Working With Male Batterers: A Restorative-Strengths Perspective

Katherine van Wormer & Susan G. Bednar

Abstract

The Duluth model of batterer intervention is based on a feminist critical theory paradigm that makes sense from the point of view of the victim/survivor. Male batterers in treatment, however, may resist many of the precepts of this model. Applying a restorative-strengths perspective to the group process and evaluation may enable us to meet participants where they are and help reduce the resistance, denial, recidivism, and high dropout rates common with this group. Principles of restorative justice may be applied at the community level as well to reinforce community standards of behavior.

THE DULUTH DOMESTIC ABUSE Intervention Program (DAIP) has been a revolutionary force in its creation of the Coordinated Community Response to domestic violence. Since its inception in 1980, this Minnesota group has become nationally recognized for successfully coordinating the efforts of communities on behalf of battered women in an effort to end domestic violence (Pence & Paymar, 1993; Shepard & Pence, 1999). Recognizing the futility of intervening solely on a case-by-case basis in a pervasive social problem, Duluth model community intervention projects are organized around eight key components:

1. Creating a coherent philosophical approach centralizing victim safety;
2. Developing "best practice" policies and protocols for intervention agencies that are part of an integrated response;
3. Enhancing networking among service providers;
4. Building monitoring and tracking into the system;
5. Ensuring a supportive community infrastructure for battered women;
6. Providing sanctions and rehabilitation opportunities for abusers;
7. Undoing the harm violence to women does to children; and
8. Evaluating the coordinated community response from the standpoint of victim safety (Pence & Shepard, 1999, p. 16).

This paper will focus primarily on providing rehabilitation opportunities for abusers. The goal is to broaden perspectives about appropriate treatment by suspending our feminist, critical theory paradigm focused on male power and male privilege and assuming a strengths-restorative approach geared toward the needs of all parties.

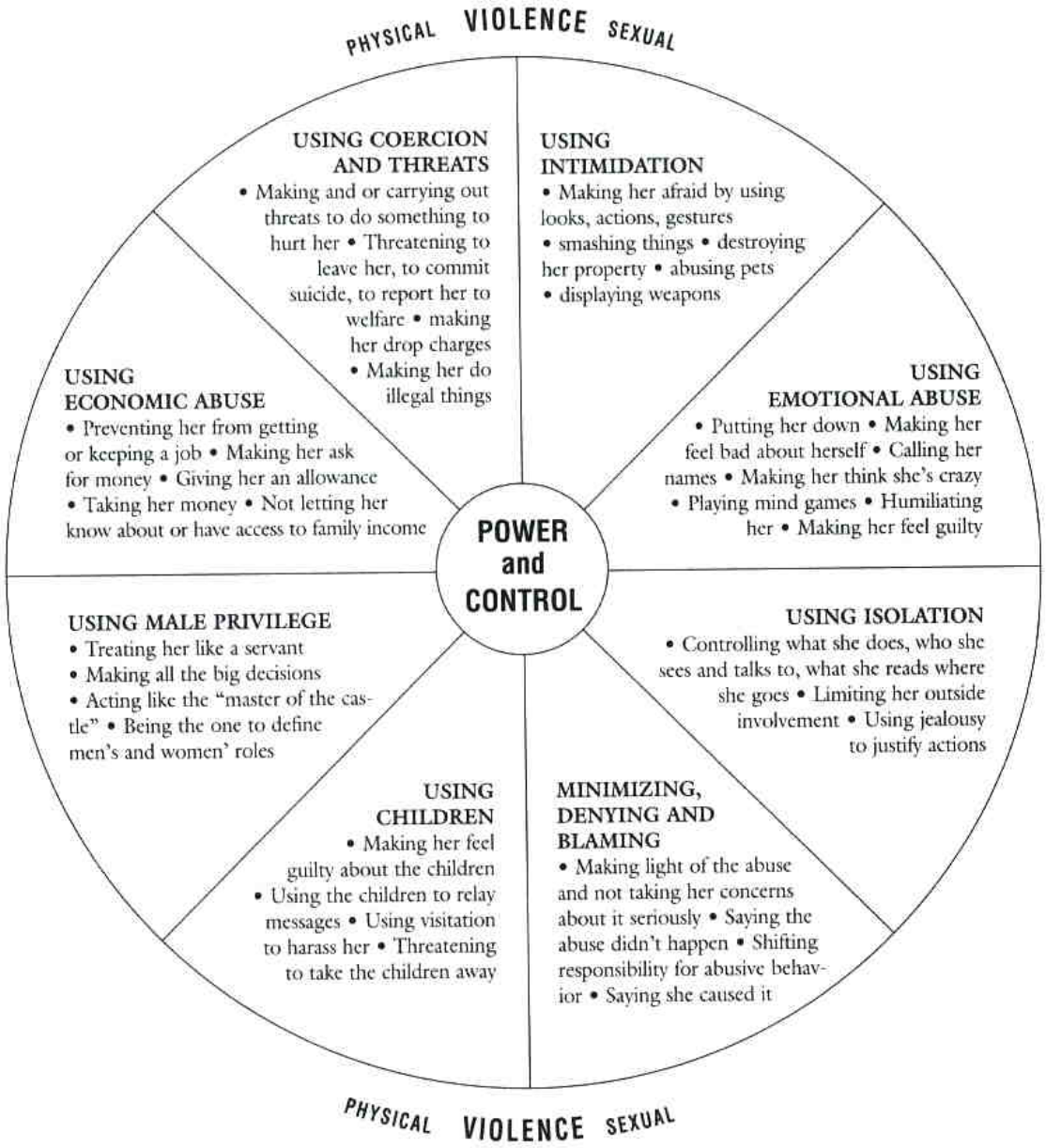
Duluth Model Education Groups for Men Who Batter

