Men's Violence and Programs Focused on Change†

REBECCA EMERSON DOBASH AND RUSSELL P DOBASH*

The costs of violence against women

The personal, social and financial costs of violence against women are immense. There are, of course, the human costs: the fear, anxiety and injuries experienced by abused women and the stress upon children who witness their father hitting their mother and endure the atmosphere of a household filled with tension and episodic scenes of physical attack, frantic attempts to get help, visits by the police, flights into the night, and periods of living away from home. The costs of violence are, indeed, substantial. Recent estimates by the World Bank indicate that violence against women accounts for one out of five healthy years of life lost to women of reproductive age (Heise et al 1994). Domestic violence, according to these estimates, constitutes a significant cause of disability and death among women in both the industrial and the developing world. The financial costs of violence against women have recently been subjected to economic analysis in Australia and New Zealand, and it is estimated that in New Zealand the overall annual cost of violence against women in the home is equal to the entire budget of the social services (Snively 1994).

Personal, social and medical services are all involved in responding to violence against women. Physical injuries, chronic ill-health and emotional stress lead women to seek help and research shows that GPs are often consulted on a frequent basis (Hague and Malos 1993). Serious injuries can result in the use of hospital services, and dental care may be required for broken teeth and jaws. The psychological impact of continual violence and intimidation may also lead to the need for psychiatric services for women. Chronic depression and attempted suicide may also be associated with habitual violence and intimidation (Stark and Flitcraft 1991).

Personal and housing services become involved when women seek support and advice or when they attempt to secure temporary or permanent accommodation. The process of leaving and returning — often associated with efforts to re-negotiate a violent relationship — inflicts considerable personal burdens on women and children, relatives and friends, and incurs financial costs for the state (Dobash and Dobash 1992; Hague and Malos 1993; Ball 1994). Housing and social work practitioners spend time responding to the large and often 'invisible' number of cases processed through their agencies, and these represent only a small proportion of the actual number of cases that occur. When women leave and attempt to establish a new and separate residence, there are the costs of resettlement and

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* Violence Research Centre, Department of Social Policy and Social Work, University of Manchester.

new housing. Of particular importance in this help-seeking process are voluntary groups such as Women's Aid and Victims Support. For nearly two decades Women's Aid and other refuge groups have provided at minimal costs to the state 24 hour assistance for women and their children. Employers, whether they are aware of it or not, lose countless workdays from employees due to injuries from attacks, and they sometimes experience the trauma of disputes spilling into the workplace as men pursue women outside the confines of the home and into the place of work. Educational services also incur costs. Children may miss school, may need to leave without notice, may be anxious or ill at school, and may be unable to fully develop their educational potential. At its most severe, this violence may exact the cost of human life when women are killed after years of violence or, more rarely, when men are killed by women responding to years of physical abuse.

Men also incur the personal costs including criminal justice sanctions and sometimes the loss of their partner and children. Costs to criminal justice are significant, though often hidden. Evidence from several sources show that police often make multiple visits to the same home, whether or not they arrest. Repeat call-outs and responding to frequent telephone requests for assistance involve the expenditure of considerable police resources. When arrests are made, police time is expended. When men are detained, additional costs are incurred. Prosecution, court cases, sentencing and the imposition of any and all sanctions, whether in the community or in prison, generate enormous costs, particularly when they are repeated again and again. The increasing use of interdicts in Scotland and injunctions in England and Wales has also increased expenditure in this area. In addition to the costs associated with processing the perpetrator of a crime of violence, the criminal justice system also provides direct services to the victims of violence. In recent years, specialist Domestic Violence and Women and Children support units have been established in many police jurisdictions (Grace 1995) whose major function is to provide support for physically and sexually abused women and girls. There are also costs when the legal profession become involved: prosecuting and defending offenders, providing legal services during separation and divorce, and negotiating custody disputes involving children.

Ignoring the violence does not make it go away nor does it reduce the human and financial costs incurred by its continuation. Victims of violence will continue to need the services of a host of agencies, and the perpetrators will continue to appear again and again before the justice system. Responding in a clear and assertive manner focused at reducing or eliminating this violence rather than simply containing or ignoring it will, of course, also involve the use of resources and incur financial costs. However, even if the financial costs of making positive steps toward stopping this violence were exactly the same as those incurred by simply leaving things as they are, this would be a paper transfer well worth making because of the reduction in personal and social costs. Whether human, social or financial, the costs incurred by domestic violence are not only high but also reflect an expense that is deeply negative both to the individuals most directly involved and to the society as a whole. Thus, shifting the negative financial costs of continuing to 'live with domestic violence' to the positive ones of concertedly focusing on its elimination marks more than a balance sheet of financial expenditure but also reflects a balance sheet of personal well-being and social cohesion of vital importance in responding to this serious and pressing social problem.

