, friends, and even family. He desires to have total control over his female partner. If the woman begins to feel isolated, she also feels that there is no one to support her or help her out of the situation. Another concept enters the formula, dependency. With isolation comes the feeling of dependency. Dependency is a meaningful concept within the resource theory. Our society has encouraged and even rewarded women's dependency. The most common

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meaning of relationship dependency includes economic dependency. The female spouse often has little or no earning power and is therefore dependent on her male partner for the necessities of life. Dependent women have fewer choices and fewer resources within the abusive relationship.

One particular study was helpful in assessing the resource and dependency variables - the Battered Woman Syndrome Study. The batterer's control over his wife actually compels the battered woman to behave in a subservient manner rather than in an equal relationship. This study analyzed background factors, situational variables, and the effects of both. It was found that "battering, if kept private, is in fact sanctioned by societal values of masculinity and sustained through sex role inequalities which subordinate women" (Finklehor and Gelles, 1983, p. 55).

The data from the Battered Women's Study also confirmed that domestic violence does come from the batterers' learned behavioral responses. This is the next area of examination, the Cycle of Violence Theory.

Cycle of Violence Theory

"The best predictor of future violence was a history of past violent behavior. This includes witnessing, receiving, and committing violent acts in the childhood home" (as cited in Finklehor and Gelles, 1983, p. 37).

Additionally, it was found that "exposure to violence as a child strongly influences the probability of being generally violent as an adult... the frequency and severity of domestic violence are predictive of being generally violent" (Finklehor and Gelles, 1983, pp. 55-56). Whether the batterer had witnessed spousal violence as a child or was the target of abuse, those who had this experience were more likely to be violent

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outside the home as well as violent toward their wives. It also appeared that the batterers who inflicted the most injurious and frequent abuse on women were also those who were violent with others, outside the home - a finding contrary to an aforementioned study.

Another study, "In Harm's Way" indicates a Cycle of Violence foundation as the basis for the studies they evaluated. It is summarized that: research studies clearly document that children are affected by domestic violence. . . . Children in abusive families may be seriously affected by the violence found in their homes. Studies show that the effect of both experiencing maltreatment and witnessing family violence may produce greater negative effects than either factor alone (DHHS, 2000, pp. 1-24).

To complicate matters, as previously mentioned, learning violence and passing it from one generation to another is viewed as normative within many families. A victim of abuse is not always necessarily the intended "victim." Oftentimes, a child witness might never be touched. Teaching abuse can be accomplished with ease. The "Harm's Way" study clarified the factor of simply witnessing violence as a basis of concern, again pointing to the Cycle of Violence Theory:

> ….evidence suggests that witnessing may be as harmful to children as suffering physical abuse (Margolin, 1998). Many people think that infants and young children are too young to process domestic violence. Studies suggest that young children can be overwhelmed by their exposure to violence, especially when both the victim and the perpetrator are well known and important to the child (Osofsky, 1996, as cited in DHHS, 2000, p. 4).

The Cycle of Violence theory is also known as the Intergenerational Transmission of Violence theory, or Traditionalist Theory. This theory has widespread acceptance within the scientific community. According to Wallace, 2002:

> This theory is known as the intergenerational transmission of violence theory….The cycle of violence theory asserts that violent behavior is learned

within the family and bequeathed from one generation to the next....The childhood survivor of a violent family thus develops a predisposition toward violence in his or her own family....have a never-ending chain of violence in his or her own family (pp. 20-21).

Studies utilizing this perspective have supported the theory. Researchers have demonstrated that violent victims become violent offenders.

Researchers have also found that children who had been abused were more likely to commit crimes as juveniles and adults. The use of the theory has also shown that the physical, verbal, and emotional abuse toward and around children affected the children's perceptions of neglect by their parents, producing feelings of isolation and loneliness, along with the hostility and aggression.

One study found that another factor develops from the transmission of violence. The study found that children not only learn violence as an acceptable behavior, but also develop a "vulnerability" factor, abusing "men and women to provoke violence, accept violence as natural, and select aggressive partners" (Wallace, 2002, p. 21). This finding serves as explanation to the age-old question, "Why doesn't she leave?"

Lastly, another research study discovered that children who had been abused were significantly more aggressive than those who had not encountered that negative experience (Wallace, 2002, p. 20).