The Duluth model education group design is based on the premise that violence is used by men in order to control women's behavior and reinforce male dominance. Its focus is therefore on reducing batterers' power over their victims, and teaching these men new relationship skills (Pence & Paymar, 1993).

The curriculum is built around the power and control wheel (Figure 1), a teaching aid created with the input of 200 battered women, and which illustrates their perceptions of the dynamics of abuse in their relationships. The cogs of the wheel describe methods used by abusive men, in addition to or instead of physical violence, to maintain power and control in the relationship. These methods are: coercion and threats, intimidation, emotional abuse, isolation, minimizing, denying and blaming, using children, using male privilege, and economic abuse. Over the course of a

Families in Society: The Journal of Contemporary Human Services

Figure 1. *Power and control wheel.*[a]

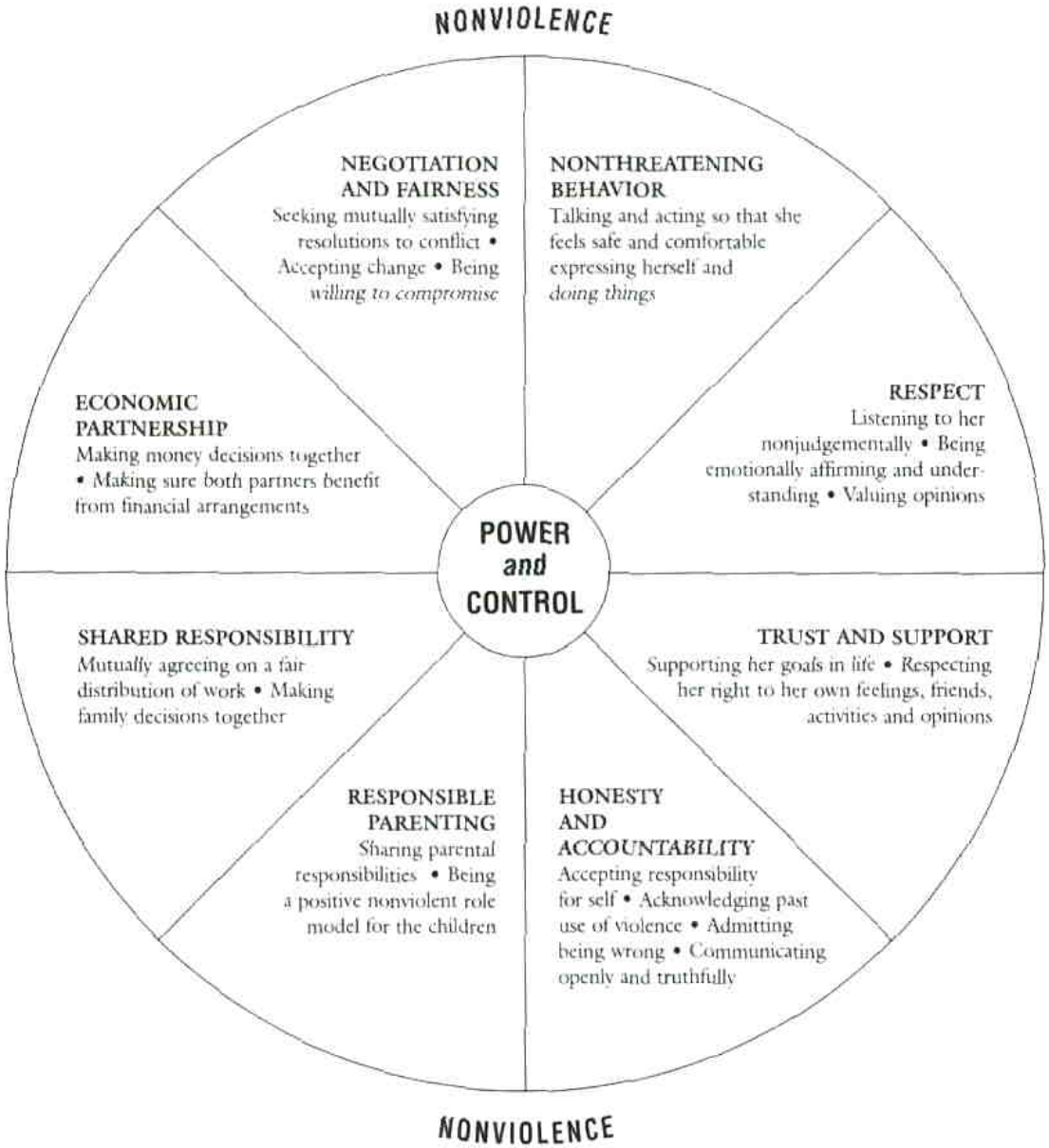


[a] Used with permission of the Domestic Abuse Intervention Project.

26-week program, participants are challenged to identify their controlling behaviors from the power and control wheel, replacing them with more respectful behaviors taken from a complementary teaching aid, the equality wheel (Figure 2). The cogs of the equality wheel describe methods of negotiation and fairness, nonthreatening behavior, respect, trust and support, honesty and accountability, responsible parenting, shared responsibility, and economic partnership (Pence& Paymar, 1993).

Although it is acknowledged that men enter the program with differing backgrounds, problems, and circumstances, and therefore differing accounts of their battering, it is presumed that the central issue is always the use of abusive tactics to gain power and control. The facilitators are expected to avoid getting sidetracked by discussion of participants' personal problems, and to maintain a continuous focus on power and control tactics, and methods for changing them. The intent to control is presumed to be present in all par-

Figure 2. *Equality wheel.*[a]



[a] Used with permission of the Domestic Abuse Intervention Project.

ticipants, and denial and minimization are expected behaviors. The facilitators must therefore be prepared to engage in frequent and possibly almost continuous confrontation (Pence & Paymar, 1993).

Limitations of the Model

Evaluation has been an integral part of the Domestic Abuse Intervention Project since the project's beginning (Ritmeester, 1993; Shepard, 1993; Shepard, 1999; Shepard, Falk, & Raschick, 2000). While a comprehensive review of the literature is beyond the scope of this paper, questions will be raised regarding the implications of observations made at various levels of the system. Such questioning may serve to broaden our perspective and suggest other modes of practice and lines of inquiry.