Responding to violence and violent men

During the last two decades there have been a number of social and legal initiatives in the UK and abroad to protect women who suffer violence from their partner. Until recently the primary means of response to this violence has been through the provision of refuge and other forms of support for abused women and their children. This is vital and must continue. Initiatives have also been developed to deal with the men who use violence. The first focused on police response, stressing the obvious criminality of the violence and urging more pro-active forms of intervention such as arrest and prosecution. Recent innovations focus on re-education programs for men as an additional part of the response of the justice system. Numerous criminal justice based programs are now operating in North America, Australia, and New Zealand, although at present there are only two such criminal justice based re-education programs for violent men in the UK, CHANGE (established in Central Region in September 1989) and the Lothian Domestic Violence Probation Project (begun in Edinburgh in 1990). At present they are operating on an experimental basis and have been subject to an extensive evaluation soon to be published (Dobash et al 1996).

CHANGE and the Lothian Domestic Violence Probation Project

Both CHANGE and the Lothian Domestic Violence Probation Project (LDVPP) are community based programs designed to re-educate men who have been found guilty of violence against their female partner. Men attend weekly sessions as a condition of their probation order. CHANGE is funded by the Urban Programme and sponsored by Central Region Council Social Work Department. LDVPP was created and operates under the auspices of the Lothian Social Work Department in their capacity as a probation service. It is funded directly from the Lothian Regional Council.

Considerable time and effort was needed to develop these programs including a six month period of planning, training and program development as well as consultations with procurators fiscal, sheriffs and court social workers. Professionals in criminal justice, social work and Women's Aid offered advise and assistance. Both projects had to deal with the diverse and sometimes contradictory concerns and requirements of a range of agencies in the process of establishing a working relationship among all those concerned (see Dobash and Dobash 1992:178–212 on implementation of innovation in criminal justice). Both operate a program of direct services to violent men using a structured and systematic approach that challenges offending behaviour and associated attitudes and assists men to construct more positive methods of dealing with conflict. A range of techniques is used and most are undertaken in a group setting. Fundamental emphasis is placed on a direct approach to the violence and on the use of cognitive-behavioural principles to change both the behaviour and the thinking of men who use violence.

The overall *aims* of the two projects are broadly similar: to deliver a criminal justice based re-education program for men who have been violent to their wives or female partners, to encourage collaborative inter-agency practice on domestic violence, to offer training and consultancy to other professionals working in this area and, through publications and conferences to raise generally the profile of the issue of domestic violence (CHANGE). The specific *goals* of the weekly re-education programs are also broadly similar: to enhance men's understanding of their acts and belief systems; increase men's willingness to change; improve men's understanding of the causes of violence; provide practical information about changing abusive behaviour; and encourage men to become accountable to others (LDVPP).

The two programs have rather distinct *organisational structures* and operate on a somewhat different basis because of the nature of statutory obligations and relationships to the

offender. Men on both CHANGE and the LDVPP have been found guilty of an offence and violence to their partner has been identified as a problem; once assessed as appropriate for the program, they participate as a condition of a probation order. However, both programs begin the process with an initial interview with the man and his partner in order to assess the man's suitability for the program, willingness to participate and acceptance of the fact that he is violent. Operating in their capacity as Probation Officers, the LDVPP staff conduct Social Enquiry Reports on offenders and hold the probation orders of the men on their program. CHANGE provides probation court services to the three Sheriff Courts in Central Region. The coordinators conduct assessments separately from, but in liaison with, Social Work Departments who compile the SER for the Courts. They work closely with Social Work but do not hold the probation orders on the offenders sentenced to the program.

Before being accepted into one of the programs, prospective participants and their partners are given separate leaflets containing basic information about the orientation and expectations of the program. Information leaflets for men and their partners clearly state expectations about program attendance, make no promise to keep the relationship together, reject alcohol abuse as a 'cause' of violence and indicate that failure to attend will constitute a breach of the probation order. These materials indicate to the woman that the court is considering placing the man on the program because of his offence involving violence to her, and stress that she is not responsible for his violence. It is also indicated that the program is for men only, that the focus is on the violence and ways of stopping it, that her safety cannot be guaranteed and that she should continue with safety plans involving interdicts and the use of resources such as the police, friends, neighbours and Women's Aid.

Contracts and rules of participation

Once sentenced to one of the programs, men are required to sign before witnesses an agreement to participate. The contracts for participation and the group rules for both programs emphasise that the program is a condition of probation and that the probationer must not only attend but must actively participate. Subsequent refusal to participate and non-attendance are considered grounds for men to be referred for alternative or additional sanctions.

