

**AN ANALYSIS OF TREATMENT PROGRAMS FOR MEN
WHO ABUSE THEIR FEMALE PARTNERS**

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ABSTRACT

Treatment programs for men who abuse their female partners have emerged as a response to reduce woman abuse. Evaluation studies which have attempted to determine the effectiveness of such programs have been unable to make any sound conclusions due, in large part, to a number of methodological problems. In addition to such problems, programs for men, identified as following a specific theoretical model, often incorporate components and intervention strategies belonging to other models. This situation makes it difficult to determine which aspects of programs appear to have an influence over change in men's abusive behaviour. There is a need to examine which factors of group treatment are both productive and counter-productive.

Through an analysis of sixteen evaluation studies of programs for men who abuse their female partner, this research sets out to respond to these issues in three ways. First, a description of consistent, independent measures across all evaluation studies will be provided. The information gathered will illustrate the differences among counselling programs which create challenges in determining which mode of treatment is working most effectively. Second, a review of the methodological problems present among evaluation studies will be carried out. Finally, this research will attempt to make general statements about which program elements appear to have an influence over reducing physical abuse. Suggestions for a more uniform, standardized form of evaluation are presented.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this research is to examine treatment programs for men who abuse their female partners. As I am focusing on this particular form of treatment, I am only looking at violence directed by men towards women. I strongly believe that freedom from assault is every person's right, whether woman or man. However, in this research, only the experiences of women as survivors of abuse by their male partners will be addressed. Also, as will be discussed, I believe that in an overwhelming number of cases, women are abused by men, and not vice versa, thus explaining the focus of this research. To support this claim, a brief overview of statistics will be presented, as well as an examination of key historical points highlighting the treatment of women.

Dobash and Dobash conducted a study (1979) where 1,044 cases of violence occurring within the family were examined. The findings reported that 76% of assaults (N=791) consisted of husbands assaulting their wives, and 1% (N=12) consisted of wives assaulting their husbands (Dobash and Dobash, 1979:20). The authors concluded that assaults between adults in the home are overwhelmingly directed at women (Dobash and Dobash, 1979:20).

Over the past ten years (1980 - 1990), The Domestic Abuse Intervention Project (Duluth, Minnesota), report working with abusive men in 97 percent of the cases. Three percent (roughly 100 clients) of their clients are women. Of these 100 women, Pence and Paymar (1993) report that the majority of the women's violence (90) was in retaliation, or in self-defense. They also note that in all these women's cases, their male partners were using violence (Pence and Paymar, 1993:6). Pence

and Paymar conclude that men could end the violence against themselves by stopping their own violence, or by leaving the relationship. Pence and Paymar also report that in 1990, 27 women were killed by their partners, half of them while trying to leave the relationship. In the same year, no men were killed by their partner while trying to leave the relationship.

Straus, Gelles, and Steinmetz (1980) conducted a National Survey (1975) to determine the extent of family violence. Nine hundred and three husbands and one thousand one hundred and eighty-three wives were interviewed to determine how they settled their differences. The questionnaire listed eighteen possible methods of resolving arguments and a wife beater or a husband beater was someone who used five most serious violent acts (using a knife or a gun, threatening to use a knife or a gun, beat up spouse, hit or tried to hit spouse with something, and kicking, biting and punching). The authors reported that there are slightly more husband beaters (12.1%) than there are wife beaters (11.6%). The authors reported the following details which should be considered when interpreting these results. First, the data does not tell us the number of violent acts committed by women in self-defense, or as a response to blows initiated by husbands (Straus et al., 1980:43). Second, the authors report that violent acts by husbands are committed on a repeated level, whereas violent acts by wives occur on a more isolated level (Straus et al., 1980:43). Finally, the authors report that husbands have a higher rate of using most dangerous violent acts such as beatings and using a gun (Straus et al., 1980:43). In light of the above, the authors acknowledged that the first priority should be given to helping women (Straus, et al., 1980:44). In addition to the above limitations, violent acts such as pushing, grabbing, slapping or shoving were considered to be mild violent acts and were not included in the study. Thus a man or woman who admitted to being violent in this manner was not considered a wife/husband beater (Endicott Small, 1985). Also, the

researchers did not investigate the consequences of violent acts. A violent act by a woman was counted as equally violent as by a man, even though the physical damage inflicted by these two acts would be very different (Endicott Small, 1985). The discovery of these limitations led one of the authors, Richard Gelles, to write an article "The Myth of Battered Husbands" (Gelles, 1979). In it, he states that by ignoring the consequences and context of violent acts the real issue of marital violence will not be grasped, that is that the real victims are almost certainly going to be women (Gelles, 1979).

Ten years after the 1975 National Survey, Straus and Gelles conducted another survey to compare the rates of violence between spouses in 1975 with rates found in 1985. The recent study found that violence against wives decreased slightly, while violence against husbands increased slightly. Neither finding was statistically significant (Straus and Gelles, 1985:470). As with the 1975 study, the authors pointed out the limitations with these findings and stressed that caution must be exercised when interpreting the findings. Even with this, the authors reported that the statistics from the 1975 study were used against battered women in court cases, and to minimize the need for battered women shelters (Straus and Gelles, 1985:471). The authors concluded the study by stating that even with the slight reduction in wife abuse, this type of violence remains extremely high (Straus and Gelles, 1985:474).

Kennedy and Dutton (1989) conducted a Canadian study (Alberta) comparable to the two National Survey studies described above (Straus et al., 1975; Straus and Gelles, 1985). The authors reported similar findings to that in the 1985 study conducted by Straus and Gelles. In the U.S. study, 11.3% reported using violence against wives compared to 11.2% of the Canadian sample (Kennedy and Dutton, 1989:40). The Canadian study did not report on violence by wives towards husbands.

Another Canadian study conducted in Calgary (Brinkerhoff and Lupri, 1988), reported higher rates of violence by women against men (13.2, N=75), than violence against women by men (10.3, N=58). The authors list similar limitations regarding these findings as Straus et al. (1975). They also suggest that women who are using violence are more likely to be involved with a violent partner than a non-violent partner, and are using violence in self-defense (Brinkerhoff and Lupri, 1988).

Yllo and Straus (1990) examined the relation between patriarchal social structure, societal norms, and violence against women. More specifically, they examined the relationship between wife beating and women's status in society, as well as the sexist social norms about who should dominate within a family. Their findings were as follows: wife beating is highest in states where structural inequality is highest; wife beating occurs twice as often in states with male-dominant norms than states with more egalitarian norms; the highest rate of violence occurs where societal norms support husband dominance, even though the status of women is relatively high (Yllo and Straus, 1990).

In 1993, Statistics Canada conducted a national survey on violence against women at the request of the Department of Health and Welfare. In depth interviews were conducted with 420 women between the ages of 18 and 64 (The Canadian Panel On Violence Against Women, 1993:9). This comprehensive study indicated that fifty one percent of Canadian women reported experiencing some type of physical or sexual assault since the age of sixteen (Johnson and Sacco 1995:293). Types of violence most commonly reported by women were shoving, grabbing, pushing, slapping, kicking, biting, hitting with fists, throwing objects, and threatening to hit her (Jonson and Sacco 1995:296). Twenty nine percent of women co-habiting with their partner reported physical violence, while

thirty-five percent reported controlling and emotionally abusive behaviour (Johnson and Sacco 1995:297).

The above research confirms that women are experiencing violence by their male partners. Some of the research also states that men are experiencing violence by their female partners. These studies however do not provide a context for women's violence, nor do they report the consequences of these assaults. Research by Straus et al. (1980) found that men use a higher rate of severe violence, and that women's violence is usually isolated, whereas men's violence occurs on a more regular basis. The above research suggests that women are using violence at the same rate as men, but the nature and the extent of it needs to be carefully examined. Otherwise, violence against women will be compared/equated to the violence men are experiencing which could result in severe consequences for battered women (Straus and Gelles, 1985; Brinkerhoff and Lupri, 1989).

The discussion thus far has concentrated on violence in a quantifiable fashion. Violence also needs to be examined in a qualitative manner. When violence is occurring in intimate heterosexual relationships, the aggressors are typically men and the survivors are women. Police reports, hospital emergency rooms, and counselling centres report an enormous gender disparity in who is initiating violence, who is being harmed and who is seeking protection (Pence and Paymar, 1993:5). This does not mean that a woman never uses violence, but this violence must be put in context. A woman who is kicked, punched, sworn at, and criticized may respond with some type of physical defense. She may even retaliate against her abuser in despair or in order to prevent an assault, but this does not constitute mutual battering. Mutual battering occurs when both parties engage in a series of abusive and controlling behaviour coupled with the threat or use of violence to control what the other partner thinks or feels (Pence and Paymar, 1993:5). A woman's use of violence differs from a man's because

there is an imbalance of power. In addition to a man's physical size, his violence is often accompanied by other battering behaviour which increases his power (Paymar, 1993:99).

Michael Paymar (1993) provides an excellent assessment which differentiates men's and women's violence. Paymar asks the following questions to batterers: Do you ever wait on pins and needles when you hear your partner coming home, wondering what kind of mood she'll be in?; Do you flinch when your partner is angry and makes intimidating gestures? Do you fear that her actions are a sign that you will be hit?; If you separate from your partner, are you afraid of being beaten or killed?; Do you fear you will be asked/forced to have sex with your partner after she has beaten you?; Are you afraid of your partner? (Paymar, 1993:99). These questions are almost always answered yes by women and no by men. Paymar even reports that batterers often chuckle when hearing these questions thus reinforcing the notion that abuse, in an overwhelming number of cases, is initiated by the man. When comparing men's and women's violence, the effects of violence must also be considered. Men's use of control, intimidation, and physical abuse will have different effects on women than women's use of isolated incidents involving physical violence. Feelings of intimidation, fear, depression, and attacks on one's identity are common effects for women. This is not so for batterers. Batterers report using any act of violence by the woman to justify their violent actions towards her (Paymar, 1993:98). In an interview with a battered woman, Paymar reports that the woman, in an isolated case, broke windows in the house. She also reported that her partner routinely beat her when she was in the shower, and on one occasion, split her head open. The woman, even though separated from her partner for years, reports that she is still terrified of taking showers, has a clear shower curtain so she can see the door, and takes precautions to ensure no one can gain entry. The woman then asked how her ex-partner responds when he hears the sound of broken glass, highly

doubting that his reaction is similar to what she experiences when taking showers (Paymar, 1993:98).

The purpose of this discussion is not to prove that women never use violence, but to situate women's use of violence. Women most often use violence for different reasons than men (Pence and Paymar, 1993) and the consequences and effects of women's violence cannot be compared to men's.

A historical context of woman battering also explains how violence by men differs from violence by women. By examining some key points in history regarding the treatment of women, the links between women's position in society then and now becomes evident.

The Medieval Theological Manual on Marriage provided examples of men's control over women. For example, the manual instructed husbands to scold, bully and terrify their wife if she had committed an offence. If these tactics did not work, the manual instructed husbands to beat her with a stick since it is better to punish the body and correct the soul than to damage the soul and spare the body (Martin, 1976:30; Davidson, 1978:104).

Under British Common Law, 1767, husbands were given permission to beat their wives with a stick or a whip which did not exceed the width of the thumb (Martin, 1976:31; Okun, 1986:2).

From 1901 to 1965, a special offense of wife-beating existed which was different from the ordinary legal definition of assault. Under the special offense, a husband could be convicted of assaulting his wife only if he caused her actual bodily harm, whereas the ordinary assault definition required the intentional application of force to another by act or gesture. This special offence category allowed, to some extent, husbands to legally use violence against their wives (Endicott Small, 1985).

In the Canadian province of Quebec, women, as recent as 1970, could not own property. Even if a woman owned property and she married, the property became that of her husband. Until

1983 in Canada, a man could not be charged with raping his wife (Henri, et al., 1995).

This brief presentation of historical points was done to place the treatment of women in a context. There has never existed an equivalent "rule of thumb" for women. Wives have never been granted legal permission to use violence against their husbands. Traditional ideas of marriage encouraged husbands to control their wives, not vice versa.

History affects the present and the inequalities which women face in present day are rooted in history. Historically, men as a social group have been in the position of control, and women, as a social group, have not. Women have faced inequalities and injustices because of this structure. With this in mind, the theory relied upon in this thesis examines woman abuse as a social problem which understands abuse by men as an intentional behaviour chosen as a tactic to control women. This type of understanding gives each man the choice to be in an equal relationship with a woman. Beliefs about women which have persisted through time support men's abusive behaviour. Men who batter usually learn these tactics in their families and in their experiences in culture. These men thus reinforce, and are reinforced by, patriarchal social norms which keeps men in the position of power.

This type of structural approach acknowledges how historical and cultural conditions maintain woman abuse. This approach also challenges economic, cultural and political factors which perpetuate the problem.

This structural approach is, of course, one of many approaches which attempt to explain and provide solutions to woman abuse. An individual or psychologized approach is another approach which understands abuse to be the result of attributes of the batterer, the relationship, or the woman (Pence, 1989:2). When this individualistic approach is used, however, the following points are ignored: battering of women has been a historical practice in Western civilization; wife battering was

a legitimate way for a husband to assert his legal authority over his wife; woman abuse is a social problem; being male in our society confers certain privileges that are unknown to many women; battering is part of a systematic use of violence against women to maintain male privilege and status (Tift, 1993:123). A psychologized approach to understanding woman abuse serves two key purposes: it keeps the social and cultural structures intact and it understands abuse as a relationship problem, and is responded to on an isolated case by case basis, thus placing some responsibility on the woman. This approach is denying the fact that abuse is a chosen behaviour occurring within a larger structural context .

How one understands the issue of violence against women (the causes of abuse, who is responsible for the abuse, changes required to end the abuse) will determine one's approach to working with men who abuse their partners. My understanding of the issue, which ultimately guides the tone of this thesis, is as follows: violence against women is not a random act, women are a chosen target for violence by male partners; abuse against women is occurring among different economic, religious and cultural groups which weakens approaches that understand abuse as a psychological or relationship problem; attitudes, beliefs and stereotypes about women supports men's abuse; men abuse to maintain power and control.

Research in the area of violence against women has shown support for one important generalization: abusive men come from all segments of society (Brinkerhoff and Lupri, 1989). The fact that violence is occurring in every educational, income, and class level (Straus et al., 1980; Kennedy and Dutton, 1989; Brinkerhoff and Lupri, 1993) suggests that violence cannot be explained on an individual level. These findings lend support to the analyses which understands woman abuse as a system of male domination which has existed historically and cross-culturally. As this

understanding sees the problem based in male privilege and domination, the solution lies in the struggle against it (Dobash and Dobash, 1979:243). With this understanding of violence against women, it is logical that intervention should be focused on addressing these issues with men. Approaches which deal with these issues are feminist models and educational components belonging to eclectic and psycho-educational models.

Of course, there exist other understandings of abuse which differ significantly with the one suggested above. For instance, Shackleton (1996) expresses his belief that women do play a role in the violence they endure. Also, by holding men completely responsible for the abuse, women are left in a victim role as she has no power to change her situation, and is totally dependent on her partner to change. There exist two issues with this statement. First, I cannot think of any behaviour a woman could display that would justify being abused. Also, if a woman can contribute to making her partner act abusively, how come she can't make him act non-abusively? Second, holding abusive men accountable for their behaviour allocates responsibility. It names who is responsible for the abuse and who needs to make changes. I do not see how this makes women victims. To the contrary, women feel empowered when they are not blamed for their partners choices and actions. Shackleton also states that treatment programs such as New Directions (Ottawa) and Confronting Abusive Beliefs (Vancouver) keeps women powerless in order to preserve women's illusion of moral innocence. Having worked at New Directions, I feel I can state with complete assurance that this is not the case. The goals of New Directions are to increase the safety of women, as well as to promote changes in the beliefs and actions of men. The objective of partner outreach services for women is to provide women with information, resources, support, and assistance in order for them to make healthy choices regarding their safety and well-being.

The perspective adopted in this thesis is that men's violent and abusive behaviour cannot be attributed to women's behaviour, or compared to women's use of violence. Consequently, theories which assign responsibility to both men and women, theories which explain abuse by focusing on interpersonal or cognitive problems, and theories that fail to place woman abuse in its social and historical context do not properly address violence. I am aware that my involvement and commitment in the area of violence against women raises concern about my ability to be objective (Berger and Kellner). However, I do feel certain steps were taken to ensure accountability. For instance, this research is focused on analyses of treatment programs for men who batter their female partners, and I do believe this thesis contains a fair presentation of the varying clinical models used in programs, and of the descriptions of the treatment programs. Also, a presentation and critique of four intervention strategies, and a detailed description of four treatment programs relying on different models are presented.

Treatment Programs as a Response to Violence Against Women

In an effort to respond more appropriately to woman abuse, a variety of modes of intervention have emerged. Included in these responses are treatment programs for men who abuse their female partners (Burns, Meredith and Paquette, 1991:6). Although the existing evidence suggesting that programs for men increase women's safety is limited, these programs continue to grow in numbers (Saunders and Azar, 1989; Edleson and Syers, 1990). In 1993, the National Clearinghouse on Family Violence reported that a total of 124 counselling programs for abusive men were in operation, 108 of which started between 1984 and 1993 (Canada's Treatment Programs For Men Who Abuse Their Partners, 1994:2).

Not only are such programs increasing in number, but there is also a considerable diversity among program modalities and the theories underlying these modalities (Saunders and Azar, 1989).

It is crucial that program modality be examined as it defines the causes of violence, who is responsible for the violence, and ultimately determines the group process and intervention (Dankwort, 1991:37). Although program theory is recognized as being a crucial area of study, little research has taken place thus far. Eisikovits and Edleson (1989:384) concluded that research must examine the association between theory, technique and outcome in a co-ordinated manner in order to determine which theoretical model appears to be most effective.

Currently, there exists a range of intervention models for group counselling. Interventions vary from a behavioral based orientation to a cognitive restructuring orientation to an educational group format. Although each format has its distinct principles, programs often combine several of these orientations when implemented.

Theories underlying cognitive intervention strategies assume violence is anger based, resulting from poor anger control and a lack of alternative conflict resolution skills. The core of cognitive behavioral approaches involves training in anger control, stress management, and communication skills.

Educational and re-socialization approaches to intervention are often based on a different understanding of violence informed by feminist theory. These approaches involve an analysis of the social and historical context believed to legitimize and perpetuate woman abuse. As well, the existing power structures which maintain inequality in society are challenged in group process. Proponents of these approaches also contend that violence is a chosen behaviour to maintain power and control

in relationships. They focus on identifying beliefs which support the abusive behaviour, identifying the perpetrator's intent, and demonstrating that his choice to be abusive was the result of his desire for control of a woman.

Behavioural based interventions are informed by social learning theories. They assume that since violence is a learned behaviour, non-violence can also be learned. Intervention involves challenging learned violent behaviour and working to replace it with newly learned non-violent behaviour (Eisikovits and Edleson, 1989:393).

More recently, psycho-educational programs have begun to emerge. The theory relied on in these programs is a combination of the cognitive and educational approaches. By drawing on the two models, this approach educates men about the social context of abuse and introduces them to skills and behaviours which can help them to eliminate abusive behaviour.

Having reviewed the many theories and approaches that attempt to provide an understanding of abusive behaviour, it becomes evident that one single perspective cannot address the complexities of such an issue. The dynamics of the abusive relationship, the histories of the people involved, as well as their interactions can be relevant in grasping how and why abuse is occurring. For instance, many abusive men have either witnessed or experienced abuse as a child. It is important that these experiences are recognized as they can have an impact on men's choices and decisions in adult relationships.

The above approaches outline the major theories which dominate the field of counselling programs. For the purpose of this research, programs relying on cognitive-behavioral, psycho-educational, and eclectic models will be examined. While most programs rely on one or more of these approaches, it is not clear which are most effective or even if any single approach is effective. The

serious concerns and implications which surround male counselling programs stress the need for conclusive evaluations to occur.

Men's programs were designed to increase women's safety. However, the opposite may sometimes occur. For some women, the term "treatment programs" has become synonymous with ending violence. A woman may, therefore, choose to remain in the abusive relationship with the hope that her partner will change, thus possibly increasing her danger (Pence and Paymar, 1993:174).