Melanie Shepard reports on a 1987 DAIP study examining changes in abusive behavior both during participation in the program and at 1-year follow-up (Shepard, 1993).

Although women consistently reported more abusive treatment than that which was reported by their abusers, significant reductions in both physical and psychological abuse were reported during the first 3 months of the program. Women also reported lower rates of abuse at the time of the 1-year follow-up.

In a later study, police and court records of 100 former program participants were reviewed over a 5-year period to determine recidivism rates (Shepard, 1993). Of this group, 40 were identified as recidivists due to their having been arrested for domestic assault, having been subject to an order of protection because of domestic assault, or because they had been police suspects for a domestic assault. Although the program appears to have a short-term impact on the rates of abuse, the long-term recidivism rate is disturbing.

Tineke Ritmeester reports on a 1991 impact survey of 76 shelters for battered women (Ritmeester, 1993). Although 55% of shelters responding to the survey reported noticing a decrease in violence as a result of the batterers'groups, 42% reported no change, and 4% reported an increase. Additionally, 46% reported that there was no change in emotional abuse, 42% reported an increase in emotional abuse, and only 12% reported a decrease. Ritmeester comments that a staggering 88% of the shelters responding perceived that the batterers' programs either had no impact on reducing emotional abuse or actually increased emotional abuse of women. The question has been raised whether men may become less violent but substitute emotional for physical abuse as a result of training. Certainly the thought that we may be teaching men more effective methods to control their partners through emotional abuse is disturbing.

A more recent study (Shepard, Falk, & Raschick, 2000) examined recidivism rates and victim reports of improved well-being following their partner's participation in an enhanced domestic abuse intervention program (EDAIP), which included improved coordination between agencies involved. Although the enhanced program did seem to result in lower recidivism rates, these did not correlate with victim reports of improvement in their situations. The researchers report that 45% of women reported the men's program was helpful, 44% reported that they believed it had no impact, and 9% reported that it was actually harmful. This is an area in need of further study.

In their curriculum description, Pence and Paymar report that voluntary participants complete the batterers' program only 10% of the time (Pence & Paymar, 1993). Possible reasons suggested for this dismal statistic are that the program challenges participants' cherished belief systems, that individuals entering the program voluntarily may do so for ulterior motives, such as the possibility of lowering their penalties or manipulating the victim into returning to the relationship, and that voluntary participants are treated in the same manner as court-ordered participants. The perceptions of program participants are not examined; however, it does not appear likely that they are enthusiastic about the benefits of the program.

> Psychologically, treatment of battering men ideally will help them replace irrational thought patterns involving jealousy and control needs with more functional perspectives. It may also help them to abandon their egocentric worldview ...

Data reported from multi-site studies and meta-analysis including other program models are relatively consistent in regards to recidivism and dropout rates (Gondolf, 1997a; Gondolf, 1997b; Gondolf, 1999; Tolman & Bennett, 1990), while also reporting limited success in reduction of emotionally abusive behavior (Gondolf, 1997b).

Ellen Pence (1999), comments on the changing philosophy of the program in a recent review of the project's evolution. She describes an ideological shift that moved professionals from their early emphasis on psychological explanations for violence towards the notion that power and control were the underlying motivation for battering. According to Pence, the DAIP staff believed their analysis to be based on neutral observation, while they in fact remained blind to the discrepancy between their theory and the actual experiences of the men and women with whom they worked. While staff persisted in explaining the underlying power motive, few men seemed to identify with the explanation. In addition, attempts to explain violence by women against men, lesbian violence, and the violence of men who were appalled by their own actions further undermined the theory that violence was solely a tool of control. According to Pence, the DAIP is now coming to acknowledge that violence may come about in many ways. Although it is still seen as a byproduct of dominance and inequality in relationships, attempts are now being made to understand male on female violence from a more holistic perspective that takes into consideration multiple views of reality.