Besides Intergenerational Transmission theory, Social Learning theory gives credence to this concept as explanation of domestic violence. Albert Bandura, 1977, cites an explanation for learning violence. He says "...people are not equipped with inborn repertoires of behavior. They must learn them" (as cited in Mignon, 2002, p. 154). This theory states that violent behavior has been modeled after and reinforced within a family

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setting. The child copies the behavior of the father or male model and is reinforced in

some manner. Mignon, 2002, states:

> ...role models, particularly those responsible for initial socialization, are
> the source of a good deal of what we do and how we think and
> feel....cultural values and norms are behind the pattern. In our culture,
> males have been generally socialized to be more aggressive and
> controlling than females and females more passive and obedient than
> males. Our male cultural heroes tend to be aggressive and violent, and our
> female cultural heroines loving and forgiving (Mignon, 2002, p. 155).

Social Learning theory and Intergenerational Transmission of Violence theory and

Traditionalism explain domestic violence in similar ways. Social Learning theory

demonstrates the process of learning behaviors.

> This theory helps explain why physical and ...abuse tends to represent
> behavior of multiple members within a family. It does less well in
> explaining why siblings growing up in the same abusive environment may
> turn out very differently behaviorally (Mignon, 2002, p. 155).

Traditionalist philosophy further clarifies the connection between the Cycle of Violence

theory and the explanation for domestic violence. Coinciding with learning violence, is

power as the traditionalist concept of "king of his house" and "the man in charge."

Batterers hold to this traditional view which affects and reinforces many of these other

commonalities.

Although the Cycle of Violence theoretical perspective, the Intergenerational

Transmission of Violence and Traditionalism seem to be grounded in Social Learning

theory, we will utilize the Social Learning as a support factor rather than as a main theory

in proposing a model for intervention. The Cycle of Violence, with the broadest

viewpoint, will serve as the third theory in proposing a model for male batterers

intervention. These are the theoretical bases; the Patriarchy theory, the Exchange/Control

theory, and the Cycle of Violence theory provide the "substance" for a meta- theoretical

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perspective. Each theory provides significant elements to the meta-theory introduced to explain domestic violence, as well as provide guidelines for intervention strategies to reduce the incidence of battering.

There is one other theory which needs to be included, as a supplemental theory, within the explanation for domestic violence - Substance Abuse theory. The substance abuse theory is similar to other theories in that it focuses on one element in explaining the totality of domestic violence. The substance abuse theory does, however, provide an element requiring attention within a preventive/intervention program for the batterer. The theory proposes that alcohol and other drugs are a contributing factor in domestic violence. Drug and alcohol abuse is a common characteristic of all forms of family violence. The excuse of substance abuse is an attractive explanation for both the victim and the abuser. From the victim's point of view, the abuser is not really a bad person, but the drugs or alcohol causes him to commit the acts. The perpetrator can deny responsibility by claiming a lack of control caused by drugs or alcohol. Another factor is how the substance clouds one's judgment in making appropriate decisions (Wallace, 2002, p. 19). Alcohol gives some similar excuses for the batterer.

"It is more likely that drink is, for some men, an intervening variable; they may drink to give themselves 'dutch courage' or permission to be violent, or to provide an excuse to call on after the event" (Taylor-Browne, 2001, p. 63-64). "This theory is based on the concept that these substances impair judgment and lessen inhibitions and thereby allow violent acts to occur. This theory fails to explain why everyone who uses alcohol or drugs does not engage in violent acts" (Wallace, 2002, p. 10). Substance abuse theory, used as an association factor rather than as the causative factor, is applicable to our

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analysis and most necessary for developing a model for interventionist programs.

The primary and secondary (influential) theories and how they work together to explain and predict domestic violence, and as correlates within a model of prevention/intervention, are further described within the context of the model. These theories are used in a meta-theoretical approach to an interventionist research project.

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CHAPTER VI

RESULTS/ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION/CONCLUSION

Results/Analysis

This study will attempt to establish a more thorough understanding of the larger

paradigm, while at the same time, emphasizing the merits of male batterer interventionist

programs for domestic abusers. This dissertation investigates the effectiveness of such

programs by examining the theoretical perspectives of intervention and proposing an

appropriate model of intervention programs for male batterers.

Meta-Analysis Results/Findings

In this research, the investigator intends to answer specific questions. This

researcher, through her analysis, was able to apply abstract theory to specific projects.