Men attending groups can also use information learned in the program to abuse their partners in more subtle ways. For instance, a woman whose partner was in a treatment program stated that he would take the information learned, turn it around, and would be controlling in a "nice", less obvious way (Davies, et al., 1995:128). Another woman stated that her partner was learning games from the program since he would continue to be abusive, but would convince her that it was not his intent. The program deals with intent, however in a very different way (Davies, 1995:129). Pence and Paymar (1993) found that men may lie or distort information from groups and present it to his partner as proof that she is to blame for the problems. He can defend his position by using the sophisticated language he has learned in group. Pence and Paymar also found that men who go through programs often shift from using physical abuse to other forms of abuse to control their partners (isolation, economic). Therefore, physical abuse, which is often the sole measure of success for programs, may be decreasing as it is being replaced with other forms of abuse that are not the concern of the legal system (MacLeod, 1987:97; Adams, 1988:12; Pence and Paymar, 1993:177).

Despite these concerns and the little evidence suggesting the effectiveness of such programs, they are fast becoming a viable sentencing option for judges when dealing with woman partner abuse. This being the case, it is imperative that research determining program effectiveness continue and

comparative research determining effectiveness of program modality begin. The literature and research in this area are still relatively new and the conclusions supporting effectiveness are tentative at best.

Challenges surrounding evaluative research arise when one tries to define what constitutes a successful or effective program. The term "effective" in many programs is dependent on whether physical abuse stops or decreases. Depending on the program's understanding of abuse, behaviours such as emotional, sexual, and financial abuse may be overlooked, as may be controlling behaviour and isolation. Programs which are limited in their definition are not being accountable to women since they do not accurately reflect their situation or their level of safety. It becomes increasingly difficult to compare program results as they are not all measuring the same behaviours. Rarely do programs and program evaluations share similar outcome measures, thereby creating challenges when trying to conduct comparative research.

Programs and program evaluations rely on a multitude of measures when determining program effectiveness. Official reports such as court and police files are often used, thus only measuring types of abuse which are the concern of the legal system. As well, we know that many cases involving woman abuse are not brought to the attention of the police. This questions the reliability of this form of measurement. Self reports are also relied upon to determine the effectiveness of programs. The obvious concern here is that men will often not report abusive behaviour and often not report possible forms of abuse they do not consider to be abusive.

Programs also rely on reports from men's female partners when determining effectiveness. Concerns surrounding this issue arise as it places women in the position of monitoring their partner's behaviour and giving this information to program staff. This can increase the woman's danger since

she may be pressured by her partner to lie about his behaviour. If she does report his behaviour, whether accurately or inaccurately, she is again at risk of being abused. Notwithstanding these concerns, women's reports are not only an important source of data but also give women an opportunity to express their feelings and thoughts around the program and the man's behaviour. These reports may also increase the validity of research as abuse may be under-reported by other sources (self reports by abusers, police reports).

Programs also rely on a number of measurement scales to measure program success. Instruments are designed to measure many factors such as conflict, control, anger, jealousy, depression, and attitudes towards women. Although this would imply some standardized form of measure, challenges again emerge as not all programs rely on objective measures and those that do, do not necessarily use the same measurement scales. Also, standard measurement scales have been altered by different researchers to meet their objectives, thus they no longer measure factors in the same way.

The above challenges signal the importance of examining the existing evaluation research literature on the effectiveness of counselling groups for men who batter their female partners. Program effectiveness and factors contributing to it must be identified in order to determine if these programs are, in fact, promoting women's safety.

This research examines three aspects of evaluation studies. First, sixteen program evaluation studies will be examined on specific program characteristics. Second, the sixteen program evaluation studies will be reviewed for their methodological problems which may weaken their findings. Finally, program elements which appeared to have an influence on reducing physical abuse will be discussed.

The purpose of this research is to provide some information on which program elements and interventions, if any, are effective in increasing women's safety.

ORGANIZATION OF WORK

Chapter two examines the development of intervention strategies in working with abusive men. It explores traditional models of intervention and the natural progression to current models. The chapter concludes by examining the Domestic Abuse Intervention Project in Duluth, Minnesota. This program was created in 1980 and has fast become a leading model of programs for abusive men (Strodeur and Stille, 1989:61,63,66). The project's strategy is to promote women's safety by reducing men's violence through educational programs and a co-ordinated response from the community (police, courts, probation, social service centres). This approach has provided the framework for many American and Canadian programs (Dobash and Dobash, 1992:180).

Chapter three examines the major theoretical perspectives informing programs for abusive men. This includes educational models, informed by feminist theory, eclectic models, cognitive behavioral approaches and psycho-educational approaches. As well, a description of programs based on each specific model is presented.

Chapter four examines the methodology used in conducting this research. The results of the research are presented in Chapter five, followed by a discussion in Chapter six.

ISSUES TO NOTE

Although gay and lesbian battering is beyond the scope of this thesis, a brief discussion on lesbian battering occurs in Chapter Two to demonstrate some of the shortcomings of feminist

scholarship in this area. As this analysis focuses strictly on men's abuse towards women, the use of gender specific terms will be relied upon. Masculine pronouns and nouns are used throughout when referring to men who are attending the programs.

Although the term partner is used occasionally throughout this work, the word woman is often used when referring to the man's wife or girlfriend. The word partner suggests equality and safety and thus is not reflective of an abusive relationship.

The term treatment is often attached to programs for abusive men. Treatment suggests a pathology as well as a cure. As abuse is not an individual pathology and groups are by no means a cure to stopping abusive behaviour, the term "counselling groups" is often relied upon.

Although there exists no unified feminist perspective on woman abuse, feminist researchers, clinicians, and activists understand woman abuse through the examination of power and gender (Yllo and Bograd, 1988:13). Feminist analysis examines the treatment of women through history and recognizes that a reorganization and restructuring of society is needed for the cessation of woman abuse to occur. When used throughout this work, the term feminist will refer to the above understanding of woman abuse.

The term battered woman, will refer to female recipients of all forms of abuse by their intimate male partners (Yllo and Bograd, 1988:12).

CHAPTER TWO

DEVELOPMENT OF INTERVENTION STRATEGIES FOR ABUSIVE MEN

INTRODUCTION

A number of intervention approaches have been developed to address men's violence towards women in relationships. The progression of such approaches can be directly linked to the changing way in which society understands woman abuse.

Early intervention approaches examined women's behaviour and characteristics which resulted in placing responsibility on women for the violence (Dobash and Dobash, 1992:235). Only with the development of the shelter movement were new forms of intervention introduced which held abusive men responsible for their abusive behaviour and challenged traditional models which maintained the power arrangements in society.

The purpose of this chapter is to explore the development of intervention approaches to gain an understanding of the origin of counselling programs for abusive men. When doing this, an obvious division appears, namely responses by organizations outside the women's movement and responses from within this movement.

Traditional approaches, which will be reviewed, include therapeutic responses which focus on both the woman and the man. Family system approaches, cognitive skills approaches and, finally, feminist responses which challenge the traditional approaches will be discussed. This chapter will conclude by examining a community co-ordinated approach to working with abusive men.

THERAPEUTIC RESPONSES

Characteristics of Women

Professionals in the therapeutic field initially dominated intervention in the area of abuse as it was women involved with abusive partners who came forward for assistance. Professionals concentrated on the characteristics of women to explain men's violence and this soon became the focus of intervention (Faulk, 1977; Snell, Rosenwald and Robey, 1964; Shainess, 1977; Lion, 1977; Symonds, 1979). Snell, Rosenwald and Robey (1964:107) worked with 37 husbands and wives where the husband was charged for assault and battery against his wife. The authors developed a characterization of men and women based on their examinations and interviews. Snell et al. described the wives as aggressive, masculine, sexually frigid, and the husbands as being shy, reasonably hardworking, "mama's boy", and as having a tendency to drink excessively (1964:111). The authors theorized that violence was a means of reducing anxiety that man felt about his ineffectiveness at being male, while at the same time fulfilling his wife's masochistic gratification. Furthermore, the authors theorized that the violence also probably helped the wife deal with her guilt arising from her intense hostility expressed in her controlling and castrating behaviour. Snell et al. (1964) summarize by stating that a husband's behaviour may serve to fill a wife's needs even though she protests it.

Research by Faulk (1977), produced similar findings. Faulk interviewed twenty-three men remanded in custody and charged with assaulting their wives. Based on these interviews, he determined the most common characterization of these men was that they spent a great deal of time trying to please and pacify their wives. Faulk described the women as often being querulous and demanding and found the assault occurred after a period of trying behaviour by the victim (Faulk, 1977:121).

Natalie Shainess (1977) examined the personality problems in the beater's wife. Although Shainess begins by saying women are not to blame for the assault, she goes on to say that women inevitably play a part in the assault as people pick mates responsive to their own (unrecognized) neurotic needs (Shainess, 1977:115). Shainess then concentrates on how the woman can change her behaviour in order to stop wifebeating. She suggests that the woman be willing to consider her own contribution to the problem by focusing on the following issues: what role did I play in eliciting his anger? have I been unfair to him? have I baited, criticized or been extremely demanding? can I avoid triggering his anger? (1977:117). Shainess concludes by saying that if the woman wants the marriage to continue, then she is the one who must make the greatest effort (1977:118).

Intervention with violent men continued to focus on women by examining their backgrounds and upbringing. Victimization in the woman's childhood was thought to be a characteristic of women who become involved in abusive relationships. John Lion (1977) describes his work with violent husbands and their wives and found that the wives played a crucial role in the assaults, and that wifebeating involves the pathologies of both partners (Lion, 1977:127). Based on this work, Lion also theorized that wives who were raised by parents who were violent or abused alcohol expect and evoke similar behaviour from their husbands. Furthermore, Lion, (1977:131) states that intimacy, gentleness and compassion mystify and frighten these women again suggesting that it was the women who were at least partly responsible for the violence.

Alexandra Symonds (1979) writes of her experience as a medical doctor dealing with the issue of wife abuse. She states that professionals in the medical field, including herself, would focus on women provoking their husbands and the satisfaction women got from being assaulted. The

solution at the time was to help women learn either how not to provoke their husbands or to leave if there was a threat of serious abuse.

The above theories and approaches to intervention reflect society's attitude and understanding of violence against women at the time. Focusing largely on women's behaviour and characteristics served to blame women for the violence, and absolve men of taking responsibility for their abuse. Strategies which intervene with women on an isolated basis do not challenge the social structures or the power hierarchies which govern society. This type of intervention ignores the historical context of woman abuse, as well as the social context which, in turn, serves to maintain the status quo.

Characteristics of Men

While some therapeutic models concentrate on the characteristics of women to explain male violence, other therapeutic models concentrate on characteristics of men to explain their violence. The majority of therapeutic approaches that focus on abusive men examine men's personality traits and childhood development (Shupe, Stacey and Hazlewood, 1987; Shainess, 1977; Sonkin, Martin and Walker, 1985).

Childhood Abuse

Shupe, Stacey and Hazlewood (1987:35), examine the role childhood abuse has on men who are abusive in adult relationships. The authors examined 241 men from three area programs which worked with abusive men (Austin Family Violence Diversion Network (Texas), Tyler Family Preservation Project (East Texas), and Arlington Anger Control Program, North Central Texas). Based on these interviews, the authors theorized that feelings such as love, hate, and rage which the

child felt toward his abusive parent(s) were again surfacing in his adult relationship (Shupe, Stacey and Hazlewood, 1987:35). Men who were abused by male role models as children often sought comfort, strength and self worth from their mothers. This emotional dependence on women has carried through to their adult relationships with women. The approach suggests that violence occurs when the man's partner is not aware of his need for security. Violence is thus generated by the men's unconscious dependence on women for emotional strength (Shupe, Stacey and Hazlewood, 1987:36).

Assertiveness

Traumatic childhood events are also said to contribute to adult dysfunctions such as being unable to assert oneself. Abusive men are said to lack the skills necessary to get their needs met in a positive way, and often resort to tactics such as threats and intimidation (Sonkin, Martin and Walker, 1985:44). Fear of rejection guides men to get their needs met by using abusive tactics instead of non-controlling, non-threatening ways (Sonkin, Martin and Walker, 1985:92).

Communication Skills

Shupe, Stacey and Hazlewood (1987:39) found that the men they interviewed were poor communicators who were unable to understand their true feelings about their partners. The authors theorized that these men were often unable to articulate their feelings and emotions which meant that violence became a means of expression.

Impulse Control

Shupe, Stacey and Hazlewood (1987:39) determined from the men they interviewed that they could not communicate their needs or frustrations effectively. For instance, the authors noticed that these men had "short fuses" when attempting to resolve issues in an alternative manner. The authors theorize this was due to early learning that proved to the men that violence is an accepted way of winning disputes (Shupe, Stacey and Hazlewood 1987:40).

Stress and External Factors

External factors such as employment or lack of it, finances, children's behaviour, etc., are said to contribute to abusive behaviour. Natalie Shainess (1977) maintains that men who batter are under a great deal of stress and do not have the tools to deal with this stress. She theorizes that these men are unable to tolerate frustration and as a result, lash out (Shainess, 1977:114). Theories emphasize that men must become aware of the inter-relationship between stress, anger, and violence (Sonkin, Martin and Walker, 1985:92). When treating abusive men, stress must not be under-estimated as it can create considerable tension in a relationship (Sonkin, Martin and Walker, 1985:79).

CRITIQUE OF THERAPEUTIC INTERVENTION

A common element becomes apparent when reviewing the above theories - men whether singly or collectively - are not held responsible for being abusive. Instead, the focus is placed on faulty personalities, traumatic childhoods, and life stresses, which are all factors beyond his control at the moment of abuse (Dobash and Dobash, 1992:240). By focusing on individual traits, such theories completely ignore the wider social and political context of woman abuse. This decontextuali-

zation, along with not holding men accountable for their actions, serves to maintain the existing power arrangements.

Interventions which focused on women's characteristics were challenged by feminist approaches as simply another tactic to blame women for men's abuse and reinforce structural dimensions. By woman-blaming, attention was turned away from men therefore permitting them to continue their abusive behaviour.

Also, explanations which focus on childhood experiences must be examined cautiously. Although some men may copy behaviour they witnessed or survived as a child, other men are repelled by the abuse and would not displace it onto their family.

The therapeutic approach, which has dominated the field in the area of abuse, has contributed to the development of other perspectives such as the Family Systems Approach.

FAMILY SYSTEMS APPROACH

Goldenberg and Goldenberg in Family Therapy: An Overview, suggest that each family member influences and is influenced by the other members (1985:30). In Pragmatics of Human Communication, Watzlawick, Helmick-Beavin, and Jackson theorized that each partner behaves in a manner that is predisposed and at the same time provides a rationale for the behaviour in others (1967:67). With these premises, violent behaviour suggests a basic disturbance in the family's relationship system. Goldenberg and Goldenberg suggest that for family violence to occur, a primary condition of unstable relationships in which certain internal or external stresses trigger a crisis must be present. The family crisis usually ends in psychological or physical damage (1985:77).

As violence is understood in the context of the family, it follows that intervention involves both the man and woman in couple or marriage counselling (Dobash and Dobash, 1992:239). Deborah Sinclair, in Understanding Wife Assault: A Training Manual For Counsellors and Advocates (1985), illustrates the dangers of such counselling. She states that when violence by a man against a woman has occurred in a relationship, there exists an inequality of power. The woman may not feel safe to express herself and often may feel that she has to minimize her partner's abuse and share in the responsibility for fear of further abuse. Sinclair states that individual counselling of the woman must take place until violence by the man has stopped or until the woman is no longer afraid of the man (1985:71).

COGNITIVE SKILLS

Proponents of this approach view battering behaviour as a result of a deficit of certain social skills. Cognitive restructuring therefore focuses on skills training in order to help men abstain from violence. Abusive men have seen their abusive behaviour as effective since they get what they want, and therefore continue to use the behaviour. According to this approach, it is necessary for the men to associate negative consequences with their behaviour. If abuse is seen in terms of a skill deficit, it follows that the techniques relied upon would include anger management training, communication skills, and training in assertiveness and relaxation skills. This type of training is aimed at helping men manage their anger, cope with stress and improve communication skills. (For further discussion, see Chapter 3).

FEMINIST RESPONSE

Proponents of feminist approaches have criticized these traditional models and have suggested that the latter have supported the status quo and male privilege by not holding men accountable. The feminist movement challenged the existing traditional understandings of male violence and provided a framework which is accountable to women and the social movement. The principles of feminist models, which will be outlined below, differ significantly from those belonging to the mainstream.

One of the main differences between the two types of approaches is that the traditional fails to examine the political, social and cultural issues associated with woman abuse (Dobash and Dobash, 1992:246). By not connecting woman abuse to the larger social context traditional approaches serve to reinforce the status quo and have sometimes placed some of the responsibility for the abuse on women. The feminist movement attempts to place woman abuse in a social context by examining issues such as patriarchy and the unequal distribution of power, wealth and opportunities. Feminist strategies help men acknowledge how male dominance is practised in social and individual relationships and how their beliefs about women, men, and power are, to some degree, supported by society.

Traditional methods legitimize men's excuses for violence by explaining abuse as an irrational or impulsive act or as occurring due to external pressures beyond their control. This type of analysis does not hold the man accountable for his actions, therefore having little or no impact on change (Dobash and Dobash, 1992:245). Feminist approaches differ from traditional models since they understand men's abusive behaviour as a choice to maintain control and power in the relationship. Their behaviour is intentional, is supported by their beliefs towards women and is therefore

instrumental in getting their wants met. With this understanding, men are held completely responsible for their choice to be abusive.

This model asks the male perpetrator to tell, step by step, the events surrounding his abusive actions. By providing accounts of his actions (what he said, what he did, how he was physically abusive, the effects on his partner), he will be acknowledging his actions and dispelling the notion that he just lost control. By examining the intentions and beliefs which support his abusive behaviour, he may realize that his actions were not simply the result of a loss of control, but instead a way to regain or maintain his control in the relationship. Also, by examining his abuse in this way, he can realize that his abuse is a choice and he can choose to be non-abusive. Feminist methods help men take responsibility for their actions which is necessary for change to occur.

The fundamental difference between feminist and traditional interventions is that feminist interventions stress the importance of creating a co-ordinated community approach. Shelter advocates believe programs for batterers are more effective and improve women's safety when they work in co-ordination with women's services and other helping professions (Pence and Paymar, 1993:177). For individual and societal change to occur, programs must operate within the existing community efforts to end men's violence towards women (Tiff, 1993:126). The police, prosecutors, judges, probation officers, programs for men, and shelter workers must work together to develop effective strategies for increasing women's safety (Tiff, 1993:126). Consistent responses which hold the man accountable for his actions may, on an individual level, reduce violent behaviour and can also serve to weaken society's attitudes which support woman abuse (Tiff, 1993:130).

A co-ordinated system also responds to many concerns feminist organizations hold about programs for men. An ongoing issue focuses on competition for funding. As resources in this area

are scarce, some representatives of the shelter movement are worried that funding would go to a program for men instead of services which directly assist women (shelters, child care, housing...).

A final concern addresses the issue that men's programs may provide a false sense of hope to women which could increase their risk of future abuse.

A man may use the fact that he is in the program to save his relationship or to get his partner to return to him. As well, if he continues to choose to act abusively, he can use this against his partner by suggesting that perhaps she is the problem since he has been through the program and the abuse is continuing.

Feminist organizations, in support of counselling programs, acknowledge the above concerns and look to co-ordinated programs as a response. In addressing the issue of resources, a co-ordinated system, which includes men's programs, would establish an agreement with those working in the program that services for women would come before men's programs. As well, the program would have to consult the members of the organization before making any program changes which would affect funding.

As part of the program, facilitators would meet regularly with program co-ordinators to ensure accountability and that the program's goals are being met. Feminist groups have also incorporated a partner outreach component to education groups. Partner outreach informs the women of what happens in the program, the criteria used to measure success, the success rate of the program, and the progress of their partners. Services such as individual and group counselling provide women with facts about abuse which, in turn, empower them to make informed decisions.

Although debate continues on the usefulness of men's programs within the feminist movement, many feminist educational programs for men who abuse their female partners were developed through

the battered women's movement. The three major goals of the movement focus on assisting women, challenging male violence, and changing women's position in society (Dobash and Dobash, 1992:29). In creating a co-ordinated approach to address women's safety, educational programs were included in the organization.

The movement recognized that men's beliefs had to be challenged in order for the violence to end, and also realized that the present responses such as suspended sentences, probation, and jail were not accomplishing this. The challenge which the movement is now faced with is determining whether or not men's programs, within the community approach, promote women's safety.