Sensitivity to, and research into the perceptions of batterers is badly needed if we are to effectively reach these men. In a case study by one of the authors (Bednar, 2000), a graduate of one program offered insights into what he had to do to become nonviolent:

I've gotten better at just being able to talk and use the communication skills, or communicate instead of using other forms of coercion.... I just blew everything clear out of proportion, and after a year of discussing it, it started to sound kind of screwy or stupid. It used to be I didn't want to sound stupid or anything, so I just wouldn't talk about anything. And there would be no way to release it other than to go out and pound on somebody. As long as we can talk—as long as me and her can get along, or talk together, it isn't too bad. We can usually work things out fairly decent.

It seems unlikely that such an individual would benefit from confrontation regarding his need for power and control.

A Biopsychosocial Approach

To understand the dynamics of male-on-female violence, we need to consider biological as well as cognitive and social-psychological influences. In his study of battering men, Marano (1993) links intrapsychic deficits—a hypersensitivity to abandonment, inability to control negative emotions, and poor impulse control—with biological conditions such as low serotonin levels in the brain, high testosterone production, and brain damage from head injury. He also links them with cultural contributions such as traditional gender-role attitudes.

Biologically, the tendency toward antisocial, risk-taking, and impulsive behavior may play a role in the development of both substance abuse and violence. Studies link low serotonin in the brain to both aggression and addiction, as well as to a host of other behaviors (van Wormer & Bartollas, 2000).

Relevant to the alcohol–partner violence link, we know the following:

- Approximately one-half of clinical spouse batterers have significant alcohol problems (Tolman & Bennett, 1990).
- One-half to two-thirds of married male alcoholics are physically aggressive toward their partners during the year before alcoholism treatment (Gondolf & Foster, 1991).
- In men, the combination of blue-collar status, drinking, and approval of violence is significantly associated with a high rate of wife abuse (Associated Press, 1996).
- Binge drinkers, as opposed to daily drinkers, have an inordinately high rate of reported assault (Gondolf & Foster, 1991).

A biological proclivity toward aggression does not necessarily mean control is totally absent. In analyzing the rationales of 18 batterers involved in group therapy, Ptacek (1997) found that although most of the men complained of totally losing control, usually in response to their wives'disturbing remarks, their violence was very selective. For example, these men did not attack people outside their family. This seems to indicate a *psychological* component to their violence.

Many batterers have difficulties involving low self-esteem (Stosny, 1997). Afflicted with an inability to compromise with others, they see themselves as powerless victims. Because of their underlying feelings of insecurity, jealousy may be an emotion with special meaning for battering men. Marano (1993) summarizes recent research linking wife abuse with difficulty handling jealousy reactions. Violent men were found, in hypothetical jealousy-provoking situations, to consistently misinterpret their wives' motives as intentionally hostile. Nonviolent men in a comparison group did not feel personally threatened by the same scenarios. Abusive men, according to Marano, may go into a rage when their wives go out with friends. Treatment for such men may involve helping them to see that as long as they give their spouses undue power over their emotions and behavior, the abuse is likely to continue. Their own overdependence on their spouses cause these men to resent, hate, and sometimes even kill them.

Social factors link substance abuse and violence against women in regard to cultural expectations. In families in which men are expected to beat their wives when drunk, they will be inclined to do so. Gondolf (1995) argues effectively that the key to the link between alcohol abuse and control is in man's craving for confidence and control over others, a craving fostered by distortions of masculinity rooted in social upbringing. The effect of alcohol, in turn, contributes to a misreading of social cues through cognitive impairment and violence may provide some immediate gratification. In all these ways, therefore, we can grasp the need to treat male battering holistically, as a phenomenon with biological, psychological, and social components.

Although obtaining power and control may appear to be the intent of the batterer, it is unlikely that he himself defines the situation in this manner. By disregarding, or failing to take into account the batterer's own view of reality, which may differ from ours and include a multitude of contributing factors, we may actually be creating the resistance which is generally seen as endemic to this population, lowering our probability of success.