The approach to violent behaviour

The LDVPP and CHANGE use an educational rather than a therapeutic approach, and primarily work with men in groups, although LDVPP do some work with individuals. From this perspective, men's abuse of and violence towards women is seen as learned and intentional behaviour rather than the consequence of individual pathology, stress, anger, alcohol abuse or the fact that he lives in a 'dysfunctional relationship'. The core of the intervention involves structured, 'challenging' group work conducted on a weekly basis for a period of six (CHANGE) to seven (LDVPP) months. In addition, LDVPP has six to seven preliminary individual sessions to orient the men prior to joining the group.

Using a cognitive-behavioural approach and other techniques, the programs aim to increase offender's insight into their violent behaviour and its impact on others, especially partners and children. The focus is clearly on the offender, his violence and his responsibility for change, and working in groups is intended to create a social and public context in which men are encouraged to take responsibility for their behaviour and its transformation. Insight into actions and motivations enhance empathy with others, and the teaching of an array of new behavioural skills and techniques form the foundation upon which to model new ways of thinking and acting.

Working with women partners

During the man's participation in the program, his partner is periodically sent information concerning the issues being covered in the curriculum and invited to contact the program should she have any questions. The final information sheet informs her that he has completed the program and restates the general areas covered.

Various approaches have been used to contact and provide information to the partners of the men on the program. Since its creation the CHANGE project has provided financial resources to local Women's Aid groups to provide direct support to women. In 1994 CHANGE began to expand their direct work with women. Working together, CHANGE, Social Work and Women's Aid established a joint consultative group aimed at enhancing partner support. The outcome of this collaboration has been the production of four new leaflets for women and the creation of group meetings for women which are now in the early stages of development. While LDVPP do not provide funds directly to Women's Aid for the purposes of outreach work with women partners, they do undertake direct outreach work in their capacity as combined Social Workers and Probation Officers. In 1994, they briefly ran a pilot project employing a temporary member of staff to work with women partners and have recently articulated a long-term goal similar to that originally proposed by CHANGE — a pro-active outreach worker within Women's Aid.

For Women's Aid, work with the women partners of men in the programs inevitably raises the issue of expanding into pro-active work with women rather than retaining their traditional re-active approach. It remains to be seen if work with women partners can be financed and accommodated within Women's Aid or would be better undertaken within the framework of the men's programs themselves.

The research (focus, design, baselines and five indexes)

To date, no substantial research has been conducted on programs for violent men operating in Britain, although research has been carried out in the United States and Canada on similar interventions. This evaluation of criminal justice based programs for violent men was jointly funded by the Scottish Office and the Home Office. A quasi-experimental design was used to compare the impact of the two men's programs with that of other criminal justice sanctions (fine, traditional probation and prison). The research question focused on whether the experimental men's programs are more likely than other criminal justice sanctions to inhibit and eliminate violence and/or to enhance the safety and well-being of women partners. The research also explored why men might change their violent behaviour.

Men and their women partners were interviewed in depth at Time 1 (soon after the criminal justice intervention) and contacted by postal questionnaire at Time 2 (three months after the interview) and Time 3 (12 months after the interview). The design is presented in Figure 1.

Figure 1 Research Design: Evaluation of Programs for Violent Men

Intervention	Time 1 Interview		Time 2 Postal Q. - 3 mos		Time 3 Postal Q. - 12 mos.	
	M	W	M (%)	W (%)	M (%)	W (%)
Men's Programs	51	47	41 (80)	39 (83)	27 (53)	28 (60)
Oth Crim Justice	71	87	51 (72)	67 (77)	35 (49)	50 (57)
Total	122	134^	92	106	62	78

(%) percentage return rate based on number of interviews at Time 1

^ An additional 8 women from refuges were interviewed but because of small numbers are excluded from this analysis (Dobash, Dobash, Cavanagh and Lewis 1996; 1997).

Baseline assessments

Baseline measures provided details about violent and controlling acts as well as a range of other pertinent information including: biographical details, violence in family of origin; history of alcohol/drug dependency and abuse; family activities and routines; nature and levels of conflict; reactions to conflict and violence; attributions of responsibility associated with conflict and violence; women's efforts to avoid or reduce the violence and men's prior attempts to stop; history of the man's violence toward others; criminal and penal history of the man; previous criminal justice intervention regarding violence against the woman; the sequence of events leading to the criminal justice intervention; reactions associated with the legal intervention; behaviour of men toward partners during the court process; the use and perceived impact of civil restraints; men's and women's assessment of the impact of specific sanctions. The Baseline Assessments are listed below in Figure 2.