- Does the application of Exchange Theory, Patriarchy Theory and
  Intergenerational Transmission explain an effective batterers' intervention
  program?
- Does this type of interventionist program have the potential to break the cycle of
  violence, resulting in a change of attitude and behavior?

The meta-analysis leads to the derivation of the theoretical model. That is, most

of the intervention programs did not identify their theoretical foundations. In reviewing

the programs, this researcher was able to delineate the theoretical traditions supporting

the programs. Since no single theory was sufficient, this researcher was able to construct

a model incorporating multiple theoretical concepts - a meta-theoretical model which

explained the successes of the intervention programs. Thus, modifying social structures

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can lead to behavioral change. The meta-theory stems from the interventionist model used for the batterers, which originated from the concepts within exchange, patriarchy, and cycle of violence theories.

Exchange theory demonstrated how domestic violence is reinforced simply by not having sufficient "costs" to behaving in a violent manner high enough to curtail that behavior. Exchange theory explains how available resources to the abuser ensures power to the male dominator. Exchange theory, also explains how the lack of public awareness of domestic violence has contributed to it's becoming a social problem, since society has historically had a "hands off" philosophy when dealing with family issues.

The goals of men being held accountable for their actions; male partners changing their beliefs that lead to abusive behavior; acknowledging the unhealthy link between substance abuse and violence, and increasing the cost for practicing abusive behaviors acknowledges the importance of Exchange theory.

Patriarchy theory - from the feminist perspective - dictates the importance of equal partnership relationships and learning alternatives to physical punishment, dissolving the disrespect factor between the male and his victims. This perspective also explains the need for the reduction of the abuser's power and control, and the importance for strengthening ties between the family and the community to reduce the control factor for the batterer.

Changing beliefs that lead to abusive behavior; participant's understanding that domestic violence is the result of a person's desire to "control" his partner; recognizing societal, family and self-concepts that define how he feels about himself as a man; increase male batterers' use of appropriate ways to express anger without violence,

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supports the necessity of including Patriarchy theory in the model for intervention.

The Cycle of Violence, or the Intergenerational Transmission Theory, demonstrates the necessity of breaking the "cycle of violence" for future, as well as for the present, generations. Because violence perpetuates more violence, and even witnessing violence promotes more violence, it is mandatory to break this cycle. Within this perspective, traditionalism and social learning explain the abuse within families and between partners. The traditional structure of families has contributed to the misuse of power, by accepting and even encouraging a destructive male image as 'a social' achievement. Learning skills which help them deal with their feelings; identifying feelings and taking positive action; and batterers increasing their accurate perceptions of the skill and ability of the other members within the relationship, increasing levels of empathy toward other members in the relationship, decreasing acceptance of physical and psychological displays of anger and increasing acceptance of non-abusive behavior, increasing accurate perceptions of partner and child roles, and increasing acceptance of appropriate shared independence and power, illustrate the importance of Social Learning/Cycle of Violence theory.
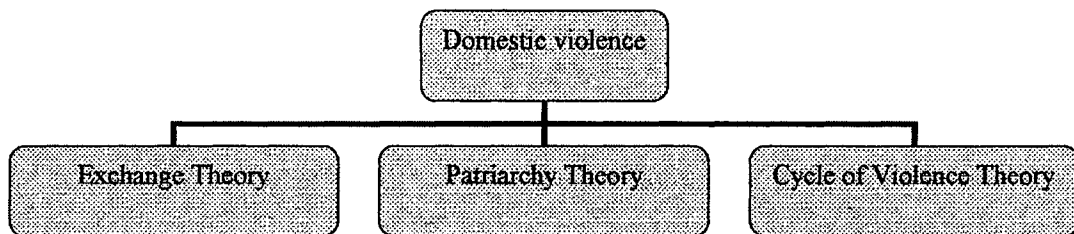
Meta-Theoretical Model

Utilizing the theoretical perspectives of: Cycle of Violence, Patriarchy, and Exchange/Control theories as the major theoretical base for this model, I incorporate certain mandatory concepts for the completion of this model.