Some Alternative Viewpoints

In his discussion of the dominating power of stories, Hugh Rosen (1996) points out that the stories we construct about ourselves and others may constrict or empower us. We may also find ourselves assigned to roles in the stories of others, at times feeling powerless to act out our own. Applying this thinking to the batterer who has been scripted as abusive, controlling, and resistant, we can appreciate how the use of negative labeling may perhaps be creating a situation in which the batterer feels compelled to act out this part.

Writing from a masculinist standpoint, Fernando Mederos (1999) argues that the ideological rigidity of Duluth Model programs has resulted in some unfortunate consequences. The strict focus on accountability has served to marginalize other important concerns such as the possible contribution of substance abuse, cultural factors, individual differences such as levels of dangerousness, and what he sees as the more positive aspects of masculinity. In addition, Mederos points out that there has been a tendency to ignore or discount recent research that counters beliefs about such things as the usefulness of couples counseling, same-sex violence, and the role of poverty. He suggests that the basic message of batterer intervention programs may, in fact, be alien to the very participants the model was designed to serve.

From a spiritual standpoint, Ronel and Claridge (1999) work with batterers referred from the Israel courts to increase their motivation to change from an egocentric outlook to an empathic view of others. In contrast to a group process in which male batterers are seen as the "enemy," the emphasis here is on caring relationships to draw them closer to the prevailing society rather than alienating them from it. The goal of this program is abstinence from situations such as irrational thinking and arguing that might lead to violence, ultimately resulting in recovery and regaining of self-respect.

According to the authors, hundreds of abusive men have gone through this spiritually-based program. A remarkable aspect is the defusing of client resistance through the offering of unconditional love. Unfortunately, reports of success with this method are anecdotal; no experimental research of treatment effectiveness has been provided.

Following this logic, let us examine an approach consistent with but broader than the feminist paradigm; an approach with the capacity to move a group of highly insecure, well-defended men forward on the path toward self-awareness and change. The restorative justice model, which is based on a strengths perspective, starts where the client is. This may prove to be the best and most pragmatic means of reaching people who are notoriously difficult to reach.

The Restorative-Strengths Approach

Restorative justice is a nonadversarial approach to justice, influenced by indigenous methods of settling disputes. This approach is widely used in New Zealand and Canada, especially in work with juveniles. The aim is to right the wrong that has been committed, and to restore the balance in a relationship or in society. The ultimate focus is on restoring the offender to the community rather than on simple punishment. The traditional justice system is an adversarial process between an offending party and the state, which leaves the victim and the victim's needs out entirely. Restorative justice stresses the involvement of three parties: the victim, the offender, and the community that has been affected by the crime (Carey, 1996). Ideally, through direct participation by each of these parties in the resolution process, the needs of all may be addressed. The victim's needs rather than the needs of the state become paramount, as the state moves into the role of facilitator rather than injured party. A growing interest in restorative justice has been sparked, in part, by the crime victims' movement and, in part, by the growth of community conflict resolution programs (Viano, 2000). Disillusionment with the present system's retributive model of justice and its failure to rehabilitate criminals has also given the restorative justice movement a boost. Geared toward the needs of the victim, the offender, and the community, this form of justice is a true model of rehabilitation.

> Working with such a group can be a feminist's worst nightmare. There is a great deal of defensiveness to overcome. Typical of victimizers, many of these men perceive themselves as victims ...

Combining the restorative model from criminal justice with the strengths perspective in social work, we get the *restorative-strengths approach.* The strengths approach focuses on client strengths rather than weaknesses, and on positive qualities that can be tapped into for personal growth. While seldom used in the field of corrections, the strengths perspective has been widely applied in other disciplines, and embodies core values of the social work profession (van Wormer, 1999). The task of using a positive, empowering approach with battering males presents a major challenge to the therapist, however, especially to the feminist therapist, who has been focused on stopping the batterer's abuse of power. And yet, when we understand the psychology of interpersonal violence, especially of violence perpetrated on a vulnerable family member, we come to appreciate the need to both teach and model noncoercive methods.