Figure 2 Baseline Assessments

- (VAI) VIOLENCE ASSESSMENT INDEX
- (IAI) INJURY ASSESSMENT INDEX
- (CBI) CONTROLLING BEHAVIOURS INDEX
- EMPATHY: KNOWLEDGE OF PARTNER'S BACKGROUND AND ATTITUDES TOWARD PARTNER
- DENIAL, MINIMISATION AND DEFLECTION
- QUALITY OF THE RELATIONSHIP
- SOCIAL NETWORKS
- HELP-SEEKING BEHAVIOUR
- ORIENTATION TOWARD CRIMINAL JUSTICE INTERVENTION
- POTENTIAL FOR CHANGE

(Dobash, Dobash, Cavanagh and Lewis, 1996; 1997)

Measuring the violence

At Time 1, systematic, in-depth open-ended forms of interviewing were combined with more standardised, quantitative forms of data collection to obtain fulsome accounts of violence. Three Indexes (The Violence Assessment Index [VAI], Injury Assessment Index [IAI] and Controlling Behaviours Index [CBI]) were created and used at all three time periods to gather systematic quantitative data about the nature, range and frequency of abusive behaviours used by the men. The VAI included 26 distinct types of violence, ranging from a slap inflicted on the arm to a kick directed at the head. The IAI measured different types of injury including bruises, cuts, black eyes and internal injuries. Men who use persistent violence against their partners often employ other methods of control, such as physical threats and intimidation, and the CBI measured 21 distinct forms, from more overt types of intimidation to more subtle forms of coercion (see Appendix 1: Five Indexes).

Postal questionnaires were sent to men and women at two subsequent time periods (Time 2 and Time 3) and were intended to assess changes in the behaviour and orientations of men and the predicament of women three and 12 months after the initial interview. Fundamental issues explored through follow-up questionnaires included: the nature and extent of contact between the man and woman; current levels of violence, injury and intimidation; and the perceived impact of the criminal justice sanction on the relationship. The above-mentioned indices were used to assess these orientations and behaviours. An additional index was included in the final questionnaire, the Quality of Life Index (QLI), aimed at assessing any perceived changes in the quality of life for men and women at the end of the evaluation period (see Appendix 1: Five Indexes).

The violence

The research provides new evidence regarding the nature and severity of domestic violence, compares the accounts of men with those of their women partners and provides an evaluation of the only two British criminal justice based programs for violent men. The systematic interviews with violent men illustrate the nature of violence and controlling behaviours used by men against their partners and provide the first systematic, in-depth evidence of men's own detailed accounts of their violence and associated acts. Similar interviews with their partners provide the first direct comparisons of the accounts of men and women discussing the same violent events.

Rationales for violence

The circumstances in which men choose to use violence reveal a great deal about rationalisations, minimisation and legitimating of violence, about relationships between men and women and about orientations to intimate partners. At interview men discuss issues such as jealousy, male authority and demands for domestic services as the usual sources of conflict and arguments which lead to violence. The following quotes from men illustrate the context in which they used violence.

Jealousy	[re: former boyfriend] 'She once told me that she had held hands with another boy. I went seriously mad about that.'
Male Authority	'I was wanting to show her who was the boss.'
Social Activities	'Do you argue about [her] going out with friends?' 'Well, it's not really an argument — she just gets told to shut up.' [laughs]

Children	'I think the only time we nearly came to blows when I've been sober was over the kids.'
Sex	'Well if she'd let me do it [have sex] I wouldn't have punched her.'
Alcohol	'If I was to stop drinking, [she] would never have a black eye. It's only been with alcohol, that's all it is.'
Money	'I suppose I might have [felt justified] the last time because we argued about money and I thought [she] had spent too much but in the end she hadn't.'

At interview it was clear that men do not believe their partners have the right to argue, negotiate or debate with them and such behaviour is deemed both a nuisance and a threat to their authority. Violence is commonly used to silence debate, to reassert male authority and to deny women a voice in the affairs of their daily lives.

> She used to carry on the arguments and I wanted to let it drop but she'd carry it on and that's when I ended up, I would turn round and hit her.
> *Q: Can you understand why she needed to continue with the argument?*
> Not a bit ...
> *Q: Why did you hit her?*
> Sometimes she doesn't take 'no' for an answer. Sometimes she'll go on and on and on about different things ...
> I've battered her that many times, she should know when to stop her crap. She knows when I get annoyed because I sit and clench my teeth ...

Men's behaviour and attitudes are learned and sustained within the context of friends, relatives, the community, the justice system, the popular media and other arenas that form the overall context of individuals' daily lives. The messages from these contexts vary; they may reinforce, support, ignore or reject the use of violence towards partners; often they are mixed. These messages are reflected in men's comments noting their perception of the world around them in relation to the acceptability of their violence. Self justification, minimisation and victim blaming are recurring features of men's accounts of their use of violence.

While many men claim a lack of knowledge and control (and therefore responsibility) with respect to their use of violence, some do articulate what they wanted to achieve through its use and whether they have been successful. In this sense, violence is functional; it is intended to achieve a certain goal and is often successful even though other costs may be incurred. Thus, violence both works and fails. Interventions directed at violent men enter this context of mixed and contradictory messages and responses and become a part of the overall complement of messages.

Do violent men change?