Domestic Abuse Intervention Project

A leading program which appears to have successfully integrated men's groups within its approach is the Domestic Abuse Intervention Program (DAIP) in Duluth, Minnesota. This model is well recognized for its efforts at seeking individual and social change and is recognized as a leading model of programs advocated by profeminist groups (Dobash and Dobash, 1992:180; Pence and Paymar, 1993:171; Canada's Treatment Programs For Men Who Abuse Their Partners, 1994:117).

The counselling component for abusive men was based on the following requirements: women's safety is the primary concern; batterers are held solely responsible for their abuse; and intervention focuses on ending violence and does not protect the batterer from legal sanctions (Pence et al., 1984:480). The following policies were developed to ensure that these requirements were met:

- a) Reduce the screening out process used by the police, a step which would ultimately result in more cases of this nature proceeding to court;

- b) Impose and enforce legal sanctions and provide rehabilitation services to the assailant to deter him from committing further acts of violence;
- c) Provide housing, education, and legal advocacy for women;
- d) Coordinate inter-agency monitoring to ensure that each agency is adhering to the agreed upon policies and procedures.

For the purpose of this paper, it is necessary to focus on item (b), rehabilitation services to the assailant.

Project Background

The program is based on the belief that within us all is the capacity to change (Pence and Paymar, 1992). With this guiding belief, creators of the program set out to design and implement an effective intervention approach for abusive men.

The shelters, through co-ordination with DAIP, sponsored educational workshops for women living in abusive relationships as well as for women who no longer have contact with their abusive male partners. Over two hundred women participated and their input helped the program's creators to develop a framework for understanding the behaviour of abusive men, and for working with abusive men (Pence and Paymar, 1993:2).

These workshops also provided policy-makers with a thorough understanding of the dynamics of abusive relationships and led to the development of an educational program for abusive men which made women's safety a priority. To better understand the Duluth Model, it is useful to consider some of the participants' input.

Women explained abuse as a constant force in the relationship and rejected the notion that battering occurs in a cyclical fashion. Furthermore, theories which described abuse as men's inability to cope with stress were criticized and, alternatively, theories which explained abuse as part of men's behaviour to gain control were supported. This idea is linked with the belief held by women in the workshop that each abusive act can be traced to the intent of the batterer which ultimately supports his goal of maintaining power in the relationship (Pence and Paymar, 1993:2).

The information led to the development of the theory which, in turn, guides the practice on which the Duluth model is based. Proponents of this model subscribe to the notion that violence is used to control people's behaviour. Practitioners under this model are committed to working with abusive men to explore the intent of their abusive behaviour in an attempt to reduce the power abusive men have over their partners (Pence and Paymar, 1993:1).

The Duluth Model stresses that abusive men choose to use different forms of abusive behaviour and must take responsibility for their behaviour. With this framework, men are confronted and challenged on behaviour and language which minimize, rationalize or deny their abuse.

The program, following a feminist approach, acknowledges the importance of re-educating (or in most cases, educating) men on issues such as male privilege, unequal distribution of power in society, and sexism.

The purpose of such discussions is to provide men with an understanding of the advantages they receive from a society that places an emphasis on power, control, and domination, which thereby supports their behaviour to dominate and control their female partners. This is not to suggest that all men are abusive. However, men have benefited unfairly from the distribution of power in society. To illustrate the idea of male privilege, men must simply ask themselves how their lives would be

different if they were female. Responses include the following: access to employment and ability to receive loans would be more difficult; being judged on appearance and not ability would occur; and fear of being victimized by a stranger, acquaintance, or loved one would increase. All these responses point to male privilege which inevitably supports the oppression of women. This re-education process attempts to provide men with the proper insight needed for them to take ownership for their behaviour and commit to being accountable for the choices made. Although this exercise appears to be clear and simple, it is anything but. This exercise, as well as the model itself, is challenging men's beliefs and lifestyle. Many men have equated their beliefs with what is right and when challenged, strongly defend them (Pence and Paymar, 1993:14).

Program Design

The curriculum for the program was developed by dozens of people in the social service field such as shelter workers, probation officers, mental health counsellors, and battered women.

The Duluth program is based on the Power and Control and Equality Wheel. The Power and Control Wheel list the forms of abusive behaviour which are addressed in the program. They are: physical abuse; emotional abuse; verbal abuse; sexual abuse; financial abuse; using male privilege; using the children; threats; isolation; and intimidation. The Equality Wheel lists non-abusive behaviour which is designed to replace abusive behaviour. They are: non-threatening behaviour; respect; trust and support; honesty and accountability; responsible parenting; shared responsibility; economic partnership; and negotiation and fairness. Educational sessions focus on each form of abuse which is captured in the Wheel. The curriculum is designed to challenge men's beliefs and intents which support their abuse and help choose non-abusive behaviours (Pence and Paymar, 1993:7).

Referral Process

As the goal of DAIP is to ensure and promote women's safety, two procedures have been established to ensure this goal is being accomplished. First, upon a man's arrest, the arresting officer or jailor contacts the shelter to inform a worker of what has taken place. The worker is provided with the partner's name, address, and phone number, and contact is made with the woman to provide assistance (Pence and Paymar, 1993:19).

Second, shelter workers review police reports three times a week to provide follow-up to women where arrests were not made. Follow-up consists of counselling (if the woman wishes), referrals, and legal information (Yllo and Bograd, 1988:286). A man who is arrested and found guilty is to contact DAIP within five working days to set up an appointment for intake. During an intake, interviewers probe the following:

- Severity of abuse to assess the level of danger his partner is living in;
- His level of honesty. By questioning him about the particular abusive situation which brought him to the program and comparing his response to police and court reports, the interviewer will be able to determine his level of commitment to the program;
- History and present use of alcohol and drugs. This line of questioning will determine if there is a need for other specialized intervention (e.g., Alcoholics Anonymous, Narcotics Anonymous) to be included in the man's contract;
- The likelihood of him becoming disruptive. If a man refuses to take responsibility for his behaviour and continues to blame his partner for the abuse, he could undermine the group and block opportunities for men who are ready to work on their behaviour;
- His literacy skills. Steps are taken to determine if he has special needs and whether provisions

have been made for providing him with writing and reading assistance (Pence and Paymar, 1993: 21).

It has been the experience of DAIP that certain restrictions must be developed to ensure the program reaches its goal. With this in mind, clients with severe substance abuse problems or who display disruptive behaviour are screened out of the program. Also, if mental illness is diagnosed, and the illness prevents the client from participating in the program, other treatment may be required (Pence and Paymar, 1993:23). The rationale for this is that these clients fail to take ownership for their behaviour and attribute their abuse to other factors in their life such as psychological disorders or drugs and alcohol. Until men are ready to take responsibility for their behaviour, there is little reason for them to be in the group since they will not make changes in their personal life, and also may have a negative effect on the group as a whole (Pence and Paymar, 1993:23).

Project Curriculum

The curriculum, which focuses on ensuring women's safety by ultimately helping men end their abusive behaviour, is accomplished in the following way:

- Ensure that discussions incorporate the effects of abusive behaviour on women. The intention is that, by discussing the wide range of emotional effects felt by women, men will be able to identify abusive behaviour and ultimately put an end to it;
- Help men focus on themselves and their abusive behaviour (Pence and Paymar, 1993:29).
When asked to discuss abusive behaviour, clients tend to begin by explaining their state of mind (e.g., being tired, having a bad day), and then go on to explain that their partner had done something which, in turn, made them "lose it". It is essential that men be challenged in

order for them to realize that they chose to be abusive and ought to take complete ownership for this choice. As well, men attempt to discuss their partner's behaviour in order to discredit her and to make their behaviour appear justified. The woman's behaviour should not be discussed as the counselling groups are oriented to work on the man's behaviour, and since we can only be responsible for our own behaviour, abuse is never justified regardless of another person's behaviour.

- Ensure that facilitators do not get involved in other personal problems. DAIP is designed to end abuse and to discuss the client's abusive behaviour. If this goal is lost, the program fails to meet the needs of the women it is serving. It is therefore essential that facilitators do not let themselves or other members of the group get caught up with anything other than the abusive behaviour.
- Ensure that cultural and social diversities are taken into account (Pence and Paymar, 1993:29). Some clients have lived in societies where woman abuse is not only the norm, but is legal, and to confront the impact of this socialization can be quite challenging.
- Ensure that clients learn non-abusive behaviour by the use of control logs, action plans, videos, role playing, and group exercises (Pence and Paymar, 1993:29).

Objectives of Curriculum

There are two key objectives of the DAIP curriculum:

- To examine with the client the intent of his abusive behaviour so that he will become aware that it is his belief system that supports his abuse and that his abuse is an affective way of controlling his partner's actions, thoughts, and feelings (Pence and Paymar 1993:30).

- To examine the social and cultural context in which the client lives to increase his understanding of how his behaviour is supported (Pence and Paymar, 1993:30).

Steps to Accountability

DAIP makes use of several exercises to help men take responsibility for their behaviour. Two commonly used exercises are action plans and control logs. Action plans are written records of how clients can change their behaviour by outlining specific steps. For instance, non-abusive behaviour such as being respectful of women can be achieved by putting a stop to sarcasm and intimidation and putting one's partner's needs ahead of one's own. Facilitators work on action plans with clients and follow-up on a weekly basis to ensure that they are honouring their action plan.

Control logs are a form of cognitive exercises to help men acknowledge and change their behaviour. The goal is to record the abusive behaviour and identify the intent and the belief which justifies the behaviour. The aim is to assist clients to change their belief system which could change their behaviour (Pence and Paymar, 1993:35).

In order to be accountable to women, consultations are carried out with shelter advocates and residents when planning and implementing the program. DAIP also meets with this Committee before considering any major shifts in policies, and has committed itself to not compete with shelters for funding (Pence and Paymar, 1993:169).

The key element of this program is the co-ordination which exists within the community. Co-ordinators of DAIP monitor policies and procedures of each agency that is involved with the program. Policies and practices at each level of the system were designed to give the consistent, clear

message to batterers that they will be held completely responsible for their actions and the community will no longer tolerate their violence (Pence, 1986:256).

This co-ordinated response is intended to also encourage the community to challenge structural supports for abusive behaviour within their community which will help contribute to creating a safer place for women (Yllo and Bograd, 1988:296).

Program Evaluation

An evaluation of the DAIP counselling program for men was conducted by Melanie Shepard (1993), which held promising results. This evaluation compared men who were at the beginning, middle, and end of the program, and relied on men's self reports and partner's reports. Shepard determined that men in the later phases of treatment were reported by themselves and their partners to be less abusive than men in the earlier stages of the program. This decrease in abuse remained somewhat consistent at a one year follow up where twenty-seven of the thirty-nine women interviewed reported a decrease in abusive behaviour.

CRITIQUE OF FEMINIST INTERVENTION

The feminist movement is committed to working towards the safety of all battered women. However, only recently have feminist writings and interventions addressed the issue of lesbian battering.

Battering between women has been a non-issue in women's organizations since it violates the idea of a safe world among women (Lobel, 1986:78). Lesbian battering has also been a non-issue since it challenged a feminist analysis of woman abuse which understands violence as a mechanism for

control and domination of heterosexual women (Lobel, 1986:10). Lesbian battering clearly did not fit within this perspective.

The feminist community struggled to place this form of battering within a context separate from men's abuse towards women. Their analysis was broadened to encompass the different social factors which support lesbian abuse. Both women and men are socialized in a culture where one member of the family, typically the male, maintains control and order within the home. Feminist theory suggests that the same element of hierarchy and control exists in lesbian relationships (Lobel, 1986:175). Such theory further suggests that lesbian batterers are identifying with the powerful gender as they witnessed the benefits and privileges that power brings and that violence can maintain (Lobel, 1986:175).

CONCLUSION

The development of intervention approaches demonstrates the obvious shift in philosophies which have occurred in the area of woman abuse. Traditional approaches which focused on individual characteristics of men's and women's personalities addressed abuse on an isolated level. By examining abuse in its social and historical context, more recent approaches are addressing abuse on many social levels which will help decrease abuse on an individual and societal level.

CHAPTER THREE

APPROACH TO GROUP PROCESS

INTRODUCTION

A critical issue which is the focal point of this thesis concerns the treatment modality which is most effective in ending abuse. This issue is crucial as the causes of battering will be defined by the type of intervention relied on in group. The most common approaches used to work with abusive men can be categorized as eclectic, cognitive-behavioral, and psycho-educational. Educational components belonging to the eclectic and psycho-educational models are often informed by feminist theory. Current programs which identify themselves as being cognitive-behavioral may also include some components which consist of feminist principles. Programs do not clarify why they choose to combine models, nor do they comment on the compatibility of different program elements. As programs continue to draw from each perspective, challenges around determining which model is most effective increase. As there exists little evidence to establish which model of intervention works most effectively at achieving the goal of ending abuse, this chapter will examine principles of feminist models, program elements of an eclectic, cognitive-behavioral, and psycho-educational approaches along with a program description.

PRINCIPLES OF THE FEMINIST MODEL

Defining abuse is crucial since, if the definition does not include the experiences a woman lives through, it is not being accountable to women. The feminist model recognizes this fact and addresses several forms of abusive behaviour.

Physical violence can range from pushing, shoving, restraining, beating, burning, and murder. Physical violence also includes hitting/kicking and throwing objects as well as abusing pets (The Canadian Panel On Violence Against Women, 1993:153; Pence and Paymar, 1993:98).

Sexual abuse is any sexual activity which is against the wishes of the woman, ranging from unwanted touching to rape, as well as the withholding of affection and/or love.* More specifically, sexual abuse includes any act where the woman has either not given consent or submits to sexual activity (The Canadian Panel On Violence Against Women, 1993:154; Pence and Paymar, 1993:134).

Emotional abuse is any behaviour which serves to undermine self-confidence and intimidate with the purpose of control. Using abusive language, insults, threats, monitoring whereabouts and phone calls, and interfering with choice of friends are all tactics which men employ to control women and destroy their self esteem (The Canadian Panel On Violence Against Women, 1993:153, 154; Pence and Paymar, 1993:107-112).

Economic abuse occurs in abusive relationships, again as a form of control. Men may control finances and deprive women of access to money. Items such as houses and automobiles may only be in his name, and she can be restricted from working outside the home. Not only do these actions make the woman dependent upon her partner, economic abuse also serves the purpose of keeping the woman in the relationship. Often, a man will remind the woman of her financial dependence and will point out that she has nowhere to go and no skills to seek employment (The Canadian Panel On Violence Against Women, 1993:155; Pence and Paymar, 1993:152).

The Philosophy of the Feminist Model

Pro-feminist intervention views abuse in terms of its utility or purpose. Abuse is used intentionally to maintain or regain control and, in simple terms, is used to get one's way. This model holds the man completely responsible for his abuse since he chose to act abusively. To accomplish this goal, this philosophy challenges men on a continuous basis to encourage critical thinking which will help him recognize and take responsibility for his abusive behaviour.

Minimizing

When disclosing physical abuse, for instance, a male perpetrator may state he 'just pushed' his partner when, in reality, he punched her or threw her down a flight of stairs. By asking certain questions, facilitators can lead the men to disclose specific details of what happened. For instance, asking them specific questions such as, where did you push her? Where were the bruises/cuts and how many? Did you use an open or closed hand/fist? Was hospitalization required? If necessary a facilitator will ask a client to demonstrate his actions (Pence and Paymar, 1993:77).

Avoidance

When asked to disclose the abusive incident, some men have trouble doing just that. They tend to bring up problems at work or the financial troubles they are experiencing, before disclosing their abuse. By doing this they are attempting to deny or justify their abusive behaviour, therefore reducing their responsibility. It is important that men focus specifically on the abuse, otherwise colluding with other group members could take place (Pence and Paymar, 1993:79).

Blaming

As another form of denying responsibility, some men will attempt to blame their partners for their abuse (e.g., she was out late, she was with a male friend, she's crazy, she's an alcoholic...). Feminist organizations stress that individuals are responsible for their own behaviour and regardless of another person's behaviour they still have the choice to act non-abusively. If a man defines his partner's actions as abusive, this does not give him the right to be abusive towards her. Since he cannot control her behaviour but can control his, he must be responsible for his actions (Pence and Paymar, 1993:79).

Language

When disclosing abuse, men tend to use words such as "just" (I just pushed her) or I hit her but not hard, and I did not even leave a bruise. Men are asked to say the sentence again and, without the qualifiers, are asked to discuss the difference. This helps them recognize their attempt at minimizing their actions and also helps them feel the full effect of their abuse (Pence and Paymar, 1993:81).

The type of group process in these forms of intervention challenges men's thinking, helps them take ownership for their abusive behaviour, and ultimately may lead to a change in behaviour.

The Framework of the Feminist Model

The feminist model considers each individual experience of abuse being tied into the broader social context. The framework in which abuse is understood is based on the belief that abuse is linked

to the sexist structures of society. Abuse is clearly connected to the patriarchal belief system which guides members of society (The Canadian Panel on Violence against Women 1993:14).

In patriarchal society there are a variety of beliefs and values which can be used to legitimize men's authority over women. Some men feel that controlling women is their right and that they are justified in using violence to maintain this right, thus leading to widespread tolerance of male violence. To address this belief, pro-feminist intervention incorporates educational sessions on sexism, male privilege and gender awareness.

This critical analysis of one's self, and the social context in which abuse occurs, is intended to enable men to take individual responsibility for their abusive behaviour in their personal relationships with women as well as provide them with the awareness and understanding of the oppression faced by women in society (Strodeur and Stille, 1989:64; Pressman, 1991:25).

ECLECTIC MODELS

Programs identified as being eclectic mean the program does not subscribe to one theoretical model. A combination of cognitive-behavioral models, insight and ventilation techniques, interaction models and educational models with feminist principles create eclectic models.

The Turning Point Project

Of the programs included in this report, the Turning Point Project in Prince Edward Island follows an eclectic approach and incorporates an educational model based on feminist theory. This evaluation involved twenty-nine men who had completed the program. There are four theoretical models which guide the program: first, a cognitive component which stresses the recognition of

anger and the available options in dealing with anger; second, a behavioral element that involves the teaching of specific behaviours to prevent violence. Third, an interaction model which focuses on communication skills; and fourth, an educational element, with a feminist view point, which examines issues such as the traditional male social role and the controlling nature of abuse (Gabor, 1993:23). These perspectives guide the groups and determine how men in the group will be re-educated. The program's philosophy adheres to the following principles (Gabor, 1993:23):

- Violent behaviour by men against women is based on underlying societal attitudes and beliefs about men and women.
- Relationships which devalue women support men's control over women.
- Partner abuse is a learned behaviour that can be changed.
- The batterer must take the ultimate responsibility for his behaviour.

The program educates men on gender roles, sexist attitudes and gender inequalities to help them be aware of the beliefs they hold about women and how these beliefs are supported by society.

The Turning Point Project, although eclectic in its approach, adheres to a feminist model which is demonstrated through the program's philosophy (Gabor, 1993:23). The philosophy of the program states that services for women are essential and must be in place before services for abusers are developed (Gabor, 1993:73). To put this philosophy in practice, a partner outreach program was implemented to ensure women's needs are being addressed.

Partners were contacted at least three times during the time men were in the program. During these contacts, women are informed of the program, its limitations, as well as men's progress. As some women associate treatment programs with the cessation of abuse, it is imperative that women have realistic expectations of the program. Women are made aware of resources in the community

such as shelters and counselling services. Partner outreach also counsels women on legal and safety issues, and provides women with a resource kit which contains information on partner abuse and information on legal and other resources (Gabor, 1993:68).

Although this appears to be meeting women's needs, concerns arose when the above process was not being carried through. Counsellors who provided services to the men were also responsible for partner outreach. This component of the program soon became secondary since a counsellor's first priority was to work with the men (Gabor, 1993:69).

By making partner contact a secondary issue, the program was no longer following its original mandate. The issues of women's safety and well-being were not being addressed, and to correct this a partner outreach worker was hired. The partner outreach worker carried out the responsibilities described above as well as worked in coordination with Victim Advocacy Committees. Although this appeared to be accountable to women and meet the program's mandate, at the time of the evaluation of the project, there was no such worker (Gabor, 1993:69).

Fundamentally, the program appears to be accountable to women and their safety, but, as with all programs, practice does not always reflect philosophy. The author of the evaluation provided preliminary suggestions for program staff to consider regarding services to client's partners. These suggestions included: hiring a partner support worker on a part-time basis or on a fee-for-service basis; developing a partnership with existing victim services whereby the latter would be responsible for making some partner contacts. In return, the program may be able to provide assistance to victim services; or the program could pay victim services for each partner they contact (Gabor, 1993:73).