It is mandatory to acknowledge the inclusion of the concepts of: Cost/benefit, resource, acceptability, male dominance, intergenerational/social learning/traditionalism, substance abuse, power and control, disrespect, and substance abuse. Applying these

theoretical concepts, we can derive a model for an evaluation of an interventionist

program. I am labeling this the:

Intergenerational Power Exchange Model

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                    ┌─────────────────────┐
                    │  Domestic violence  │
                    └─────────────────────┘
          ┌──────────────────┼──────────────────┐
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│  Exchange Theory │ │ Patriarchy Theory│ │ Cycle of Violence Theory │
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Elements of Intergenerational Power Exchange Model

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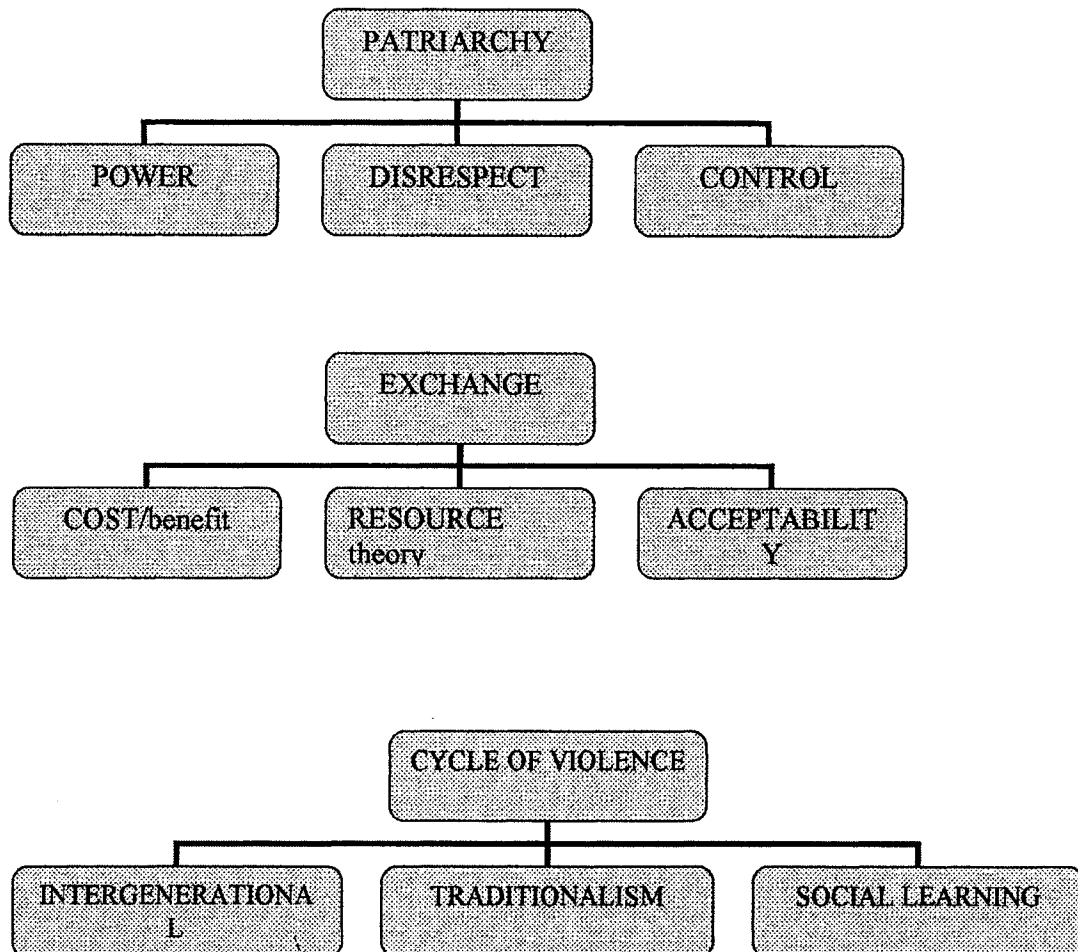
"Theory, within its purest form, explains and predicts society. The discipline of sociology can serve as an antidote to societal ills" (Durkheim).

[1] Does the application of Exchange Theory, Patriarchy Theory and Intergenerational Transmission explain an effective batterers' intervention program? The application of Exchange, Patriarchy, and Intergenerational does explain an effective batterers' intervention program. With these theoretical perspectives and the inclusion of male dominance and substance abuse, the elements of the program are justified and applicable.

[2] Does this type of interventionist program have the potential to break the cycle of violence, resulting in a change of attitude and behavior?

The interventionist program does have the potential to break the cycle of violence, resulting in a change of behavior for the batterer. The programs investigated within this manuscript illustrated a significant positive change in the subjects' attitudes, which affects their behavior.

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