Change over time was assessed in various ways: by determining the rate of subsequent rearrest in the two groups as reflected in official court records; by measuring the incidence, frequency and severity of violence during the follow-up period; by considering the maintenance or reduction in controlling and coercive behaviours; and by assessing the improvement or deterioration in the quality of life for women who had been the victims violence. The fundamental aim of the research was to determine if there were significant differences in the two comparison groups 12 months after the initial interview.

Changes in violent behaviour

An analysis of court reports revealed that during follow-up period very few men were charged and prosecuted for offences involving violence against their partners. Court records

indicated that 7 per cent of men in the Programme group and 10 per cent of men in the Other CJ group had failed by committing another offence. On the basis of such results it could be concluded that arrest and prosecution have a significant impact on subsequent violence and that the Programmes are only slightly more successful than other sanctions in reducing violence.

The results of follow-up questionnaires from women (who provide more cautious reports than men) tell a different story. They indicate a much higher incidence of failure for both groups than do court records, but they also reveal that regardless of the type of sanction, arrest and prosecution have an impact on subsequent violence (Figure 1). Furthermore the evidence reveals that on a range of measures, men in the Programme group are more successful in reducing their violent and intimidating behaviour than men in the Other CJ group.

Three months after the initial interview (Time 2), 62 per cent of men in the Other CJ group had perpetrated at least one violent incident while only 30 per cent of men in the Programme group had failed by committing another act of violence. Twelve months after the initial interview (Time 3), 75 per cent of men in the Other CJ group had committed at least one violent act against their partner, while only 33 per cent of the men in the Programme group had failed.

There is also a significant difference between the two groups in the *frequency* of violence committed during the follow-up period. At Time 1, 31 per cent of women in the Other CJ group and 26 per cent in the Programme group reported five or more incidents of violence in the year preceding the criminal justice sanction. Three months after the interview (Time 2) no women in the Programme group reported frequent violence, whereas 16 per cent of women in the Other CJ group said they experienced five or more incidents of violence. At Time 3, a year after interview, 37 per cent of women in the Other CJ reported frequent violence whereas only 7 per cent of women in the Program group indicate they suffered frequent violence.

Changes in controlling behaviours

Sustaining patterns of non-violence beyond 12 months may be dependent upon changes in associated attitudes and coercive acts. The comparative evidence on changes in controlling and coercive behaviour tells a consistent story. In contrast to women in the Other CJ group, women living with men who participated in one of the programs report significant reductions on a range of controlling behaviours.

Changes in quality of life

The evidence on Quality of Life indicates strong differences in the two groups 12 months after intervention. Women in the Programme group were much more likely than women in the Other CJ group to say they were happy, more relaxed and less frightened than before the intervention. They report a consistent improvement in the emotional state of their partners; most women in the Other CJ group indicate no change in their partners and a fair proportion note a deterioration. Partners of men in the Other CJ group were also likely to report no change or even a deterioration in the relationship 12 months after interview. They told the researchers, for instance, that they were still unable to discuss issues with their partners, to enjoy their company and to want to spend time with them. Women in the Programme group were much more likely to report improvements in these areas. An overwhelming majority of women in the Programme group also indicated that their partner was less likely to try to restrict their lives and more likely to take responsibility for their violence. Only small proportions of women in the Other CJ group report significant

change in these areas. The results further show that Programme women were less likely to anticipate violent responses and to feel safer to argue and disagree with their partners. These women were more likely than women in the Other CJ group to say that arguments were becoming the end points of disagreements rather than the starting point of a violent event. Overall, the men and women provided evidence of three 'stories of change' as summarised in Figure 3 below.

Figure 3 Three stories of change

1) men who cannot or will not change despite the intervention,

2) men who engage in limited change maintained under the watchful eye of the enforcers of law and the threat of increasing sanctions,

3) men who change their violent behaviour and supporting attitudes and become the regulators of their own behaviour.

(Dobash, Dobash, Cavanagh and Lewis, 1996; 1997)

Why men change

Based on this research, a framework for delineating the process of change has been developed. Having first accepted that there are those who cannot or will not change it is important to examine more closely those who do express and demonstrate some form of change in order to explicate the process. We theorise that the process can be viewed as complex and unfolding, operating variably through the eight stages detailed in Figure 4.

Men may cease or reduce their violent behaviour because of costs to themselves or fear of external constraints or they may change because of an increase in internal controls and an increase in empathy with their partners. In terms of what is known about personal change, it is those changes generated from and rooted in internal controls which are likely to be sustained over time. As part of this process of developing different behaviour and orientations, men in the Programme group stressed the need to look back upon past behaviour in order to acknowledge, remember and condemn in an effort to ensure such behaviour is not repeated. The comments at interview and in the postal questionnaires reflect a process of looking backward and forward as an integral aspect of personal change.