COGNITIVE BEHAVIORAL MODEL

Philosophy of Cognitive-Behavioral Model

The cognitive behavioural model suggests that since violence is a learned behaviour, non-violence can also be learned (MacLeod, 1987:94; Strodeur and Stille, 1989:159).

Proponents of this model perceive abusive behaviour as a deficit of certain social skills. Cognitive restructuring therefore focuses on skills training in order to help men abstain from violence. Abusive men have seen their abusive behaviour as effective since they get what they want and therefore continue to use the behaviour. According to this approach, it is necessary for the men to associate negative consequences with their behaviour.

Framework of Cognitive-Behavioural Model

As this model views abuse in terms of a skill deficit, it follows that the approaches relied upon include anger management training, the acquisition of communication skills and training in assertiveness and relaxation skills. This type of training is aimed at helping men manage their anger, cope with stress, and improve communication skills.

This model believes that abusive men must learn to communicate their feelings in a non-abusive way. Anger management addresses this concern since it teaches men how to control their emotions which will, in turn, enable them to control their behaviour. Assertiveness and relaxation training are aimed at reducing stress, anxiety, and bodily tension, which will help men work out conflicts in a non-violent way. Although many of the programs in this study rely on the cognitive approach, the study of a violence-abatement program conducted by Hamberger and Hastings (1988), best illustrates this model. The program design is described below:

Skills Training for Treatment of Spouse Abusers

Cognitive behavioural intervention is based on the assumption that cognition affects behaviour, and that cognition may be monitored and altered (Dutton, 1986:159). Based on this premise, programs which follow this model emphasize the learning of alternative conflict resolution skills.

Cognitive Restructuring Component

Men learn to monitor, identify, and modify self-talk associated with negative emotional arousal. Men verbally instruct themselves in situations to not be violent. By learning thought switching skills, men also learn the connection between his own self-produced cognitive responses and emotional and behavioral responses (Hamberger and Hastings, 1988:125).

Communication/Assertiveness Component

This component focuses on teaching men to differentiate between assertiveness and aggressiveness through such skills as mutual problem-solving, conflict resolution, giving and receiving positive and negative feedback, coping with verbal aggression in others, and active empathic listening (Hamberger and Hastings, 1988:125).

Coping/Relaxation Component

Men learn through exercise, discussion, and self-monitoring to identify personal physiological areas related to increased arousal and subsequent negative emotion (Hamberger and Hastings, 1988:125).

THE PSYCHO-EDUCATIONAL MODEL

The intended goal of a psycho-educational model is to create change in men's attitudes and behaviours. This model thus relies on elements of the cognitive-behavioural and educational approaches (Adams, 1988). When addressing attitudes, the psycho-educational model examines men's attitudes towards women, sexism, stereotypes, and social conditioning, and the effects of abuse on women. This model also challenges men's denial, justifications, and minimization of their abusive behaviour. Similar to other models, psycho-educational models vary in the extent in which attitudes are addressed. Behaviour is addressed by teaching skills and techniques similar to those belonging to the cognitive-behavioral model. Skills such as identifying anger cues, relaxation and assertiveness training, and learning non-violent alternative behaviour are part of the psycho-educational model (Adams, 1988).

The Men's Educational Workshop Program

In the evaluation study, "Group Treatment For Abusive Men: Process And Outcome", Rosenbaum (1986) evaluates The Men's Educational Workshop Program. This program follows a psycho-educational model where the first four group sessions addressed attitudes and the remaining two sessions concentrated on behavioural training. The following premises underlie the first four sessions: each person is responsible for his/her behaviour; provocation does not justify abusive behaviour; violence is a behaviour the aggressor chooses to use and nobody can make you do something you do not want to do (Rosenbaum, 1986:609). These premises are used to challenge men on the loss of control argument, especially when alcohol or drugs are present. The facilitators suggest that men are in fact trying to gain control of a situation by using violence. Also, if men state

they are only abusive when they use alcohol or drugs, then they are choosing to be violent when they choose to use substances (Rosenbaum, 1986:609). The content of a typical group session is described below.

Weeks One to Four: Attitudes

- alter attitudes conducive to spousal violence
- examine effects of abuse on women
- challenge negative attitudes towards women
- challenge sexist beliefs

Weeks Five and Six: Behaviour

- teach men to identify the cues that violence is imminent (physical, cognitive and behavioral cues)
- teach men to take non abusive "time outs"
- teach alternative nonviolent behaviour
- teach relaxation training to reduce tension
- men are provided with a self-help aggression-control book.

This program relied on male and female co-facilitators as program co-ordinators recognized the advantages of this structure. First, this leadership models an assertive, non-abusive male-female relationship. Second, this type of leadership also recognized women and men as being equal, and, finally, the presence of a woman may make the group more accountable as male facilitators may collude with men in the group (Rosenbaum, 1986:609).

As this model appears to be combining elements from the cognitive-behavioral and feminist-educational models, the psycho-educational model will not be discussed in the following section.

DIFFERENCES BETWEEN COGNITIVE-BEHAVIORAL AND FEMINIST PRINCIPLES

The feminist and cognitive behavioral principles differ significantly in their philosophy and framework which, in turn, defines how each model understands woman abuse.

Differences in Philosophy

The philosophy of a program is crucial as it determines how abuse is viewed within the program. With regard to philosophy, the two models differ in the following ways:

- Pro-feminist approaches understand abuse as a choice to have power over and control of women (Adams, 1988:10; Dobash and Dobash, 1992:248).
- Cognitive-behavioral programs approach abuse as a skill deficit which can be corrected by skill training (Adams, 1988:10).

The first model is a re-educational process where men are completely responsible for their choice to be abusive. They examine beliefs and intents, identify all their forms of abuse, and suggest alternatives to power and control (Adams, 1988:11; Dobash and Dobash, 1992:248).

The cognitive behavioral approach suggests that abuse occurs due to a remediable skill deficit. The approach implies that men's abuse, while capable of being corrected, is currently out of their control. This suggests that they were not or are not responsible for their actions (Adams, 1988:10).

Differences in Framework

The feminist model recognizes that men's individual abuse is supported by our patriarchal social structure. This model reflects women's experiences and defines the problem in a manner which allows for social change (Tift, 1993:90).

The cognitive-behavioral approach views abuse as an individual shortcoming and therefore fails to recognize how woman abuse is tied to the larger social problem (Adams, 1988:11). This is clearly illustrated by the framework which they follow. The approach makes use of anger management, stress reduction, conflict resolution skills. It does not explain why men have a skill deficit when only interacting with their female partner (Holmes and Lundy, 1990). Some men are able to manage their anger with colleagues or supervisors, however, are unable to do the same when with their female partner. As well, the approach does not explain how non-abusive men, under similar stressful conditions, do not abuse their partners (Adams, 1988:11).

When examining the two programs discussed in this chapter, the "Turning Point Project" and "Skills Training for Treatment of Spouse Abusers", it is evident that the pro-feminist approach is accountable to women and their safety. A partner outreach program is an essential component of pro-feminist programs, and, in most cases, is the woman's first contact with a social agency (Dankwort, 1991:39; Davies et al., 1995:7). Some cognitive behavioral programs do not have such a service in place which raises concern around safety and empowerment issues (Burns et al., 1991:53).

Through this analysis, it becomes increasingly clear that cognitive-behavioral programs are attempting to treat or "fix" abusive men. Feminist organizations have criticized this approach on the basis that men can learn the skills and appear to successfully complete the program when, in reality, no change in their behaviour has occurred. A man can learn anger management, negotiation skills, and communication skills; however, if he believes he has the right to control his partner, these skills will have little effect (Adams, 1988:12).

Feminist organizations operate on the premise that in order to reduce/cease abusive behaviour, men must be challenged on their beliefs, attitudes, and intentions, as well as gain an understanding of the effects of their abuse on their partners for change to occur (Dobash and Dobash, 1992:244).

CONCLUSION

This chapter outlined the theoretical framework most often used in treatment programs. As demonstrated, programs often incorporate components of other models thus making it difficult to determine which theory is working most effectively. Researchers conducting evaluation studies need to take this into account and attempt to determine the nature of influence different aspects of the program have on program outcome.

Also, as described, some theoretical models are significantly different in their philosophy and understanding of woman abuse. However, in some cases, these differing models rely on each other's components. This is best illustrated when cognitive-behavioral programs incorporate feminist perspectives into their model. For instance, cognitive-behavioral programs understand the root causes of violence to be based in men's anger and of a deficit of skills. Feminist perspectives differ considerably as they understand abuse to be an intentional act to maintain power and control. As both models differ on this crucial point, it would seem that programs which draw upon components of each model would be inconsistent. Yet, in practice, such programs exist. These programs do not mention whether these models are compatible, nor do they provide a rationale for why they would rely on components which differ on their understanding of abuse.

CHAPTER FOUR

METHODOLOGY

COLLECTION OF EVALUATION STUDIES

A total of seventeen program evaluations examining treatment programs for abusive men were found. Twelve of the evaluation programs are based in the United States and the remaining five in Canada (see Appendix B).

Meredith, Burns, and Paquette (1991) provide a list of eighteen evaluation studies. A total of eight of the published studies were obtained through journals located at the libraries of the University of Ottawa and Carleton University.

The National Clearing House on Family Violence (1989) has devised a list of existing programs for abusive men in Canada. Program personnel recommended that I contact social work departments at various Canadian Universities. This led to the retrieval of two studies. Six unpublished program evaluations were gathered through the efforts of Karl Hansen, at the Ministry of the Solicitor General of Canada in Ottawa.

This research will be divided into three sections. The first section will provide a descriptive analysis of program evaluation studies based on six independent variables. This information will provide some insight into the programs themselves and will demonstrate how evaluation studies vary considerably in terms of these independent variables.

SECTION ONE: DESCRIPTIVE ANALYSIS OF PROGRAM EVALUATIONS

Independent Variables

These characteristics include the theoretical model adopted by the program, timeframe of program, program facilitators, the extent of follow-up and of partner contact, and forms of abuse addressed by the evaluation.

Theoretical Model

The theoretical framework of the program is the underlying basis of a group's understanding of woman abuse and, therefore, plays a critical role in the way in which abuse will be addressed. The types of theoretical framework relied upon in the programs include cognitive-behavioral, psycho-educational, and eclectic models. Each study was categorized according to the author's classification.

Timeframe

To determine if the length of a program has an impact on outcome measures, the timeframe for each of the evaluated programs was examined. Timeframe is defined as program length in number of weeks. Not all reports specified the number of times the group met per week nor the number of hours per week. Programs which lasted twelve weeks or less, were categorized as short term, while programs which spanned over twelve weeks were grouped as long term. Comparing short term programs to long term programs may enable one to determine whether or not program length has an influence over particular outcome measures.

Facilitators

Programs vary in terms of group facilitators. Programs utilize either male facilitators working alone or a man and woman co-facilitating the group. This variable was examined to determine if the gender of facilitators had an effect on changing men's behaviour.

Follow-up and Partner Contact

Most of the evaluation studies have a follow-up period to determine the rate of abuse after program completion. Some evaluation studies also include contacting clients' partners at the follow-up stage to corroborate men's reports. Most evaluation studies use a questionnaire to determine rates of abuse. This is administered to the women by phone or by mail. Some studies conduct face-to-face or phone interviews with the women. These interviews are open-ended and allow the women to express themselves in a freer way. Other evaluation studies had no contact with clients' partners. Evaluation studies will be grouped according to the type of involvement they had with the women. Categories will be divided as follows: questionnaires; interviews; and no contact.

Definition of Abuse

A definition of abuse should include any act carried out with the intention to physically, emotionally, or spiritually harm another person. A definition of abuse needs to recognize abuse as a pattern of behaviours or a constant force in women's lives, instead of isolated incidents of abuse. This definition of abuse may help those who haven't experienced abuse to better grasp the experiences of battered women and their partners.

A broad definition of abuse, as listed above, appreciates the many forms of abusive behaviour, and expands our understanding of the control exercised over women's lives (Holmes and Lundy, 1990:13). As well, this type of definition will better address the needs of battered women and the problems of the men who abuse them. However, the danger of broad definitions exist in the possibility of labelling all behaviours by men, as well as women, as abusive. If virtually any behaviour can be called abuse, the concept may have less validity. To prevent this from happening, two issues would need to be addressed. First, is the abusive act occurring in isolation, or is it part of a pattern of abusive behaviours? Second, what is person's intent? If abuse is re-occurring in the relationship, and the intent is to get one's needs met, the act can be labelled abusive. Recently, instruments have been designed to measure a more comprehensive definition of abuse. For instance, the Index of Controlling Behaviours (Meredith and Burns, 1990) and the Abusive and Controlling Behaviour Inventory (Davies et al., 1995) address physical, emotional, sexual, and financial abuse; threatening, isolating, and controlling behaviour; and decision making, and effects of abuse on partners. Both instruments also recorded the frequency of abusive behaviours. In addition, Davies et al. incorporated an open-ended question section to gather information from the man and his partner. This information provides a better understanding of the nature and extent of abuse.

Definitions which include one or two forms of abuse, normally physical and sexual also have strengths and weaknesses. Acts of physical and sexual abuse are normally straightforward, if the respondent is being honest, and are thus more easily measured than acts of control and decision making. This provides for evaluations which are able to make claims about the reduction of abuse. However, by only measuring a couple of forms of abuse, studies may inaccurately report an elimination of abuse, when in fact other forms of abuse are occurring, which may be just as, if not

more harmful, than physical abuse. By not appreciating the full extent of abuse, we may be doing a disservice to both men and women.

Therefore, the way in which a program defines abuse will have a direct influence on its success rate. If the program does not recognize all forms of abuse which affect women's lives, it will have a reduced effect on promoting women's emotional and physical safety. Possible forms of abuse which may be addressed by programs are physical abuse, sexual abuse, emotional and psychological abuse, verbal abuse, financial abuse, isolation, threats, intimidation, and controlling behaviour. To ensure that all forms of abuse are properly addressed, the men's program within the Domestic Abuse Intervention Project, Duluth, Minnesota has based program content on different forms of abuse. For example, two workshops address physical violence, the following two address sexual abuse, and so on (See Pence and Paymar 1986; 1993).

SECTION TWO: METHODOLOGICAL PROBLEMS

The second section will review the methodological problems which weaken the findings of the evaluation studies. Five types of limitations will be discussed: the nature and extent of contact made with the women; rate of follow-up response; current status of the relationship (at follow-up); lack of services offered by the programs to women; use of control groups; and definition of abuse.

SECTION THREE: INFLUENCE OF PROGRAM ELEMENTS OVER PHYSICAL ABUSE

The third section attempts to determine which, if any, program elements, have an influence over reducing physical abuse. Four program elements that appeared in at least three evaluation studies were retained. These elements, which will be described below, include: attitudes towards

women; accepting responsibility for abusive behaviour; level of threats; and anger management. Evaluation studies attempted to determine if treatment had an impact on these four items, and were thus considered outcome measures. For the purposes of this research, these four measures, which will be referred to as program elements, will be used to determine their impact on reducing physical abuse. For instance, do programs that include the element of addressing men's attitudes towards women have an effect on reducing men's rate of physical abuse?

Where some positive outcomes were identified with respect to a given program element, the program was seen as promoting some change in clients' abusive behaviour. Where no positive outcomes were found on any specific program elements, it was determined that the program had no effect on men's abusive behaviour. This dichotomy was necessary due to the small number of programs included in this analysis. The following is a description of one outcome measure, reduction of physical abuse, and program elements which may have an impact on this measure.

Reduction of Physical Abuse

Reduction or elimination of physical abuse is often the key measurement for determining program effectiveness.

Four measurements are relied upon when measuring the cessation or reduction of abuse: the Novaco Anger Scale; self-report; woman's reports; police reports; and the Straus Conflict Tactics Scale.

Improvement In Attitudes Towards Women

Studies define this element as men developing attitudes which would support equality with partners. This is achieved through dispelling myths and stereotypes, challenging sexist beliefs, and promoting equality within the home (i.e., child care, home care, decision-making). Two forms of measurement are relied upon to measure change in men's attitudes: the Novaco Anger Scale, and self-reports.

Accepting Responsibility

Accepting responsibility is defined as a man taking complete responsibility for his actions and particularly his choice to be abusive. This was measured by the Heimler Scale of Social Functioning, the Basic Personality Inventories, self-reports, the Index of Controlling Behaviour, and the Partner Abuse Index.

Reduction In The Use Of Threats

Threats are defined as men threatening to use violence against their partners to gain or regain control of a situation. Threats were measured by the Conflict Tactics Scale and men's self reports.

Anger Management

Anger management is defined as learning methods to deal non-abusively with conflict. If one reduces his anger, it may have an influence on reducing abuse. This element is measured by the following scales: the Novaco Anger Scale; the Heimler Scale of Social Functioning; and Basic Personality Inventories.

LIMITATIONS FACING THIS RESEARCH

This research was faced with several limitations which rendered it near impossible to make any conclusive statements. The first challenge encountered was in collecting evaluation studies. Although treatment programs exist in the hundreds, evaluation studies are relatively few (Burns et al., 1991:9). Seventeen evaluation studies in total were collected; however, one was excluded from this research since its theoretical model differed from the sixteen others. Any conclusions made based on this evaluation would be overwhelming generalizations as there existed no basis for comparison.

Evaluation studies differed considerably in forms of the information they provided. Comprehensive evaluation studies included detailed information on the program which was evaluated. Other evaluation studies, however, failed to provide information on issues such as group facilitators, definitions of abuse, selection criteria, client history, and the number of men who were still involved with their partner following program duration. In the majority of cases, evaluation studies also failed to describe the forms of measurement used to assess outcome, and did not give details of the types of questions used in client self-reports and partner reports. Evaluation studies also differed in specific areas hampering treatment program comparison, particularly with respect to effectiveness. Evaluation studies included in this study differed on the following: length of follow-up; follow-up response; information on the status of relationship; forms of measurement; control groups; definition of effectiveness; and the context in which the evaluation occurred and outcome measures.

Follow-Up Period

Some evaluation studies did not collect any information on clients after treatment completion. Others maintained contact for a specific period of time, anywhere from three months to three years,

with the majority appearing to be six months. Although this is not a realistic length of time to determine the impact of the program, it may be pointless to conduct longer follow-ups given the poor client response rates reported by the studies.

Follow-Up Response

Maintaining contact with clients after program completion is challenging. Some evaluation studies did not provide the number of men or women they were able to contact and, of those that did, it appears that response rates were quite low compared to the number of program completers. Burns et al. (1991) found that on average, only twenty-five to fifty percent of clients are reached at follow-up. Burns et al. (1991) suggest that the clients who can be reached are often those who are the most stable and co-operative, therefore, most likely to show an improvement.

Status of Relationship

Most evaluation studies did not give details as to the status of the relationship. For instance, the couple may have separated since completion of treatment or there could be a court order for the client to stay away from his partner. This information is crucial, since the lack of opportunity to abuse may be mistaken for program success.

Forms of Measurement

Evaluation studies rely on a multitude of forms of measurement such as the Conflict Tactics Scale, the Partner Abuse Index, the Novaco Anger Scale, the Index of Controlling Behaviour, and police or court reports. Also, some studies rely only on men's self reports, while others rely on both

men's and women's reports of violence. Reports by men are subject to criticism as men may be inclined to report improved behaviour whether it has occurred or not. Although reports by women appear to add credibility, there are a number of reasons for why a woman may not disclose the abusive behaviour. For instance, she may be pressured by her partner to not report the abuse, she may fear that the information provided by her may get back to her partner, or she may be minimizing the abuse in the hopes that the relationship will improve. Official reports are known to underestimate the accurate number of violent incidents and some scales, such as the Conflict Tactics Scale, are not gender specific and only measure physical abuse. Researchers often modify an existing scale, such as the Conflict Tactics Scale or the Novaco Anger Scale, but do not describe how the scale was modified.

Control Groups

Most evaluations rely on a pre- and post-test of treated clients. Clients are asked to complete some form of scale or questionnaire in order to rate his progress from beginning to completion of the program. The absence of a control group makes it impossible to determine whether or not men would have shown the same decreases without treatment. The experience of the criminal justice system or family pressures may perhaps produce the same amount of change as does a treatment group. Evaluation studies which do rely on a control group provide a stronger basis for determining the effectiveness of programs.