Figure 4 The Process of Change

1) *Change is possible:* an attitudinal move away from the position that change is neither possible nor desirable to one of entertaining the notion of change as a real prospect;

2) *Motivation to change:* individuals must be motivated to change and become ready for that process;

3) *Why change?* involves a greater recognition of the costs and benefits for the man of continuing to use violence as well as an expansion of his social sphere beyond the self to include a consideration of the costs to others, particularly the woman;

4) *What changes*? particularly important is a shift from viewing one's self as an object that is only acted upon to that of a subject involved in making decisions about the use of violence; at the very least this involves taking greater responsibility for one's behaviour;

5) *General mechanisms of change* reflects a move from external constraints to internal controls, from change imposed through surveillance, regulation and sanction by others to one governed by the individual;

6) *The discourse* moves away from the old notions of accepting and supporting violence, of denial, minimisation and the blaming of others, to new notions of rights, respect, responsibility, respectful retribution and recompense constructed and operating within the changed sense of self-other relationships;

7) *The medium of change* includes learning, talking and listening. Learning to communicate with women partners and others about violence and sources of conflict, learning to listen to others and to comprehend their position and perspective; and, finally,

8) *Specific elements of change* include learning behavioural skills and techniques as well as specific orientations that potentially reduce the number and intensity of conflicts between partners (e.g. by recognising women's autonomy, rights to independent thoughts and action), learning new skills to deal with temper and anger involved in the newly reduced areas of disagreement and conflict, learning to think before beginning to act, and others. The specifics involve re-conceptualising relationships between partners that brings about a reduction in the potential areas of conflict that inevitably arise in relationships based on stringent male authority, power and control and female subordination and learning new orientations, skills and techniques used to undertake negotiations with a partner rather than imposing power and punishment over a subordinate.

(Dobash, Dobash, Cavanagh and Lewis 1996; 1997)

Initial insights and future prospects

Initial insights indicate that 12 months after the intervention, a significant proportion of the offenders who participated in the men's programs reduced their violence and associated controlling behaviour and their women partners reported significant improvements in the quality of their lives and their relationships with these men. By contrast, men receiving other forms of criminal justice sanction were less likely to have reduced their violence and controlling behaviour and their partners were less likely to report an improvement in their quality of life or in the relationship.

Findings from this research show that, in contrast to men who experience other forms of criminal justice sanctions, a considerable proportion of the men participating in CHANGE and LDVPP have successfully reduced their violent and controlling behaviour over a one year period. Comments of women and men attest to a reduction in the level and frequency of violence and significant changes in the way men think about the violence, inflicting harm, their responsibility, their partners and their willingness to maintain a life free of violence. This research shows that well-managed projects delivering a structured program focusing on the offender and the offending behaviour are more likely than other forms of criminal justice intervention to reduce or eliminate violence and intimidating behaviour. While this research focused on the two innovative programs in Britain, research results from elsewhere, particularly the meta-analysis from North America, also support these general findings.

Other evaluations of similarly structured programs for offenders show that it is possible to reduce or eliminate various forms of criminal behaviour. Like CHANGE and the LDVPP, most of the interventions found to be successful have high program integrity, are planned and carefully delivered, are effectively managed and operate with a structured and focused approach (Gendreau et al 1994; McGuire and Priestley 1992; Mair 1991). Programmes offering unstructured, non-specific, and non-directive, interventions focusing on emotions (particularly traditional psychodynamic approaches) have not been found to be productive in this area of work. Exploring emotional development and attempting to unravel the workings of the unconscious have not produced the same results as programs that focus on the offender and the offending behaviour in a direct, clear and focused fashion. Individual casework where the main goal is to build good relationships between the client and offender also yield poor results. Research also shows that interventions that are purely punishment based do not succeed (Gendreau et al 1994).

A number of evaluations based on a meta-analysis of hundreds of programs for offenders, show that effective forms of intervention deliver intensive services to medium or high risk offenders in a group setting. These interventions are cognitive and behavioural in approach and are aimed at changing the values, beliefs and actions of offenders. Successful programs aim to improve internal control, develop social skills, increase critical reasoning associated with the offence, establish reasoned methods for solving problems and enhance the understanding of the consequences for the victim (empathy). Findings from this growing body of evaluation research provide further support for the general findings of the present study.

Emerging evidence also points to the need for the use of criminal justice sanctions for serious and escalating violence (Ford 1991a, 1991b; Fagan 1992). Research shows that while programs based on the voluntary participation of men may be worthwhile for a small number of men — the most highly motivated — they are unlikely to reach the vast majority of men who use violence and often have high rates of attrition even among the small proportion of men who voluntarily seek to address the problem of their violence. By contrast, the LDVPP and CHANGE have very low rates of attrition. Most of the men sentenced to the programs complete the course. Very few of the men interviewed in this study

sought help through their own initiative and would not have willingly participated in a voluntary program. The process of being arrested, charged, prosecuted and sentenced to one of the innovative programs provided a lever, an 'incentive' to participate. Of course, this only begins the process of change. What is clear, however, is that many of these men feared an escalation of sanctions, and for some this generated a willingness to participate in the men's program. It should also be noted that, through weekly attendance, recounting of violent events, and self-monitoring of current behaviour, the men's programs not only provide 'treatment' and re-education but also constitute a form of social control and social 'surveillance'. Practices such as these reinforce the view that wrongs have been committed and that arrest and prosecution are consequential. Failure to comply with the requirements of the men's programs should also be consequential, eliciting a swift response from the program and the justice professionals in the form of a breach from the program and a return to the courts for a meaningful response.

Locating programs for men within criminal justice creates clear costs for using violence, and these and other costs are reinforced within the context of the program. Violent men do not usually reflect on their use of violence and its consequences, yet many of the men who successfully completed the men's program began to think about their violence and to recognise its costs to themselves, their partners and their children. A sense of responsibility, guilt and shame associated with such acts helps provide a platform for change and a restraint on future behaviour. Acknowledging that one is at fault provides a significant step on the way to change. Overall, the findings of this research show that certain types of criminal justice intervention can make a positive difference in the general effort to end violence against women in the home. While the justice system is centrally important and cannot justifiably exempt itself from a clear and vigorous response to violence, it cannot be alone in this effort. Other sites, the medical profession, social workers, probation officers, and the education system, for example, must similarly respond to those aspects of the problem relevant to them.

As stated at the outset, the negative costs of the continuation of this violence are high; the positive benefits of its elimination are even higher. To be lost or gained, are the human costs, particularly for women and children but also for men, as well as the costs presently incurred by a whole host of personal and social services.

Women's refuge and housing, public education campaigns, training of the young in schools, health care and social services as well as programs for violent men all form a vital part of this wider response. Each represents an important part of an overall response to this problem. Although programs for violent men are certainly not the only element in the wider task of eliminating violence against women, they are nonetheless a vital part of the overall process. It is simply not possible to 'bring this violence to an end' without attempting to change the men who perpetrate the violence and the boys who may one day become those men. Just as men and boys learn the attitudes, orientations and skills used to justify the violent abuse of women partners, they can also learn those necessary to live lives free of such violence. All will benefit.

Appendix 1: Five Indexes

Figure 5 Violence Assessment Index (VAI)*

A	RESTRAINED HER FROM MOVING OR LEAVING THE ROOM
B	CHOKED HER OR HELD YOUR HAND OVER HER MOUTH
C	PUNCHED HER IN THE FACE
D	FORCED HER TO DO SOMETHING AGAINST HER WILL
E	SLAPPED HER ON THE FACE, BODY, ARMS OR LEGS
F	PUSHED, GRABBED OR SHOVED HER
G	THREATENED TO KILL YOURSELF
H	PUNCHED HER ON THE BODY, ARMS OR LEGS
I	USED AN OBJECT TO HURT HER
J	KICKED OR PUNCHED HER IN STOMACH WHEN PREGNANT
K	THREW THINGS AT HER OR ABOUT THE ROOM
L	DEMANDED SEX WHEN SHE DIDN'T WANT IT
M	PUNCHED OR KICKED THE WALLS OR FURNITURE
N	THREATENED TO HIT THE KIDS
O	SHOUTED AT OR THREATENED THE KIDS
P	FORCED HER TO HAVE SEX OR SOME KIND OF SEXUAL ACTIVITY
Q	TRIED TO SMOTHER OR DROWN HER
R	KICKED HER ON THE BODY, ARMS OR LEGS
S	SHOUTED AND SCREAMED AT HER
T	THREATENED HER WITH AN OBJECT OR WEAPON
U	KICKED HER IN THE FACE
V	SWORE AT HER OR CALLED HER NAMES
W	THREATENED TO KILL HER
X	TWISTED HER ARM
Y	DRAGGED HER OR PULLED HER BY HER HAIR
Z	THREATENED HER WITH YOUR FIST, HAND OR FOOT

(Dobash, Dobash, Cavanagh and Lewis, 1996; 1997)

* Copyright: Dobash, Dobash, Cavanagh and Lewis

Figure 6 Injury Assessment Index (IAI)*

A	CUT/S ON HER FACE
B	BRUISE/S ON HER BODY
C	BURN/S ANYWHERE
D	LOST HAIR
E	BROKEN ARM OR LEG
F	CUT/S ON HER ARMS OR LEGS
G	BRUISE/S ON HER FACE
H	MISCARRIAGE
I	BLACKOUT OR UNCONSCIOUSNESS
J	BRUISE/S ON HER ARMS OR LEGS
K	CUT/S ANYWHERE ON HER BODY
L	BLACK EYE/S
M	INTERNAL INJURY
N	LOST OR BROKEN TEETH
O	SICKNESS OR VOMITING
P	BLEEDING ON ANY PART OF FACE
Q	BROKEN RIBS
R	BLEEDING ON BODY, ARMS OR LEGS
S	SPLIT LIP
T	SPRAINED WRIST OR ANKLE
U	BROKEN NOSE, JAW OR CHEEKBONE