Definition of Effectiveness

This issue by far created the greatest challenge in trying to determine which type of treatment reduced abusive behaviour. Some evaluation studies determined a program to be effective if a reduction in physical abuse occurred. Other studies required a complete cessation of physical abuse, while still other studies required a reduction in physical, psychological and sexual abuse. As there exists no standard definition of effectiveness, program evaluations are measuring different outcomes, thus rendering impossible a comparative analysis among programs. Also, since the majority of evaluations measure only physical abuse, it is impossible to determine if these reductions are accompanied by increases or decreases in other forms of abuse.

Context of Evaluation and Outcome Measures

Program evaluations can be conducted internally by program staff or externally by independent researchers. Also, evaluators can rely on success criteria determined by the program or develop their own. Of the sixteen evaluation studies, fifteen gave some information on these issues.

It appears that eight programs were evaluated by external evaluators (Saunders and Hanusa, 1986; Rosenbaum, 1986; Farley and Magill, 1988; Hamberger and Hastings, 1988; Chen et al., 1989; Burns et al., 1990; Harrell, 1991; Gabor, 1993). Of the eight, only three provide information regarding what departments provided funding for the evaluations. Burns et al. (1990) were contracted by Ontario's Ministry of Correctional Services to conduct an analysis on the treatment effectiveness of batterer's programs. Harrell (1991) was contracted by the State Justice Institute, Baltimore, Maryland, to evaluate the impact and effectiveness of a court-ordered treatment program

as a disposition in domestic violence cases. Gabor (1993) conducted a program evaluation of The Turning Point Project on behalf of the Department of Justice Canada, which is one of the three Canadian federal government departments providing principal funding to the program.

Of the eight evaluation studies which were conducted by external evaluators, it appears that three developed their own outcome criteria (Chen et al., 1989; Burns et al., 1990; Harrell, 1991). The remaining five programs relied on outcome measures either similar to or established by the programs that were being evaluated (Saunders and Hanusa, 1988; Rosenbaum, 1986; Farley and Magill, 1988; Hamberger and Hastings, 1988; Gabor, 1993). In An Evaluation Study of The Turning Point Project: A Treatment Program for Men who Batter their Partners, Gabor stated that success cannot be gauged according to some arbitrary standard and that it must be viewed in the context of a program's objectives, available resources, and the socio-political situation (1993:4). For instance, areas of the program which may be considered limitations (poor recordkeeping, slow response to referrals) need to be viewed in a context of inadequate resources (Gabor, 1993:89). As well, the objectives of the evaluation were closely aligned with the program's objectives (Gabor, 1993:4). For example, the evaluation measured the impact treatment had on reducing forms of abuse specifically addressed by the program.

The other evaluation studies did not explain why they relied on outcome measures developed by the program.

Neidig (1986), DeMaris and Jackson (1987), Edleson and Syers (1990, 1991), Bidgood et al. (1991), and Palmer et al. (1992) conducted quasi-experimental studies where the authors were responsible for developing the program as well as the evaluation. In these cases, the evaluation component of the study was designed to measure the objectives of the program.

In light of these methodological problems, attempts to make any conclusive statements about which, if any, program elements have an influence over change is near impossible. In acknowledging this fact, this research will attempt to make interpretations based on the qualitative information provided by evaluation studies.

CHAPTER FIVE

RESULTS

SECTION ONE: DESCRIPTIVE ANALYSIS OF PROGRAMS

Theoretical Model

Eight programs were identified as following a cognitive-behavioral theoretical model (Edleson et al., 1984; Neidig, 1986; Saunders and Hanusa, 1986; Dutton, 1986; DeMaris and Jackson 1987, Farley and Magill, 1988; Hamberger and Hastings, 1988; Harrell, 1991). Of these eight, only four appear to be based exclusively on a cognitive-behavioral theory. The program which Edleson et al. (1984) evaluated focused on teaching men relaxation techniques to reduce men's physiological tensions and attempted to reduce men's cognitions which are based on faulty thinking (Edleson et al., 1984:19). The Domestic Conflict Containment Program evaluated by Neidig (1986) relied on a skill building approach that is based on cognitive restructuring. Principles of this model include anger control, stress management, communication, and conflict containment (Neidig, 1986:277). In "The Outcome of Court-Mandated Treatment for Wife Assault: A Quasi Experimental Evaluation", Dutton (1986) described the program as a group therapy model which focuses on behaviour modification, anger management, and assertiveness training (Dutton, 1986:167). In "Skills Training for Treatment of Spouse Abusers: An Outcome Study", Hamberger and Hastings (1988) evaluated a cognitive-behavioral program which concentrates on cognitive restructuring, communication, and assertiveness training, and active-coping relaxation training (Hamberger and Hastings, 1988:125).

The remaining four programs which identify themselves as being cognitive- behavioral differ from the above mentioned programs as they incorporate an educational component which appears

to be informed by feminist theory. In "Cognitive-Behavioral Treatment for Men who Batter: The Short Term Effects of Group Therapy", the treatment group incorporates consciousness raising of the roots of violence in addition to the assertiveness and relaxation training, and the cognitive restructuring component (Saunders and Hanusa, 1986:362). In addition to the cognitive-behavioural component of the program in "Batterers' Reports of Recidivism after Counselling" (DeMaris and Jackson, 1987), part of the program was spent examining male batterer's expectations of their partner and determining whether these expectations were realistic or fair. In "An Evaluation of a Group Program for Men who Batter", Farley and Magill (1988) also examine a program categorized as cognitive-behavioural which includes a component which examines men's attitudes towards women (Farley and Magill, 1988:57). Finally, in "Evaluation of Court-Ordered Treatment for Domestic Violence Offenders", the program identifies with the cognitive-behavioural theory. However, it includes an educational component which includes the cycle of violence and sex role stereotyping (Harrell, 1991:7).

In this case, it would appear that programs identifying with one particular theoretical model rely on components belonging to other models. In the eight cases listed above, it appears that earlier programs (1984-1986) follow a more pure interpretation of cognitive behavioral theory than do those from 1986-1991. Although no information is provided on why cognitive-behavioral programs began adopting educational components, one might conclude it was to enhance the program.

Four programs were identified by evaluators as following a psycho-educational approach (Rosenbaum, 1986; Meredith and Burns, 1990; Edleson and Syers, 1990; Palmer et al., 1992). In "Group Treatment for Abusive Men: Process and Outcome", Rosenbaum (1986) describes the program content as being divided into two sections: attitude change and behaviour change. The first

section examines the effects of abuse on women by viewing films where women are discussing effects such as terror, stress, and humiliation. This component also includes an examination of sexist stereotypes, negative attitudes towards their partners and women in general, and treating women as second class citizens (Rosenbaum, 1986:609). The last component may be linked to violence since traditionally, men have been placed at the head of the household. This belief may be operating among abusive men and could explain why they chose to be abusive (Rosenbaum, 1986:609). The second section focuses on behavioral changes which include cognitive restructuring, communication training, and relaxation training. Similarly, in "Evaluation of Batterer's Treatment Programs", Meredith and Burns (1990) found that the psycho-educational approach used in programs included components focused on attitude change and behavioral change. The first part examined sex role stereotypes, rigid expectations, and the difference between healthy and unhealthy relationships. The second part focused on identifying pre-violence cues, learning alternatives to violence, understanding the nature and causes of violence, and relaxation and assertiveness training (Meredith and Burns, 1990:3). Palmer et al. (1992) in "Group Treatment Program for Abusive Husbands: Long Term Evaluation" evaluated a psycho-educational program based on modelling values, teaching skills for dealing with anger, reinforcing self-esteem and improving relationships with women. This last component included an examination of historical perspectives of wife abuse, changing social values, and effects of violence on women (Palmer et al. 1992:279). In "Relative Effectiveness of Group Treatments for Men who Batter", Edleson and Syers (1990) evaluate an educational group which relies on lectures, videotaped and role-played demonstrations, and short group discussions. Program content focused on understanding the roots of one's violence, its impact on women and children, and how to stop abusive behaviour (Edleson and Syers, 1990:11).

It would appear that the four programs mentioned above are following the principles of a psycho-educational approach. They all attempt to create change on two levels: attitude and behaviour. Edleson and Syers (1990) provide a brief discussion on the emergence of educational programs. They attribute the growth of this model to the following three factors: the influence of the educational model developed by Ellen Pence and Michael Paymar in Duluth, Minnesota; the influence of the battered women's movement view that violence is learned and is socially reinforced; and the understanding that abusive men require a re-education and not a therapeutic group focused on personality changes (Edleson and Syers, 1990:11).

Five programs were identified as following an eclectic model (Chen et al., 1989; Edleson and Syers, 1990; Bidgood et al., 1991; Gabor, 1993). In "Evaluating the Effectiveness of a Court Sponsored Abuser Treatment Program", Chen et al. (1989) evaluated a program consisting of two phases. The first phase of the program was informational. It identified the roots of family violence and exposed group members to people in the criminal justice system (judge, prosecutor, defense attorney, police officer, and a social worker who works with abused women). The second phase of the program examined the following issues: control, denial, and isolation; stereotypes, gender roles, and expectations; techniques for avoiding violence and stress reduction (Chen et al., 1989:312). This program was not identified as following one distinct theoretical model which suggests that it relies on several components belonging to different models. For this reason, and due to the unique component in phase one and the different approaches relied upon in phase two, this program was categorized as being eclectic. In "An Evaluation of the Co-ordinated Family Violence Treatment Program in the Waterloo Area", Bidgood et al. (1991) evaluate another eclectic program. The author explained that the eclectic approach was used because most current authors feel it is advisable to

adopt several viewpoints in addressing wife abuse (Bidgood et. al., 1991:2). In "An Evaluation Study of the Turning Point Project: A Treatment Program for Men who Batter their Partners", Gabor (1993) evaluates a program which the counsellors identify as being eclectic. The program incorporates several components belonging to different theoretical approaches. The counsellors describe the program as having components from the insight model, the cognitive-behavioral model, and the educational model with a feminist point of view. In "Relative Effectiveness of Group Treatments for Men who Batter", Edleson and Syers (1990) also evaluate a group which follows an eclectic model. This model combines educational and self help components. The educational model is consistent with that described above. The self-help model was minimally structured and facilitated by a graduated member of the group. The facilitator was required to have been non-violent for one year and to have received extensive training in leading a self-help group. Group members defined topics to discuss; however, at some point, sessions on responsibility for abuse, the cycle of violence, and training in cognitive and behavioral techniques had to be introduced (Edleson and Syers, 1990:12).

Timeframe

Only two programs included in this pool were long term programs - more than twelve weeks in length (Edleson and Syers, 1990; Gabor, 1993). These programs were 32 weeks and 14-16 weeks, respectively. Meredith and Burns' (1990) program evaluation varied from 9 to 24 weeks. The remaining 13 programs were short term programs, 12 weeks or less in length. More specifically, programs evaluated by Edleson et al. (1984), Saunders and Hanusa (1986), DeMaris and Jackson (1987), Farley and Magill (1988), Hamberger and Hastings (1988), Edleson and Syers (1990), and

Harrell (1991) were 12 week programs. Programs evaluated by Neidig (1986), Bidgood et al. (1991) and Palmer et al. (1992) were 10 weeks in length. Chen et al. evaluated a program 8 weeks long, and programs evaluated by Rosenbaum (1986) and Dutton (1986) were six weeks in length. Every program which identifies itself with a cognitive-behavioral approach is a short term program. Both programs which were long term incorporated an educational component.

Facilitators

Six evaluation studies did not provide information on the facilitators (Neidig, 1986; Dutton, 1986; DeMaris and Jackson, 1987; Hamberger and Hastings, 1988; Chen et al., 1989). Five evaluation studies indicated that programs were facilitated by men (Edleson et al., 1984; Farley and Magill, 1988; Edleson and Syers, 1990, 1991; Palmer et al., 1992). Of these five, only the evaluation by Farley and Magill (1988) provided a rationale for relying on men. The program developers felt having men lead groups would be less threatening for clients who tend to project frustration toward their female partners (Farley and Magill, 1988:56). The remaining six evaluation studies reported that wherever possible, teams of men and women co-facilitated groups (Saunders and Hanusa, 1986; Rosenbaum, 1986; Meredith and Burns, 1990; Bidgood et al., 1991; Harrell, 1991; Gabor, 1993). The evaluation study conducted by Gabor (1993) explained the importance of having men and women co-facilitate groups. First, clients benefitted from the point of view of a woman, and second, clients were able to see constructive interactions between men and women (Gabor, 1993:27). Of the six programs which relied on men and women facilitators, all but one program incorporated an educational component. This may suggest that programs which include some type of analysis of the roots of violence or its effects on women see the significance of including women facilitators.

Follow-Up Period and Persons Contacted

Fifteen evaluation studies provided some type of follow up after program completion. Nine of the fifteen provided follow-up for a period up to and including six months (Edleson et al., 1984; Neidig, 1986; Saunders and Hanusa, 1986; Farley and Magill, 1988; Meredith and Burns, 1990; Edleson and Syers, 1990; Bidgood et al., 1991; Harrell, 1991; Gabor, 1993). Of these nine, six evaluation studies had some type of contact with the men's partners. Edleson et al. (1984) provided follow up for 21 weeks by phone with the clients. Contact with the partners did not occur due to constraints on the part of the agency (Edleson et al., 1984:21). Neidig's (1986) evaluation study reports that a phone interview with men and their partners took place independently six months after program completion. This contact was established to determine if additional episodes of violence had occurred. The evaluation study reported that this follow up procedure had not been implemented in a consistent manner and did not specify the number of people they were able to contact (Neidig, 1986:278). In the evaluation study by Saunders and Hanusa (1986), the Conflict Tactics Scale was administered by phone to the client and his partner six months after the man had completed the group. Women were included in this process in the attempt to correlate their reports with the men's self reports. In "Evaluation of a Group Program for Men who Batter", Farley and Magill (1988) administered a follow up questionnaire three months after program completion to the men. Meredith and Burns (1990) made contact with men and women three months after program completion, which the authors recognized as being too short a time period (Meredith and Burns, 1990:44). In "Relative Effectiveness of Group Treatments for Men who Batter", Edleson and Syers (1990), conducted follow up interviews six months after program completion. This follow up was conducted with women over the phone in an interview which lasted about twenty minutes. If the woman could not

be reached, the man was interviewed. In the evaluation by Bidgood et al. (1991), a six month follow up was conducted with the men. In " An Evaluation Study of the Turning Point Project: A Treatment Program for Men who Batter" (Gabor, 1993), both men and women were contacted three months after program completion. The author acknowledges that improvements based on the three month follow-up could be attributed to the "cycle of violence" theory. For instance, the three month follow-up period may have coincided with the "honeymoon" phase of the cycle.

Interviews consisting of a modified Partner Abuse Index were conducted over the phone. Phone interviews were chosen since women preferred to maintain anonymity and since face-to-face interviews may create conflicts with their partners. The evaluation study by Harrell (1991) conducted follow-up with both men and their partners separately, either by phone or in person. To maximize response rates, those participating in follow-up received payment for their time. Offering payment also served to differentiate the interview process from police and court involvement where a person may have no choice but to attend.

The above information suggests that contact with the women was for the purpose of adding credibility to the forms of measurement relied upon in the evaluation which most commonly was men's self reports.

Six of the fifteen programs provided follow up for a period longer than six months (Rosenbaum, 1986; Dutton, 1986; DeMaris and Jackson, 1987; Hamberger and Hastings, 1988; Edleson and Syers, 1991; Palmer et al., 1992). Of these six, four had some type of contact with the partners of clients. The evaluation study by Rosenbaum (1986), provided follow-up by telephone every three months for eighteen months. Program evaluators did not contact partners at follow-up

since the therapeutic contract was with the man thus rendering contact with the woman unethical. The author of the study also felt it was counter-productive to solicit the husband's permission to contact his partner since the goal of the program was to make the man responsible for himself (Rosenbaum, 1986:611). In the evaluation study conducted by Dutton (1986), follow up data were collected for a period up to three years. Both men and women were contacted and the Conflict Tactics Scale was administered. DeMaris and Jackson (1987) conducted an evaluation study with a follow-up period of up to five years. Contact was made through a mailed questionnaire with only the men. This type of contact was decided upon as it appeared to be the least intrusive (DeMaris and Jackson, 1987:460). In the evaluation by Hamberger and Hastings (1988), both the man and woman were contacted for follow up for one year at intervals of one month, three months, 6 months, and one year. During these meetings, the couple was administered the Conflict Tactics Scale separately (Hamberger and Hastings, 1987:126). Edleson and Syers (1991) conducted an eighteen month follow up, twelve months after the initial six month follow up described above. In the evaluation conducted by Palmer et al. (1992), questionnaires were mailed to clients and their partners twelve months after program completion. Follow up reports indicated that many women (36%, N=59) had separated from their partners and were unwilling to become involved in follow-up (Palmer et al., 1992:279). Only the evaluation study by Chen et al. (1989) did not provide any type of follow up with clients.

Definition of Abuse

As there exists no standard definition of abusive behaviour, each program has its own understanding of the term abuse. Seven of the sixteen programs defined abuse as being physical

(Neidig, 1986; Saunders and Hanusa, 1986; Rosenbaum, 1986; Dutton, 1986; DeMaris and Jackson, 1987; Chen et al., 1989; Palmer et al., 1992). Of these seven, four followed a cognitive-behavioral theory which could suggest that these type of programs have elements which are designed to address physical violence. Seven of the sixteen programs defined two forms of abusive behaviour. Edleson et al. (1984) defined abuse as physical and sexual, whereas Hamberger and Hastings (1988), Farley and Magill (1988), and Harrell (1991) understood abuse to be physical and psychological. Psychological abuse was defined by Harrell as the use of subtle coercive acts aimed at controlling and manipulating women (Harrell, 1991:49). Edleson and Syers (1990; 1991) defined abusive behaviour as physical violence and threats of physical violence and Bidgood et al. (1991) included controlling behaviour and physical violence in their definition. Both Meredith and Burns (1990) and Gabor (1993) listed abusive behaviour as sexual, emotional, physical, and controlling. Controlling behaviour, that occurred in a consistent and extreme manner, was considered abusive (Meredith and Burns, 1990; Gabor, 1993).

SECTION TWO: METHODOLOGICAL PROBLEMS

All but one evaluation study reported some positive change in all outcome measures they used. This evaluation study (Harrell, 1991) will be discussed under Section Three: Program Elements.

Fourteen of fifteen studies reported a reduction in physical abuse. Out of the six studies that measured changes in attitudes towards women and in accepting responsibility for abusive behaviour, five reported positive outcomes in this area. Of three evaluation studies that included levels of threats, two reported improvements and eleven of twelve evaluations that gauged change in managing anger reported progress in that particular area. Given that these evaluation studies yielded positive

results across all outcome measures, the decision has been taken to focus on the outcome measure of reducing physical abuse.

Methodological problems which may weaken claims of reduced physical abuse will be examined. Similar methodological problems were found for all other outcome measures.

Fifteen of the sixteen evaluation studies examined a reduction of physical abuse as an outcome measure. Fourteen studies reported that a decrease in this area occurred (Edleson et al., 1984; Neidig, 1986; Rosenbaum, 1986; Dutton, 1986; DeMaris & Jackson, 1987; Farley & Magill, 1988; Hamberger & Hastings, 1988; Chen et al., 1989; Meredith & Burns 1990; Edleson & Syers, 1990, 1991; Bidgood et al., 1991; Palmer et al., 1992; Gabor, 1993). Upon examination of these findings, there exist several methodological concerns which render some of the findings questionable. These methodological concerns are described in the following pages.

Contact with Women

Of the fourteen evaluation studies that reported a reduction in physical abuse, six had no contact with the client's partners, thus relying solely on men's self reports (Edleson et al., 1984; Rosenbaum, 1986; DeMaris & Jackson, 1987; Farley & Magill, 1988; Chen et al., 1989; Bidgood et al., 1991). Findings from these evaluation studies are questionable since clients may report improved behaviour when, in reality, it is not the case. Of the eight evaluation studies which had some type of contact with women, two administered the Conflict Tactics Scale (Dutton, 1986; Hamberger & Hastings, 1988). The remaining six evaluation studies used questionnaires and interviews with women (Neidig, 1986; Meredith & Burns, 1990; Edleson and Syers, 1990, 1991; Palmer, 1992; Gabor, 1993). In addition to having women fill out questionnaires, Meredith and Burns (1990) asked

women to evaluate treatment on two issues: their sense of feeling safer and whether treatment influenced their decision to remain in the relationship. In the evaluation study by Gabor (1993) open ended questions and a summary of women's responses were provided. Women were given the opportunity to discuss their feelings about treatment, the impact treatment has had on their relationship and their partner, and any comments they have. The remaining studies stated that questionnaires and interviews were conducted with women, but did not provide any details.

From the information provided, it appears that contact with women was established to corroborate men's self reports, thus strengthening the evaluation study. Only the evaluation studies by Meredith and Burns (1990) and Gabor (1993) provided detailed information on this issue and appeared to appreciate the reality of women living with abuse.

Rate of Follow-Up Response

A second issue which raises concern is that some evaluation studies reached only a small percentage of clients and others failed to report the number of clients reached. Thirteen of the fourteen evaluation studies which reported a reduction in physical abuse provided a follow-up period. Eight of these thirteen provided some information about the extent of follow-up response: Edleson et al. (1984) contacted seven of nine men at a twenty-one week follow-up; Rosenbaum (1986) conducted follow-up for a two year period with nine of eleven men; Dutton (1986) contacted thirty-seven of a possible fifty couples at a three year follow-up; Edleson and Syers (1990) reached ninety-five men or women of a possible one hundred and fifty-three at a six month follow-up and reached seventy men or women at an eighteen month follow-up; Bidgood et al. (1991) located sixteen of a possible seventy program completers at six months after program completion; Palmer et al. (1992)

reached ten women and fifteen men of a possible thirty couples one year following treatment; Gabor (1993) reached, at a three month follow-up, five men and eight women of a possible twenty-nine. The remaining five evaluations did not provide detail on the follow-up response rate (Neidig, 1986; DeMaris and Jackson, 1987; Farley and Magill, 1988; Hamberger and Hastings; Meredith and Burns, 1990). This information suggests that caution be exercised when examining findings since they are often based on a small number of people.

Status of Relationship

Most evaluation studies did not provide information on the status of the client's relationship(s) at follow-up. This information is obviously relevant as a client's report of cessation of abuse may be attributed to facts other than the program. Of the fourteen evaluation studies that reported a decrease in physical abuse, only five evaluation studies reported on the status of the client's relationship. Edleson et al. (1984) reported that eight of the nine men were married and that five of these eight were separated at some point during the treatment. Information on whether these couples were reunited at follow-up was not provided. Rosenbaum (1986) determined that of the nine men reached at follow-up, seven remained with their partner while two had since separated. Farley and Magill (1988) concluded that seven of the seventeen men remained with their partner and ten men were no longer living with their partner. Palmer et al. (1992) found that twenty-one of fifty-nine women had left the relationship since treatment. The thirteen men and women that were contacted by Gabor (1993), reported that the relationship was continuing. The remaining ten evaluation studies did not

provide any information on the client's relationship(s) at follow-up (Neidig, 1986; Dutton, 1986; DeMaris and Jackson, 1987; Hamberger and Hastings, 1988; Chen et al., 1989; Meredith and Burns, 1990; Edleson and Syers, 1990,1991; Bidgood et al., 1991; Palmer et al., 1992).

Services to Women

Fourteen evaluation studies reported a reduction in physical abuse which would suggest that women's safety is increasing. However, of the fourteen evaluation studies, only two appeared to consider the needs of women. Bidgood et al., (1991) evaluated the men's program belonging to the Co-ordinated Family Violence Program in the Waterloo area. This program also included a twelve week support group for women whose partners were in the program which was designed to ensure women's safety. Gabor (1993) evaluated the Turning Point Project in Prince Edward Island. This program recognized the need to support women and ensure their safety and hired a partner outreach worker to do so. Women, whose partners were in the program, were given information about the program and its limitations, resources in the community and legal and safety issues. Also, a Partner Resource Kit was provided to women which included a directory of services, legal information, bill of rights for assaulted women, and information on woman abuse and on the Turning Point Project.

Control Group

Of the fourteen evaluation studies which reported a decrease in physical abuse, four relied on a treatment and control group (Dutton, 1986; Hamberger and Hastings, 1988; Chen et al., 1989; Palmer et al., 1992). In the evaluation study by Dutton (1986), probation officers and therapists determined whether men would be assigned to treatment groups or control groups based on men's

motivation and perceived likelihood to benefit from treatment. This form of assignment weakens the evaluation study as only those most motivated to change were included in the treatment program. For instance, eight men were rejected by therapists since they were determined unsuitable for treatment. Hamberger and Hastings (1988) formed a control group by using the men who had dropped out of the program. This is not a true control group as men in this group attended anywhere from one to nine treatment sessions. The remaining two evaluation studies (Chen et al., 1989; Palmer et al., 1992) appear to use a true control group.

Definition of Abuse

The majority of evaluation studies measured only a reduction in physical abuse. As discussed, other forms of abuse may be occurring which go undetected as they were not measured.

Two evaluation studies (Hamberger and Hastings, 1988; Farley and Magill, 1988) reported that although physical abuse appeared to decrease, emotional and verbal abuse remained constant. This may suggest that programs which rely solely on cognitive restructuring do not address the causes of abusive behaviour.

Alternatively, the evaluation study by Meredith and Burns (1990) found that emotional and verbal abuse decreased considerably from the beginning of treatment to the follow-up interview. This decrease was reported by both men and women, however, men consistently reported less emotional abuse than women. This program evaluation differed from the above two as the program relied on a psycho-educational approach.

This discussion demonstrates the need for evaluation studies to develop some consistent and standard criteria for measuring the effectiveness of treatment programs. Otherwise, evaluation

studies will continue to provide little information on whether such forms of intervention are increasing women's safety.

SECTION THREE: INFLUENCE OF PROGRAM ELEMENTS OVER PHYSICAL ABUSE

This section attempts to determine which, if any, program elements have an influence over reducing physical abuse. Effective and ineffective evaluation studies were to be compared to determine which elements have an influence over change. However, only one evaluation study reported no change in physical abuse. The remaining fifteen evaluation studies reported some degree of positive change. As there exists no basis for comparison, those which appear to have an influence over reducing physical abuse will be discussed. The one evaluation study which reported no change will be retained in order to determine if any significant differences or similarities exist between it and these evaluation studies that documented positive results. Also, program elements identified by the authors of evaluation studies which appeared to have an influence over change will be discussed.

Program Elements and Physical Abuse

It does not appear that any one theoretical model had more of an effect than any other in reducing physical abuse. Four followed a cognitive-behavioral approach (Edleson et al., 1984; Neidig, 1986; Dutton, 1986; Hamberger and Hastings, 1988), while another two followed the same approach but incorporated an educational approach (DeMaris and Jackson, 1987; Farley and Magill, 1988). Four followed a psycho-educational approach (Rosenbaum, 1986; Meredith and Burns, 1990; Edleson and Syers, 1990; Palmer et al., 1992). The remaining four followed an eclectic approach (Chen, 1989; Edleson and Syers, 1991; Bidgood et al., 1991; Gabor, 1993). Although the

numerous methodological problems and small number of evaluation studies make it impossible to make any conclusions based on this data, a common characteristic among ten of the fourteen evaluation studies is that an educational component was included in the program. This component dealt with educating men on the cycle of violence, male socialization, and sexist stereotypes. As this characteristic was common in the majority of cases, it may be having an influence over men's reported decrease in physical abuse.

In two evaluation studies which reported a decrease in abusive behaviour, responses to partner's open-ended questions were provided. Meredith and Burns (1990) found in their evaluation of a psycho-educational program that women consistently reported feeling safer with their partner in treatment and this feeling increased at the follow-up interview. Women also reported that they chose to remain in the relationship because their partners were in treatment. Meredith and Burns (1990) found a large increase in women's participation in women's support groups during the time their partners were in treatment, but women often ended their support when their partner completed treatment.

Gabor (1993) found in his assessment of an eclectic program that the majority of women, at the follow-up interview, felt their relationship had improved since their partner entered treatment. This was shown by women reporting improvements in the area of communication, men's ability to talk openly about their feelings, and men's ability to deal with their anger. When asked about the treatment program, women felt that the duration of the program was too short, and that some form of follow-up be implemented to monitor men.

The only program found to have no effect on men (Harrell, 1991) followed a cognitive-behavioural model with an educational component. The educational component was similar to those

described above and focused on changing men's beliefs about violence, educating men on the cycle of violence, and on sex role stereotyping. In open-ended questions with clients, just under half (N=96) reported that treatment was not helpful in getting along better with their partners or in understanding their partner's point of view. Well over half of the clients (N=96) also reported that treatment had given them the tools to recognize anger and felt confident in resolving disputes. These responses may suggest that men are learning how to better communicate; however, if their attitudes towards women are not changing, men may continue to be abusive in a more subtle way. This could suggest that addressing men's attitudes may have an effect on reducing men's abusive behaviour.

Influence of Addressing Attitudes Towards Women on Physical Abuse

Six of the sixteen evaluation studies measured men's attitudes towards women and five reported positive changes in men's attitudes and relationships with women (Saunders & Hanusa, 1986; Rosenbaum, 1986; Meredith & Burns, 1990; Palmer et al., 1992; Gabor, 1993). Authors of all five evaluation studies felt that this element had an influence on reducing abusive behaviour. While not all these programs followed the same theoretical model, they did incorporate an educational component based on feminist theory. Except for the program evaluated by Palmer et al. (1992), these programs relied on male and female facilitators to lead groups. Gabor (1993) reported that men stated, in open-ended questions, that they did benefit from having a woman facilitator in the group. This common characteristic may have an influence on improving men's attitudes towards women.

The program evaluated by Harrell (1991) did not find an improvement on attitudes towards women among men completing the programs. Similar to the above evaluation studies, an educational component was included and men and women facilitated groups. Using the "Belief about Wife

Beating Scale" (Saunders et al. 1987), a "measure of normative beliefs about wife assault", Harrell (1991:82-85) found that (on a 7-point scale from strongly agree to strongly disagree, with higher scores indicating an endorsement of beliefs that support wife beating) a statistically significant amount of men in the program group (N=96) compared to those in the control group (N=97) more strongly agreed with statements that support wife assault.

The agreement score on the item, "occasional violence can help marriage," was 2.3 for treated offenders compared to 1.8 for those not ordered to treatment ($p < .05$), while the agreement score on the item, "most wives secretly desire to be beaten," was 2.5 for treated offenders compared to 2.0 for the comparison group ($p < .05$) (Harrell 1991:83).

Influence of Addressing Responsibility on Physical Abuse

Six evaluation studies addressed men accepting responsibility for abusive behaviour and five reported that treatment had an effect in this area. Researchers also felt this element had an impact on reducing physical abuse (Neidig, 1986; Farley and Magill, 1988; Bidgood et al., 1991; Palmer et al., 1991; Gabor, 1993). These programs vary in theoretical model, but all emphasized the importance of men taking responsibility as a necessary first step for change to occur. The program evaluated by Harrell (1991) found no improvement on this element. In fact, Harrell (1991) reported that clients continued to deny some behaviour throughout the duration of the program and were in a state of denial. Accepting responsibility was listed as a primary treatment goal for this program which is consistent with the other programs which did report a positive change.

Influence of Addressing Threatening Behaviour on Physical Abuse

Evaluation studies conducted by Edleson and Syers (1990, 1991) and Harrell (1991) addressed threats made by men. It was felt that a reduction in the occurrence of threats would lead

to a reduction in physical abuse. Edleson and Syers determined through follow-up that men continued to make threats towards their partners, but at a significantly lower rate. They also determined that men who completed the psycho-educational model compared to the eclectic model were less likely to make threats. These models differed as the former was much more structured and the latter included a self- help component. The evaluation study by Harrell (1991) reported no significant difference in the frequency of threats of violence between men in treatment and men not ordered to treatment. In both groups (treatment N=96, control N=97), 47% of men refrained from using threats of violence towards their partner (Harrell, 1991:65).

Influence of Addressing Anger Management on Physical Abuse

The final program element, anger management, appeared to be the most helpful element of treatment, as reported by clients. All sixteen evaluation studies incorporated some form of anger management, ranging from recognizing anger cues and "time outs", to communication skills and assertiveness training. All studies reported that this element benefited clients and all but one (Harrell, 1991) reported that this element had some impact over reducing physical abuse. Edleson et al. (1984) reported that men's ability to stop and question their impulsive internal dialogues was reported as the most effective element of treatment. Saunders and Hanusa (1986) and DeMaris and Jackson (1987) both reported that paying attention to anger cues had a positive effect on men controlling their abuse. DeMaris and Jackson (1987) also concluded that contacting a counsellor in times of crisis and using time outs were also effective elements which reduced abusive behaviour. Similarly, Rosenbaum (1986) determined that time outs helped men to be non-abusive.

Again, it must be stressed that these findings are not conclusive as there are a number of

methodological problems which weaken these findings. The purpose of the above discussion is to draw from the literature elements which may have an influence over reducing physical abuse.

CHAPTER SIX

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

This research has attempted to determine which, if any program approach appears to be having an effect on reducing the abuse of women by men with whom they were in (or had been in) a relationship. It has become evident that some programs identifying with a certain theoretical model do not define the principles and factors associated with their program model and often incorporate principles belonging to other models. This makes any attempts at identifying which theoretical model is working most effectively very challenging. This factor, along with inconsistencies among programs such as definitions of success, definitions of abuse, methods of measuring abuse and length of follow-up, make attempts at comparing programs exceedingly difficult.

This research has focused on three theoretical models: cognitive-behavioral, eclectic, and psycho-educational. The literature categorizes cognitive interventions as a stress and pathology model while the remaining two address the attitudes and behaviours of abusive men. Concern surrounding cognitive programs have existed as abuse has been understood by this theory as an act arising from men's deficiencies or stressful environment and not as an instrumental act to maintain power and control. As this research has demonstrated, some programs do fit these distinct categories. However, for the most part, programs do make use of several types of intervention belonging to different theories.

Research conducted by Dankwort (1991) has found that many programs which claim to adhere to a certain approach practice are actually characterized by a great deal of eclecticism. This

makes it difficult to determine which aspect of the program is having the greatest impact on reducing abusive behaviour.

In order to conduct comparisons to make some determinations regarding program effectiveness, program evaluations need to become coordinated. To provide meaningful results, evaluation studies need to follow some consistent guidelines. In his discussion paper "Treatment Programs for Abusive Husbands: Suggestion Regarding Evaluation" (1991), James Browning makes several recommendations regarding evaluation research. First, evaluations need to clearly define the theoretical framework used by the program. This could involve providing a description of program content and ensure that this content is in fact being covered in the program. Second, a consistent set of outcome measures needs to be developed and standard forms of measurement need to be used to measure these outcomes. An essential form of measurement would be interviews with the woman partner regarding the level of abuse, her safety, and her perceptions of changes in her partner attitudes and behaviour on specific outcome measures. This will allow evaluation studies to measure the same outcomes in a consistent fashion. If this suggestion were implemented, it would provide valuable information regarding comparing program effectiveness.

Second, evaluation studies need to be based on a carefully defined typology of forms of abuse, for example, physical, psychological, and sexual abuse. Women are not necessarily safe simply because their partner has stopped being physically abusive. Studies need to recognize this fact and measure all forms of abuse which women are experiencing.

Finally, Browning (1991) suggests that to ensure the cooperation of court-ordered clients after program completion, participation in the evaluation study should become part of the court order. This would improve data collection which could lead to more conclusive findings. However, clients

who are forced to participate may not be reliable in their reports. Of course, this danger lies with all self-reports, but could occur at an increased level with court-ordered clients.

Equally important as the need for the development of standard criteria in the area of program evaluation is the need for men's programs and those conducting evaluation studies to be accountable to women. Men's counselling programs were created to end men's abuse towards their partners, making them responsible to women's well being. Each men's program will inevitably affect the partners of the men participating in the program. For instance, how the program understands abuse, how the program holds men accountable for their actions, and the work that is conducted in the groups will have an impact on the men and their partners. It is critical, therefore, that accountability is addressed in the development of these programs. However, as demonstrated in the sixteen evaluation studies included in this research, women are often not considered or are used in an instrumental way to provide information. For instance, contact with battered women was done so to determine what impact the program had on abusive behaviour. Women were contacted for the sole purpose of providing information and were thus used in the same fashion as any other instrument to measure abuse. Women's overall well-being, safety and needs, and experiences of programs were not the focus, or even considered in the majority of cases. To remedy this, the following suggestions need to be implemented by programs and studies to ensure women's safety is being addressed.

First, programs for men need to have involvement with shelters and programs for abused women. This involvement will not only have the benefit of creating a co-ordinated response to woman abuse, but, more importantly, will help keep women informed of the realities of treatment programs and aware of community resources. Shelter workers could also provide valuable input on subtle tactics men use to maintain control which may go undetected by counsellors in the men's

programs. Shelter workers may be able to help counsellors ask the right questions to help men acknowledge and take responsibility for their abusive actions.

Second, programs for men need to have direct contact with men's partners from the beginning of the program. This contact should include information on the program, information that describes the many forms of abuse and control, information on shelters and services for women, and a contact person for women to reach in the men's program. Also, a clear message needs to be communicated to women that they are not responsible for the abuse, and that men's enrolment in a program does not guarantee change. Including women in the process from the beginning helps to address some of the needs and concerns of women and may increase their safety level. Although I support the practice of partner outreach in men's programs, there exists some danger which counsellors must be aware of at all times. First, women who have separated from their partners may feel pressure from the program to have involvement in her (ex) partners counselling. As well, women may feel pressured to remain with their partners since he is making an effort to change. Women may also feel they have to monitor their partners behaviour and provide any changes in behaviour to the program. This would result in her taking responsibility for reporting his behaviour which could increase her danger if he were to find out. Also, men could feel threatened by the support and information offered to partners and use abusive tactics to get partners to provide inaccurate reports about their behaviour. It is imperative that program counsellors give a clear message regarding their purpose of contact, and respect women's wishes regarding her involvement with the program.

Just as men's programs need to be accountable to men's partners, so do those who conduct evaluation studies of programs. As described in this research, many evaluation studies either had no contact with partners or included minimal input from them. Often evaluation studies appeared to

have a lack of understanding about women's reality and treated women instrumentally to corroborate findings from men's self report questionnaires. Researchers conducting evaluations need to be sensitized to issues of woman abuse in order to introduce a human element in evaluation studies. To date, most evaluation studies use telephone or mailed questionnaires. Often, this questionnaire is not gender-specific and does not reflect the experiences of women. For example, to increase accountability, evaluation studies need to include unstructured interviews with women, preferably conducted by female researchers. The time and place should be determined by the abused woman, and her safety should always be paramount. Not only will these interviews provide valuable information to researchers but, more importantly, it will give women an opportunity to express their feelings about the program, abuse and their partners.

Meredith and Burns (1990) found a large increase in women's participation in support services while her partner was in group. This lends support to the idea that treatment programs have the potential to help women break their isolation and establish contact with a women's support group. This connection to an outside resource alone could benefit women more effectively than treatment programs. Although this area has not been subject to research, a connection between program staff and abused women could help increase their well-being and safety.

Overall, this research has demonstrated that evaluation studies of programs for male batterers are reporting decreases in violent behaviour. However, we do not know which program factors are creating changes among men. As discussed, programs rely on a variety of intervention techniques belonging to different theoretical models. There is a need for evaluation studies to look more closely at what aspects of men's programs have an influence over change in all forms of abuse, and not just in reducing physical abuse. This is critical, as reducing physical abuse in women's lives may not

change the terror and fear they live in. Also, evaluation studies which report a reduction of physical abuse tend to treat this as an indicator of success. Again, it appears these studies are lacking an understanding of women's experiences since being physically abused at a reduced rate maintains the same level of fear in which women live.

This research has demonstrated that caution must be exercised when examining the effectiveness of treatment programs. Due to the uncertainty surrounding treatment programs, social service agencies and the criminal justice officials need to explore alternative sanctions to use in combination with, or in the place of, treatment. Efforts must continue to ensure that the interests and safety of women living with abuse are being met.

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APPENDIX 1

GLOSSARY OF KEY TERMS

Anger Scales: Modified versions of the Novaco Anger Scale.

Basic Personality Inventory: Inventory designed to measure dimensions of personality.

Heimler Scale of Social Functioning: Scale consisting of fifty-five questions which assumes that the quantity of frustration and satisfaction experienced by an individual determines his level of functioning in society.

Index of Controlling Behaviour: Index based on the Straus Conflict Tactics Scale. Includes abusive behaviour not addressed by the Conflict Tactics Scale.