(Dobash, Dobash, Cavanagh and Lewis, 1996; 1997)

* Copyright: Dobash, Dobash, Cavanagh and Lewis

At interview the Injury Assessment Index (IAI) and the Violence Assessment Index (VAI) were used after men and women were asked specific open-ended questions about the violence and its consequences. In this way women and men were able to tell their story in their own way before providing specific and comparable details. The IAI and the VAI were used in a systematic manner during the course of the interviews. Rather than directly asking men if they had, for example, punched their partner in the face, item C on the VAI, they were given a card and the interviewer read out the letter corresponding to a particular violent act and asked the respondent if he had committed that act. In this way respondents and the interviewers avoided having to use the words associated with a particular type of violence. The results of the interviews showed that such a method enabled men to admit to certain acts that were not recounted in their general description, exactly what we expected. More surprising, was the way this method jogged the memories of women, who would usually recount more violence through the use of this method. In particular, women were

likely to spontaneously describe the 'more severe' types of violence; the VAI jogged their memories in terms of, for example, threats of violence. In contrast, men more often spontaneously described the 'less severe' types of violence; the VAI enabled them to admit to, for example, punching and kicking their partner. The use of the 'cue' cards turned out to be an excellent way of enhancing disclosure and jogging memories. The VAI and the IAI enabled us to gather comparable data about violence and injuries from men and women in all sample groups across three periods of time.

Figure 7 Controlling Behaviours Index (CBI) [Questions for men]*

Can you tell me how often you do any of the following things to your partner in a way which means she has to be careful?

- Threaten Her
- Shout At Her
- Swear At Her
- Shout At the Children
- Threaten To Hurt the Children
- Call Her Names
- Question Her About Her Activities
- Check Her Movements
- Have A Certain Look/Mood
- Try To Provoke An Argument
- Criticise Her
- Criticise Her Family/Friends
- Put Her Down In Front of Friends/Family
- Deliberately Keep Her Short of Money
- Make Her Feel Sexually Inadequate
- Point At Her
- Make To Hit Without Doing So
- Restrict Her Social Life
- Use Kids in Argument Against Her
- Threaten To Hurt the Pet
- Nag Her

(Dobash, Dobash, Cavanagh and Lewis, 1996; 1997)

Figure 8 Quality of Life Index (QLI) [Questions for men]*

Listed below are a number of things about you and your partner which might have changed since I interviewed you about a year ago. Please read them and tick one box for each statement.

	More	Less	Same
I am happy			
I do housework			
I am aware of my partner's feelings			
I understand my partner			
I am relaxed			
I feel angry with my partner			
My partner understands me			
I enjoy the company of my children			
I am possessive/jealous of my partner			
I understand myself			
I discuss things with my partner			

	More	Less	Same
I am interested in my partner's life			
I am able to see things from my partner's point of view			
My partner is frightened of me			
I restrict my partner's life			
My partner and I can laugh together			
I am likely to use physical violence against my partner			
My partner is happy			
I look after the children			
I like spending time with my partner			
My partner feels able to argue with me			

	More	Less	Same
I get on with other people			
I take responsibility for my violence towards my partner			
I am selfish			
I control my temper			
I see violence as a solution to problems with my partner			
I control my drinking			
I respect myself			
I think about my violent and abusive behaviour			
I want to stop my violence			
I threaten my partner			
I use physical violence against my partner			

(Dobash, Dobash, Cavanagh and Lewis, 1996; 1997)

Figure 9 Quality of Life Index (QLI) [Questions for women]*

Listed below are a number of things about you and your partner which might have changed since I interviewed you about a year ago. Please read them and tick one box for each statement.

	More	Less	Same
I am happy			
My partner is aware of my feelings			
My partner understands me			
I am relaxed			
I feel angry with my partner			
I discuss things with my partner			
My partner is able to see things from my point of view			
I am frightened of my partner			

	More	Less	Same
My partner restricts my life			
My partner and I can laugh together			
My partner is likely to use physical violence against me			
My partner is happy			
I like spending time with my partner			
My partner respects me			
I am likely to use physical violence towards my partner			
My partner is selfish			
I feel able to argue with my partner			

	More	Less	Same
My partner takes responsibility for his violence towards me			
My partner controls his temper			
My partner wants to stop his violence			
My partner controls his drinking			
I respect myself			
My partner sees violence as a solution to problems with me			
My partner uses physical violence against me			

(Dobash, Dobash, Cavanagh and Lewis, 1996; 1997)

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