Novaco Anger Scale: Scale designed to measure the amount of anger men perceived they would have in different situations.

Partner Abuse Index: Index based on the Straus Conflict Tactics Scale and the Index of Controlling Behaviour Scale. This index gathers information on abusive behaviour, the status of the relationship, background questions regarding the relationship and client's history. The index also asks open-ended questions to determine the program's impact on the relationships of clients.

Straus Conflict Tactics Scale: Scale developed by Straus (1979) measures the number of times men and women have engaged physical acts of abusive behaviour.

APPENDIX 2

Edleson, J., Miller, D., Stone, G., Chapman, D. (1984) "Group Treatment for Men Who Batter". Social Work Research and Abstracts, March:18-21. (American study)

Theoretical Model

This program is based on a cognitive behavioral approach which relies on the social learning theory of woman abuse and therefore focuses on overt and covert behaviour change. It is their belief that social learning situations in our society have reinforced the dominance and control that men have over women. With this in mind, the program aims to change learned modes of interacting with and thinking about female partners.

Results

The program appears to have ended seven of the nine men's physical abuse. This was determined by the men's self report. They did not contact the partners for fear of placing them in danger.

Authors' Assessment

The authors realize that their sample size (N=9) is perhaps too small to make any sound conclusions. They also acknowledge that their follow-up period was quite short (21 weeks).

My Assessment

This program did not reach its goal as it did not eliminate abuse in all cases. As well, the authors' definition of abuse is very limited as it only examines one form of abuse experienced by women. Also, the men's self report is a weak form of measurement.

Although I agree that women may be in danger if contacted by the program, I fear they are in more danger if they do not have information about the program. If it was explained to the men that women's safety is the goal of the program, and she will be contacted throughout the program, men will have the option not to participate. Without her input, the program may be doing more harm than good.

Inasmuch as the program did realize its goal in the majority of cases, the above limitations raise concerns about the findings.

Neidig, P. (1986) "The development and evaluation of a spouse abuse treatment program in a military setting". Evaluation and Program Planning, 9:275-280. (American study).

Theoretical Framework

The program's approach is based on principles belonging to social learning and cognitive restructuring. The approach includes instruction, behavioral rehearsal and feedback on homework. Intervention focused on responsibility, anger control, stress management, communication and conflict containment.

Results

It was determined that the majority of those contacted at the six month follow-up reported that no violence had occurred since completion of program. Significant improvements were found on the Locus of Control Scale as well as the Dyadic Adjustment Scale.

Author's Assessment

The limitations of this program involve relying on self reports and being unable to contact all participants at follow-up (Neidig 278). Again, the majority of men report a complete cessation of violence which is not always accurate.

My Assessment

I share the above concern which suggests the results should be examined with caution. Regardless, the study did not reach its goal of completely eliminating violence.

I am not confident of this program for the following reason: In the program developing phase it defines spouse abuse as violence inflicted by males on relatively passive female victims (Neidig, 275). It goes on to say that men's sexist, non egalitarian and macho attitude has to change before

abuse can be controlled. I have difficulty understanding how program developers who see survivors of woman abuse as 'passive victims' are going to educate abusive men on societal stereotypes about women. As well, the program strongly encourages women to attend, which again demonstrates their lack of understanding around this issue. By having partners attend, the abuse will be presented in a gender neutral context. It will no longer be viewed as a man being completely responsible for his choice to be abusive. Instead, the focus will be shifted on his partner's behaviour and a form type of "couple counselling" will evolve.

Saunders, D.G. and Hanusa, D. (1986) "Cognitive-Behavioral Treatment of Men who Batter: The Short-Term Effects of Group Therapy". Journal of Family Violence, 1(4):357-372. (American study).

Theoretical Model

A cognitive/behavioral approach was adopted which relies on assertiveness training, relaxation and cognitive restructuring. They support this intervention by providing evidence that assertiveness can be substituted for aggression and that a combination of relaxation training and cognitive restructuring can be effective in lowering anger arousal.

Results

The scores on the Attitudes Toward Women Scale increased significantly, showing a liberalization of views about sex roles. The remaining measures showed a decrease in anger, depression, jealousy and a threat of female competency.

Authors' Assessment

The authors feel that the cognitive behavioral approach holds promise for treating abusive men since their program demonstrated that attitudes about women, anger and jealousy could change in a short period. They also acknowledge limitations to their study since they relied on the men's report only, and did not contact partners. Another limitation arose since there was no form of control group used.

My Assessment

Although the program appeared to have met its goal, it provides no data on whether or not women experienced a decrease in abuse. However, as this was not a measure included in the study, and the change in attitudes may suggest a reduction in abuse.

Rosenbaum, A. (1986) "Group Treatment for Abusive Men: Process and Outcome". Psychotherapy, 23(4):607-612. (American study).

Theoretical Model

This program is based on the psycho-educational model. The program is of the belief that this model works most effectively when trying to accomplish the goal which is to change attitudes and behaviour. To produce any type of change, the program focused on getting the men to take responsibility for their behaviour.

The program also demonstrates how men's behaviour affects every family member. The group explores how their beliefs are based on sexist stereotypes which supports their decision to be abusive. The group also teaches the men new behaviours aimed at controlling violence.

Results

Of the twelve men who participated, follow-up data was collected on nine. Of the nine, only one reported further violence (slapped his partner four months after the program). The other eight reported no violence (at six month follow-up).

Author's Assessment

The author feels that these findings suggest optimism for psycho educational groups (Rosenbaum, 1986:611). He is aware of the limitations of the study: results based on self reports and no partner contact to confirm these reports (Rosenbaum, 1986:611).

My Assessment

Although I am concerned about the measurement of only physical abuse, I feel somewhat assured by the description of the program. For instance, it clearly defines abuse as the man's choice

and rejects the issue of provocation as well as the loss of control argument (Rosenbaum, 1986:609).

It is still, however, difficult to comment on these results since the only measure relies on the men's reports.

Dutton, D. (1986) "The Outcome of Court-mandated Treatment for Wife Assault: A Quasi Experimental Evaluation". Violence and Victims, 1(3):163-174. (Canadian study).

Theoretical Framework

The program followed a cognitive-behavioral approach which focused its interventions on modifying behaviour, managing anger and dealing with assertiveness.

Results

Police Files - According to police data, two of the fifty in the treatment group had subsequent assault charges. Twenty of the fifty in the Control group had repeated assaults. Therefore, according to police records, treatment appears to have a significant effect on violent behaviour.

Conflict Tactic Scale - According to this scale, acts of violence decreased significantly (31 of 37 wives reported no acts of *severe violence, two wives reported two acts of severe violence per year and four wives reported four or more acts of severe violence per year).

Rates of verbal aggression decreased overall, however eight wives reported an increase in this area.

* Severe violence = hitting, kicking, biting, beating up, using or threatening to use a weapon.

Author's Assessment

The Author feels that the 'law and order' approach must be used in conjunction with treatment since men must understand that assault is unacceptable and punished by the state (Dutton, 172).

My Assessment

Although there is a significant decrease in physical abuse, the increase in verbal abuse is of great concern. It is a fear that programs provide men with the tools to be abusive in a sophisticated manner which would allow them to escape from police detection. Men may learn that they get the same effect from their partner by being verbally or emotionally abusive, and I fear that perhaps men in this study came to this realization.

DeMaris, A. and Jackson, J. (1987) "Batterer's Reports of Recidivism after Counselling". Social Casework: The Journal of Contemporary Social Work, 68(8), 458-465. (American study)

Theoretical Model for Voluntary Program

Psycho-educational/Cognitive behavioral

- Open-ended, group therapy
- Critically examine his attitudes
- Develop constructive ways to communicate instead of using violence.
- Identify controlling and threatening behaviour
- Distinguishing anger from his own insecurities
- Learning non-violent means for coping with situations

Theoretical Model for Court Ordered Program

Psycho educational/Cognitive behavioral

- Much more structured
- Lectures on the cycle of violence, anger
ladder, stereotyping, unrealistic expectations of men and women.
- Use of a time out contract.
- Help the clients recognize how these issues pertain to their own relationship.

Coping Tactics: Clients were asked to report the frequency in which they used coping skills which were taught in the program.

To measure whether there had been a reduction in violence the following procedure was used: Subtract the frequency of each violent behaviour reported during the post counselling period from the frequency reported during the pre counselling period. A positive difference would show a reduction in violence after counselling.

Results

Sixty-five percent of the men were reported as not having been violent since treatment.

Factors associated with recidivism:

- Whether a couple was living together at termination of program;
- Being identified at intake as having an alcohol problem;
- Men who witnessed violence in the home as a child.

Factors associated with a reduction of violence:

- Men who entered counselling voluntarily;
- Paying attention to physical signs of increasing anger and leaving the home;
- High versus low attendance had no significant effect on reducing violence.

Authors' Assessment

Although the authors feel that these findings are encouraging, they stress they should be regarded as provisional and state that further research is needed in this area. (DeMaris & Jackson, 464). They add that the small sample size and the reliance on self reports are limitations to the present study.

My Assessment

Although this program appeared to reach its goal in 65% of the cases, I feel these results should be looked at with great scepticism as the partners of these men were not surveyed. As well,

the authors of this study defined abuse as only physical (pushing, shoving, slapping, kicking, choking and the use of weapons), and did not measure for other equally harmful forms of abuse.

Farley, D., and Magill, J. (1988) An Evaluation of a Group Program for Men Who Batter. New York: Haworth Press. (Canadian study).

Theoretical Framework

The program follows a cognitive-behavioral approach. The program was aimed at learning new ways of dealing with anger and using cognitive restructuring techniques to help clients become aware of self-defeating thoughts. In order to accept responsibility, clients had to make contracts to identify goals for change, to attend meetings and explore alternatives to violence as well as interpersonal skills.

Results

Social Functioning Scale - According to this scale, men improved on problem solving abilities and experienced an internal change.

All subjects reported a cessation of physical violence, however, ten reported being verbally abusive.

Authors' Assessment

The authors note the following limitations to their study: sample size is too small (N=17), lack of control group and the follow-up period was too short. They do, however, feel that the group process helped men experience significant change since new members were challenged and confronted by veteran members (Farley and Magill, 1988:64).

My Assessment

Although the program reached its goal of cessation of physical abuse, verbal and emotional abuse continued, therefore having little change on women's safety.

Also, the study mentioned that it relied on male facilitators as this would be less threatening for clients who project frustration toward their female partners.

This raises concerns as to the type of interaction occurring in the group. It also raises doubt as to whether the facilitators are challenging the men or colluding with the men in the group.

Hamberger, K. and Hastings, J. (1988) "Skills Training for Treatment of Spouse Abusers: An Outcome Study". Journal of Family Violence, 3(2): 121-130. (American study).

Theoretical Model

Cognitive Behavioral: The program lasted 15 weeks.

- Learning to monitor, identify and modify self talk associated with their abusive behaviour.
- Learning thought switching skills
- Self-imposed time outs

Components to the program

Communication/Assertiveness: Teaches the client mutual problem solving and conflict resolution, active listening, giving and receiving positive and negative feedback.

Active-coping Relaxation: Identify physiological cues related to negative emotion; learn controlled breathing relaxation skills.

Results

Change in violent behaviour was measured in two different ways:

- Whether the completers had a different level of recidivism compared to drop outs within one year following program termination (findings: marginally significant difference between groups).
- Analyze amount of change in Conflict Tactic Scale (findings: treatment gains were maintained at a one year follow-up).

Scores on the Beck Depression Inventory were significant, as were those for the Novaco Anger Scale. The results for the 95 MCMI showed no significant difference, therefore supporting their third hypothesis.

Authors' Assessment

The authors are of the opinion that this program did not change the individual as personality characteristics remained the same. They also note that although there was a noted reduction in physical abuse, psychological abuse continued.

My Assessment

I am in agreement with the authors that men do not experience personal change in a program relying on this theoretical model as their beliefs and attitudes are not being challenged. It is of no surprise therefore, that abuse is continuing. Regardless of the decrease in physical abuse, psychological abuse is continuing therefore resulting in harmful effects on women.

Chen, H., Bersani, C., Myers, S., and Denton, R. (1989) "Evaluating the Effectiveness of a Court Sponsored Abuser Treatment Program". Journal of Family Violence, 4(4):309-321. (American study).

THE TIME-OUT PROGRAM

Theoretical Model

The program followed a cognitive/educational approach which was divided into two phases. The first phase, the educational section, consists of four 2-hour sessions. The focus of these groups was to identify control, denial and isolation by watching videotapes which deal with men in violent settings. The second phase, cognitive, dealt with teaching men techniques for avoiding violent situations. Men were encouraged to share personal issues in order to break down social isolation.

Results

It was determined that when men attended 75% of treatment sessions, recidivism was likely to occur.

The following two variables played a significant role in recidivism: the number of prior violent charges and the period after sentencing.

The greater the number of past violent charges and the longer the period after the sentence, the greater the probability recidivism is likely to occur.

Authors Assessment

As their findings indicate that the higher number of sessions attended, the lower the recidivism, they feel that this data has serious implications for funding decisions. They also feel that funding should be directed to programs which ensure the greatest participation as this may have an

impact on reducing abusive behaviour (Chen, Bersani, Myers and Denton, p 321).

My Assessment

Although it would appear that the goal of this study has been reached, it is far from being reliable since the only measure used was court files.

This measurement does not accurately reflect abuse which may be occurring as there are a number of reasons as to why the police may not be called. Also, this form of measurement only considers physical abuse which fails to address the many other forms of abuse. The program did however examine other forms of abusive behaviour and did determine the impact regular attendance had on reducing abuse.

Meredith, C., and Burns, N. (1990) Evaluation of Batterer's Treatment Programs. Scarborough, Ontario: Ontario Ministry of Correctional Services. (Canadian study).

Theoretical Model

A psycho educational model is used which focuses on understanding the nature of violence, examining gender roles and societal stereotypes.

Results

A reduction in all forms of abuse were reported. Physical abuse reduced slightly whereas sexual, emotional and verbal abuse showed a significant decrease.

Authors' Assessment

The authors of this evaluation advocate that programs for men should have greater coordination with women's groups, substance abuse programs and probation and parole. They feel that the success of these programs may be a reflection of the community effort they are part of and not the program itself (Meredith and Burns, 48).

Overall, they feel the study is encouraging since it provides some evidence that abusive men can change. Although they feel that the use of women's reports add credibility to the study, they realize that the short follow-up period may reflect the short term effects of the program.

My Assessment

This study has a comprehensive definition of abuse (physical, emotional, verbal and sexual) which indicates that it appreciates the many forms of abuse experienced by women. Although a decrease was reported in all four areas of abusive behaviour, only a slight decrease in physical abuse occurred and other forms of abuse were continuing at follow up.

Edleson, J. and Syers, M. (1990) "Relative Effectiveness of Group Treatments for Men who Batter". Social Work Research and Abstracts, June:10-17. (American study).

Edleson, J. and Syers, M. (1991) "The Effects of Group Treatment for Men who Batter: An 18 month Follow-up Study". Research on Social Work Practice, 1(3):227-243. (American study).

Theoretical Model

As the study was attempting to compare theoretical models and timeframes, three models were used: educational, self-help and combination of the two.

The educational approach adopts the view that behaviour is learned, therefore these men need to be re-educated. The educational component relied on lectures, videos, role plays and short group discussions.

Self-help groups follow the approach that members must supply support for one another and must share personal stories. It is believed that unstructured groups may produce more of a change in men. Although the self-help model is mostly unstructured, it did focus on four areas: responsibility for behaviour, develop a plan to be non-violent, work on time outs, discuss the cycle of violence.

The combined model allowed men to receive educational lectures as well as to discuss personal issues with the group.

The questionnaire which was similar to the Conflict Tactic

Scale, measured the following:

Threats of Violence = Left in the middle of an argument, screamed at or insulted partner, interrupted her sleeping or

eating, social isolation, verbally pressured partner for sex, threatened to leave his partner.

Terroristic Threats of Violence = Physically harmed pets, threatened to hit partner, threw, hit or smashed objects, drove recklessly.

Physical Violence = Burned, pushed, grabbed or shoved his partner, slapped or spanked with an open hand, bit or scratched, hit with an object, forced sex, punched, kicked, threw, choked, used or threatened to use a weapon.

Results

The result section is divided into the three measurement categories.

Physical Violence

With regards to physical violence and timeframe, results showed that members of the twelve session group were 10% less violent at follow-up than those in the thirty-two session group.

With reference to the treatment modality and physical violence, it was found that the Educational Model was most effective at reducing physical violence. (Ten of ninety-two were violent at follow-up). Similarly, the Combination Model found that twelve of the ninety-two men were physically violent whereas in the self-help group fourteen of the ninety-two still remained violent at follow-up.

Terroristic Threats

The intensity of length of the program had no effect on terroristic threats. Men who participated in education groups were the least likely to use terroristic threats (12 of 92). In the Combined Model, eighteen of ninety-two still used this tactic as well as nineteen of ninety-two men in the Self-help group.

Threats

Seventy-eight men (of 92) continued to use some type of threat at six month follow-up. These 78 men were distributed evenly across treatment modality and timeframe, therefore making any type of analysis impossible.

These findings are very important since they suggest that shorter intervention is just as effective as long term. In light of this finding, resources could be used more efficiently.

As well, it appears that Educational Models reduce violence and terroristic threats on a more consistent basis. This, too, could have implications on program design.

Edleson and Syers published subsequent findings on this group at an 18 month follow-up period, and some differences were found. With regards to effects on violence, the following shift had occurred.

6 Month Follow-up	18 Month Follow-up
12 sessions-34.5% still violent	12 sessions-40% violent
32 sessions-45.9% still violent	32 sessions-23.3% violent

These differences were not statistically significant but the 32 session groups appear to be somewhat more effective than the 12 week sessions at the 18 month follow-up.

Authors' Assessment

The authors point out the following weaknesses of their study: the study sample was drawn from only one agency's clientele list over a one year period, lack of control group and inability to locate men at follow-up (Edleson & Syers, 241). The authors also recognize that programs for abusive men are not the answer to achieving women's safety. They feel that treatment programs should be a part of community intervention which would include shelters for women, legal, housing and job assistance and actions to change social values which condone woman abuse.

They also acknowledge that few programs have made outcome data available which would enable the public to judge their effectiveness and stress the need for greater accountability by such programs (Edleson & Syers, 242).

My Assessment

I am in complete agreement with the authors' assessment of how these programs must be part of a comprehensive model which addresses woman abuse. I feel the program reached its goal since in all cases the forms of abuse identified were reduced, and they were able to determine which type of treatment and timeframe attributed to this decrease in abuse.

Harrell, A. (1991) Evaluation of Court-Ordered Treatment for Domestic Violence Offenders. Final Report. Prepared for the State Justice Institute, Baltimore County. (American study).

Theoretical Model

A cognitive behavioral model was used and cognitive restructuring was relied upon to change beliefs about violence, improve self observation and develop alternative responses. Educational groups focused on educating men about the cycle of violence.

Results

No significant differences were found between men in the treatment group and those in the control group (men who dropped out of the program made up the control group).

Author's Assessment

These results clearly suggest that treatment programs do not increase women's safety. After examining medical files, it was noted that women living with treated offenders reported seeking medical care for injuries inflicted by their partner opposed to women living with abusive men not ordered to treatment (Harrell, 94).

Harrell also notes that there exists little evidence about comparative treatment models, therefore lending little support as to which treatment approach should be relied upon (Harrell, 95). As the effectiveness of treatment programs is limited at best, Harrell feels that until effectiveness can be proven, punitive sanctions should be used and treatment should never be substituted in its place.

My Assessment

As Harrell noted, the program did not reduce abusive behaviour, therefore not realizing its goal. I agree with Harrell in that until some type of conclusion regarding theoretical approaches can

be determined, programs should only be used in conjunction with measures used by the legal system.

Bidgood, B., Tutty, L., and Rothery, M. (1991) An Evaluation of the Co-ordinated Family Violence Treatment Program in the Waterloo Area: A Summary Report. Waterloo: Centre for Social Welfare Studies, Faculty of Social Work, Wilfred Laurier University. (Canadian study).

Theoretical Model

The program makes use of a psycho educational/cognitive restructuring model.

Results

Significant, positive changes in all outcome measures except social desirability.

Authors' Assessment

The authors feel that group treatment will not prove effective for all men and alternative intervention strategies for individuals whose needs are not served by the group must be considered (Bidgood, Tutty and Rothery, 20).

My Assessment

Although this program appears to have reached its intended goal, there is obvious concern that abuse was under-reported as there was no change in the Social Desirability Scale.

Palmer, S., Brown, R., and Barrera, M. (1992) "Group Treatment Programs for Abusive Husbands: Long Term Evaluation". American Orthopsychiatric Association. (American study).

Theoretical Model

The program makes use of a psycho-educational theoretical model. This method combined group discussion with an unstructured format. The intervention focused on information which included defining wife abuse, historical perspectives and social values and modelling values. Teaching skills dealt with identifying anger, arousal and pre-empting it with relaxation techniques.

Self-esteem was addressed by discussing life goals/personal change. Improving relationships focused on sex roles, balancing dependency and attention to the feelings of their partners.

Results

According to police records, 31% of men in the control group (N=26) and 10% of men in the treatment group (N=30) physically abused or made serious threats to their partners.

The Basic Personality Inventory found improvements across both groups in the following areas: Hypochondriasis, Interpersonal difficulties, alienation, persecutory ideas, anxiety, thinking disorder, impulse expression and social introversion. No improvements were detected in areas involving depression, denial, social deviation and self-deprecation.

Authors' Assessment

The authors feel that the results provide modest support in that a short unstructured treatment program has long term benefits. They note the need for more controlled studies to assess the effectiveness (Palmer et. al., 1992:282).

My Assessment

This study did not meet its outcome measures. Physical abuse continued and treatment had little impact on personality as those in the control group increased on similar factors as those in treatment.

Gabor, T. (1993) An Evaluation Study of the Turning Point Project: A Treatment Program for Men who Batter their Partners. Ottawa: Department of Justice Canada. (Canadian study).

Theoretical Framework

The program followed an eclectic approach which included cognitive behaviour and psycho educational components. The group focused on anger management, training in non-violent conflict resolution skills, gender roles, consciousness raising and addresses the traditional male social role and the controlling aspects of partner abuse.

Results

Sixty-nine of the men completed the program and an overall improvement was found in clients' behaviour. Areas of improvement were significant in accepting responsibility for behaviour, anger management, communication with partners and problem solving. A reduction in physical and verbal abuse was experienced by group members, and the open-ended questionnaire provided important information about the program and perhaps further research. Men in the program stated that they benefitted from having women facilitate the group and, overall, felt the program had an impact on their behaviour. The men also added the following: they require more individual time; the program should be lengthened (including follow-up) and a more structured agenda is needed.

Author's Assessment

The author recognizes that the program has shown some promising results as a reduction in many forms of abuse has occurred. Consistent findings by client and partner surveys indicated an increase in men choosing non-abusive means of resolving conflicts as well as an overall reduction in verbal, emotional and physical abuse (Gabor, 1993:96).

My Assessment

This program appears to have reached its goal since a reduction in all forms of abuse were noted. This program appears to be accountable to women as it appreciates most forms of abuse which she experiences - physical, emotional, sexual and controlling behaviour. The open ended questions used to determine effectiveness not only allowed women to express themselves, to some degree, but also provided valuable information that cannot be achieved through a questionnaire.

	SAUNDERS & EAMUSA	DE MARIS & JACKSON	HAMBERGER & HASTINGS	EDLSON, MILLER, STONE, CHAPMAN
THEORETICAL MODEL	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Cognitive/behaviour - Cognitive: Changing negative self talk into coping statements. - Behaviour: Focus on consciousness raising - Making clients aware of male socialisation to be aggressive, competitive and possessive. 	<p>Cognitive/Behavioural</p> <p>Voluntary</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Open-end group therapy - Examine attitudes - New ways to communicate - Identify controlling and threatening behaviour - Distinguish anger from security - Coping - Court Order - Structured lectures on cycle ladder - Time out 	<p>Cognitive/Behaviour/Psycho Educational</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Monitor, identify, modify, self-talk assertiveness with abusive behaviour. - Learning through switching skills - Self-imposed timeout 	<p>Social learning theory.</p> <p>Social learning situation has reinforced the dominance and control that men have over women.</p> <p>Cognitive behavioural</p>
INTERVENTION STRATEGIES	<p>Relies on assertiveness training, relaxation and anger arousal restructuring.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Critically examine attitudes - Develop ways of communication other than violence. - Identify controlling behaviour 	<p>Communication/Assertiveness training</p> <p>Active/Coping relaxation</p> <p>Learn controlled breathing relaxation skills.</p>	<p>Change learned modes of interacting with and thinking of partners.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Analyzing violent behaviour in terms of chain of events. - Relaxation technology - Cognitive restructuring
TIMEFRAME FOLLOW-UP	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - 1 Independent assessment (2-4 hours) - 12 Structured skills group - 8 Process group sessions - 6 month follow-up 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - 12 weeks - Court order - 1 month - 5 years 	<p>Treatment Group:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Assessment, 12 - Intervention sessions - 1 year follow-up <p>Control Group:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Assessment - at least 1 intervention session - 1, 3, 6 month and 1 year follow-up 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - 12 weeks - Intake - minimum advice - Phone number - Program follow-up - 21 weeks
SOURCES OF REFERRAL	By partner, Social Services, CLS	Self-referred or Court-ordered	Court/Self-referred	Self-referred
POPULATION	92 Clients	505 men had been seen by counsellors at time of study. 312 men were sent a questionnaire - 53 responded.	- 35 in treatment program - 36 in control group	9
OUTCOME MEASURES	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Assess attitude and psychological changes reported by clients. - Regulate anger, not eliminate it. - Develop attitudes that support sex role equality and egalitarian decision-making. - Develop skills which are incompatible with aggression. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Reduce abuse - Determine extent of recidivism 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Decrease rate of violence - 1 year after treatment. - Depression and anger proneness. - Personality trait - would not change. 	

	SAUNDERS & HANUSA	DE MARIS & JACKSON	HAMBURGER & HASTINGS	EDELSON, MILLER, STONE, CHAPMAN
MEASURES	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Decrease levels of violence (includes sexual abuse) - Reduce physical abuse to zero. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Conflict Tactic Scale (modified to include choking) - Coping Tactics (left home, time-out) - Questionnaire to measure reduction in violence. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Millon Clinical Multi-Axial Inventory - Beck Depression Inventory - Novaco Anger Scale - Demographic Data Form - Conflict Tactic Scale 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Multiple baseline design - Intervention applied to one group. Have second time third. - Difference attributed to program. - Men's self-report
PARTNER CONTACT	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Interviewed by the program and 6 months after (phone) - Only done in 19 cases - Compared to self-reports 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - No partner contact 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Interviewed separately at 1, 3, 6, 12 months. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - No contact
DEFINITION OF ABUSE	Violence was more severe than slapping and pushing.	Violence: Pushing, shoving, slapping, kicking, biting, hitting with fist, object choking, beating up, knife, club, gun.		Man using hands, feet or other body parts to inflict physical damage or pain including sexual abuse.
SELECTION CRITERIA	Men who suffer from problems of illiteracy, severe alcohol abuse and severe mental disorders.	For the volunteer program: 1. Must enter voluntarily. 2. Must agree he has a problem. 3. Must agree he wants violence to stop.		Selected only men who were physically abusive. Excluded all other forms.
RESULTS	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Reduction in <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Anger - Threat - Depression - Jealousy Increase in <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Liberal thoughts 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 65% not violent since treatment. Variable related to reduction. - Volunteer less violent than court order. - Paying attention to physical signs of increasing anger and leaving home. - High vs low attendance had no effect on reducing violence. Facts associated with recidivism: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - living together - alcohol problem - witness violence as a child 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Treatment Group: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Decrease in violent behaviour but continuation of psychological abuse. - Completers - less rate of violence compared to dropouts. Observed changes in all areas except personality characteristics. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Achieved goal (reduced violence) in 7 of 9 men (21 week follow-up) - More ability to stop and question one's impulse. - Internal dialogue.
FACILITATORS	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Groups led by male/female - at least one of two has a Master's Degree. Process group led by former group member. 			Male - Master's Degree
DROP OUT RATE	21 men did not complete the program.	Completion rate of 17%		

	CABOR	CHEN, SUSAMI MIYER, DENTON 1987	EDELSON AND SYERS	RIDGWOOD, TUFFY AND ROTHEBY
THEORETICAL MODEL	Eclectic Enhance insight (why they engage in violence) - Interactive - Build communication skills - Behaviour - Teaches behaviour to prevent violence - Cognitive - Recognize anger - Education - Male social role	Cognitive/Behavioural/ Educational	- Educational - Self-help - Combined (educational and self-help)	- Psycho educational - Cognitive restructuring
INTERVENTION STRATEGIES	Anger management, communication, control issues.	Focus on issues such as: control, denial and isolation, learning techniques to avoid violent interactions.	Education: More lectures Video/role play/discussions Behaviour is learned and socially reinforced. Self-help: Members choose topics, minimum structure.	Open-ended (Groups without fixed beginning or ending dates)
TIMEFRAME FOLLOW-UP	Measure client's behaviour at start, during and three months after treatment. 14-16 sessions	8 intervention sessions	12 or 32 sessions Six month follow-up with men and women. 92 men and partners were interviewed at follow-up.	Treatment Groups - 2 to 3 hours - 10-12 weeks - Survey 6 months after - Self-report
SOURCES OF REFERRAL	Court, self, partner, probation and corrections	Court-ordered	Court-ordered or self-referred	Courts, probation, counselling agencies, shelters, hospitals, doctors, child welfare agencies
POPULATION	44 men in six treatment programs	Treatment group: 120 men Control group: 101 men (men convicted of spousal abuse but not ordered to treatment)	283 Men 102 Court orders	76 Women 12 Wife assault victim support groups 80 Men in 15 perpetrators Treatment groups
FACILITATORS	Majority have MSW On-the-job training Attend workshops		All male	Majority of groups (11 of 15) were led by male and female co-facilitators.
OUTCOME MEASURES	Effects of program on physical and sexual abusive behaviour. Address emotional abuse and controlling behaviour.	Recidivism - two measures Partner charged with domestic violence. 1. Any charge 2. Also constructed an offence scale - more domestic violence and other violence coded as 2, non-violence coded as 1, no charges coded as 0.	Determine which type of treatment and intensity is most effective. Broken down into 3 categories: - Threats (screaming insults) - Terroristic threats - smashing objects, harming pets. - Physical sexual abuse	Social support, self-esteem, perceived stress, marital relations.
MEASURES	Partner Abuse Index (victim and client) Open-ended questions	Court files		Pre post questionnaires to measure Outcome Measures. Index of spouse abuse, focus of controlling behaviour, conflict tactics scale, social desirability.

	CAPOR	CHEN, BERSANI, MYERS, DENTON, 1987	EDLSON AND SYERS	BIDGOOD, TUFFY AND ROTHBERY
PARTNER CONTACT	Contacted 24 after program. Three months after (by phone)			Partner outreach support groups
DEFINITION OF ABUSE	Physical, emotional, sexual, controlling behaviour.	Physical	Threat = Leave situation Physical = Screamed, insulted, interrupted sleep and eating	Violent and controlling
SELECTION CRITERIA	Excluded if: - Major psychiatric disorder - Chemical dependency - Those heavily denying their abusive behaviour - Lack of integrity - Inability to work in a group			
RESULTS	Improvement in client behaviour (Partner Abuse Index) - Improvement in problem solving. - Less physical/verbal abuse. - Improved anger, management insight. - Communication with partners, accepting responsibility for behaviour. - Clients said they benefitted from female in group. Complaint: - Too short, not enough individual time - Lack of agenda and follow-up time.	Found that two variables influence recidivism: - number of prior violent charges - length of time since sentencing Only those who attended 75% or more of treatment experienced decrease in recidivism.	12 sessions regardless of intervention 10% less rate of violence The more structured and educational the group, the less likely a man was reported violent at follow-up. - Education 20% violent at follow-up - Combined 26.9% - Self-help 64.3%	Total sample - 104 (80 new clients, 24 re-contracted) Of these, 68.3% completed the program and 23.9% were reached for follow-up. Significant positive changes in all Outcome Measures except social desirability.
DROP OUT RATE	13 of 42 dropped out (31%) Most were discharged for missing three meetings.	53% attended 75% of sessions, therefore 37% failed to attend this many sessions, and one-third of this group dropped out.		Drop out rate - 22%

	REIDIG	NEEDITH & BURNS	FABLEY AND NEGILL	PALKER, BROWN, BARRERA
THEORETICAL MODEL	Social learning/cognitive restructuring	Psycho-educational	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Cognitive-behavioural - Violence is an inappropriate learned coping mechanism to deal with anger. - Men are solely responsible for their violent behaviour. - He must increase awareness of feelings in order to change, therefore cognitive restructuring is needed. 	Psycho-educational
INTERVENTION STRATEGIES	Instruction, behavioural rehearsal, feedback on homework. Deal with personal responsibility, anger control, stress management, communication and conflict containment.	Sign contract stating commitment to program. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Keep anger log. - Understand nature and cause of violence. 	Accept responsibility. Form contract to attend meetings, id, goals for change, alternatives to violence, interpersonal skills, development of personal awareness, personal diary.	Client-centred approach. Information giving modeling values, teaching skills for dealing with anger, reinforcing self-esteem and improving relations with women.
TIMEFRAME FOLLOW-UP	10 weekly sessions 2 hours each session	3 and 6 month follow-ups Client's self-report and spousal contact. Programs varied from 9 to 24 weeks.	12 weekly sessions 2-1/2 hours each - 3 months after - Client attends 1 hour interview to gather data for evaluation follow-up. - Questionnaire and HSSF	Timeframe is 10 weeks. Once a week for 2-1/2 hours. Questionnaire mailed 12 months after treatment.
SOURCES OF REFERRAL		Self referred/Court mandated.	Self referred Recruited through information sessions with professionals.	Court referred
POPULATION		9 programs participated - 132 clients and partners	17 men	59 men convicted 17 of 59 in control group 42 in treatment
FACILITATORS		Men and women preferably	2 males (seen as less threatening) for men who project frustration towards their female partner.	Male - MSW
OUTCOME MEASURES	Permanent cessation of interpersonal violence	Measured levels of physical, verbal, sexual, emotional abuse and impact on partner. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Stop all forms of physical abuse. - Develop appropriate assertiveness skills. - Broaden support network - Develop improved self-control - Improve communication skills - Teach non-violent alternative behaviour Overall: Reducing abusive behaviour.	Produce changes in social functioning; cessation of violence. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Acknowledge problem - Assume responsibility for actions - Seek appropriate alternative to express violence. 	Improve: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Understanding of violence and consequences. - Responsibility for violent behaviour. - Coping with conflict and anger. - Self-esteem - Relationship with women

	NEIDIG	MERKITH AND BURNS	FARLEY AND MAGILL	PALMER, BROWN, BARBERA
MEASURES	Police reports, contact clients by phone at six month intervals. Locus of Control Scale Dyadic Adjustment Scale	Conflict Tactic Scale Index of controlling behaviour	Heimler Scale of social functioning (pre and post)	Recidivism rate based on police reports. Self report and partner report. Basic personality inventory (pre and post).
PARTNER CONTACT	Contacted at 6 months	Contact spouse during treatment then at end of program for feedback. (3 and 6 month follow-up)		Interview
DEFINITION OF ABUSE	Serious physical violence = kicking, biting, hitting with fist, hitting or attempting to hit with an object, beating up or threatening with or using a knife or gun against spouse.	Physical abuse - more physical force to intimidate, control or force another to do something against their will. - emotional - verbal - sexual	Physical and Psychological	Men were defined as abusive when they were convicted of partner abuse, placed on probation and ordered, by a judge, to participate in the treatment program.
SELECTION CRITERIA			Follow-up questionnaire	Restricted if alcohol problem (permitted if getting help).
RESULTS	Majority reported no additional violence since completion of program.	Reduction in all forms of abuse, however, physical abuse was still occurring during follow-up at a decreased rate. Sexual, emotional and verbal abuse showed a significant decrease.	Follow-up - no physical violence. 10 report verbal abuse	BPI - No difference between control and treatment. 31% of control group: Evidence of physical abuse or servious threats in follow-up. Treatment group 10%.
DROP OUT RATE	53% Drop out rate			

	EDLESON AND SYDES	DUTTON	ROSENBAUM	BARKELL
THEORETICAL MODEL	Self help, education, combination.	Cognitive/Behavioural	Psycho-educational	Cognitive/behaviour
INTERVENTION STRATEGIES	<p>Education</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Lectures, video tapes, role-playing and group discussions <p>Self-held</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Clients select topic they wish to discuss. <p>Combined</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Education lectures and personal issues. 	<p>Cognitive behaviour.</p> <p>Modification, anger management and assertiveness.</p>	<p>Violence is a learned behaviour therefore client can learn new behaviours.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1) 12 weeks - 1-1/2 hours Interpersonal communication 2) Cognitive restructuring to change beliefs about violence. 3) Improve self observation. 4) Develop alternative responses. 5) Education on the cycle of violence.
TIMEFRAME FOLLOW-UP	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - 12 or 32 sessions - 18 months after - Interviewed by phone Of 153 men - 70 responded 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - 3 hours a week/6 week program - 6 months - 3 years 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - 6 week program - phone every 3 months for 2 years 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1) 12 weeks - 1-1/2 hours 2) 8 weeks - 1-1/2 hours 3) 12 weeks - 1-1/2 hours
SOURCES OF REFERRAL	Court referred/Self referred	Court referred	Self referred	Court ordered/Self referred
POPULATION	153 Court and self referred	50 men in treatment 50 men in control Referred by probation	Total of 12 men Follow-up data available for 9 men.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1) 9-10 batterers per group - total of 43 men. 2) 51 total 3) 22 in two groups
FACILITATORS	All men		Male/female co-facilitators	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1) 1 Leader with MSW 2) 1 Leader 3) 2 Leaders
OUTCOME MEASURES	Determine which type of treatment and intensity is most effective at 18 month follow-up.	<p>Obtained police records of 50 men convicted - not treated and of 50 who were treated.</p> <p>Examined recidivism rates for men in court-mandated treatment in comparison to those not attending treatment.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Attitude change - Behaviour change - Non-violence 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Reduction in the frequency and severity of violence. - Abstention from violence. - Improved victim safety - Changes in behaviour and attitude (violent behaviour, psychological abuse).
MEASURES	<p>Conflict Tactic Scale</p> <p>Threats</p> <p>Terroristic threats</p> <p>Physical sexual abuse</p>	<p>Straus Conflict Tactics Scale (pre and post) man and partner.</p> <p>Police records</p>	Client self report	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Self reports - Victim reports - Official reports from Police and Courts.
PARTNER CONTACT		Given Straus Conflict	No contact	
DEFINITION OF ABUSE			Physical	Physical and psychological

SELECTION OF CRITERIA	ROLESON & SYERS	DUTTON	ROSENBAUM	HARBELL
RESULTS	Self help group showed a higher rate of non-violence at eighteen month follow-up than those interviewed at 6 month follow-up. Two thirds of men in education and combined were not violent at 18 month follow-up.	Conflict Tactic Scale Decrease in violence Treatment: 4% recidivism Control : 40% recidivism	Relationship be at least 6 months in duration and at least one incident of physical violence. 8 men reported as non-violent at 6 month follow-up.	No significant difference between treated and non-treated offenders on frequency of physical aggression, threats of violence, use of conflict resolutions.
DROP OUT RATE				1) 40 completed 3 dropped out 2) 37 completed 14 dropped out 3) 13 offenders ordered to go 7 completed 6 dropped out

	SEKPAD		
THEORETICAL MODEL	Pro feminist/educational		
INTERVENTION STRATEGIES	<u>TWO STAGES:</u> 1. Counselling/psycho/educational 2. Educational		
TIMEFRAME FOLLOW-UP	12 weeks counselling 12 weeks educational 3 months after (both men and women) 14 months after (partners only)		
SOURCES OF REFERRAL	Court ordered		
POPULATION	92 men		
FACILITATORS	Men and women co-facilitators		
OUTCOME MEASURES	Eliminate abusive behaviour		
MEASURES	Behaviour Checklist Physical, sexual and psychological		
PARTNER CONTACT	Partners interviewed five times throughout program. (Beginning to 14 month follow-up). Partner outreach also available.		
DEFINITION OF ABUSE	Physical, psychological, sexual, controlling behaviour		
SELECTION CRITERIA			
RESULT	Abuse decreased near middle and end of program. This decrease was maintained at follow-up.		
DROPOUT RATE			