Interventions need to be holistic, directed at each aspect of the biopsychosocial model of social work. Interventions aimed at the *biological* level may include a referral to a substance abuse treatment center, to a self-help group such as Alcoholics Anonymous or Narcotics Anonymous, or to a mental health center for a psychiatric evaluation. If substance abuse has clouded thinking and exacerbated negative feelings, treatment for alcoholism or other substance abuse is needed in order for interventions

aimed at the *psychological* aspect of human behavior to have the desired effect. Psychologically, treatment of battering men ideally will help them replace irrational thought patterns involving jealousy and control needs with more functional perspectives. It may also help them to abandon their egocentric worldview as they learn to tap into their own inner strengths and acknowledge the strengths of others. Learning to empathize with others can be regarded as the culmination of the treatment effort. The development of empathy furthermore helps group members address relationship issues, learn fighting-fair strategies of assertive but not aggressive communication, and move from the psychological to the *social* realm. The social realm involves interaction and relationships; problematic areas for men who resort to violence or threats of violence to get their way.

The treatment of battering men must help them learn empathy and trust. Progress in this area is unlikely when confrontive or shaming techniques further undermine the batterer's already precarious self-esteem, and leave him feeling helpless (Bednar, 2001b; Murphy & Baxter, 1997; Scalia III, 1994). An approach that meets individuals where they are and models the type of behavior we would like to teach may perhaps be more functional (Bednar, 2001b).

Treatment for batterers begins, as does all treatment, with establishing a relationship and motivating the participants to work on their issues. Ideally, men's batterer groups will be led by a male/female team or by a male therapist. One of the authors, however, against difficult odds, managed to achieve rapport with the members of her men's group even though for a period she had to go solo. The rapport was achieved through reaching out to each individual client where he was at that moment and in hearing their stories. In the feminist tradition of doing collaborative work with clients, Bednar (2001a) described her group of court-ordered battering men as follows:

> *The men felt victimized in a multitude of ways. From their perspective: Their partners had been violent or emotionally abusive; the police had been brutal and the system corrupt; being arrested and jailed was humiliating and the label of "batterer" a personal affront. These men didn't see themselves as dominating others, but wanted to be able to control their own lives. Everything and everybody around them seemed determined to take that control away from them. Often this process seemed to start in their own childhoods, when they themselves were abused, or when they witnessed their fathers abuse their mothers. No one protected them then, and they learned to protect themselves. The only feeling states they described besides "angry" were things like "kind of OK," or "all right, I guess." Nearly all had a history of substance abuse, and many perceived this as part of their problem. (pp. 174–176)*

Working with such a group can be a feminist's worst nightmare. There is a great deal of defensiveness to overcome. Typical of victimizers, many of these men perceive themselves as victims: victims of the system, of the mass media, and of their partners. Use of the power and control wheel may be fought with resistance. The Duluth model's equality wheel, however, engages the men. One client described from the source above, "lights up upon seeing the wheel and begins to explain how he'd like to get better at accountability, respect, shared partnerships. He's sometimes jealous and possessive, and demands accountability of his partner, and he'd like to see her get more involved in decisions" (Bednar; pp. 175–176). Moving from our focus on deficits to a focus on strengths may help us to engage these men more productively.

The essence of effective treatment is meeting the clients where they are. The ultimate goal of the therapy is put best by Orme, Dominelli, and Mullender (2000) who define it in terms of helping the men redefine masculinity along less aggressive and more nurturing dimensions. For effective functioning in social settings, they need to change their behavior toward a more collaborative and egalitarian style. These authors, however, recommend that any discussion of family of origin issues as *causal* factors for their own abusive behavior be avoided. Such a focus is seen as a shirking of responsibility for present behavior.

A strengths approach, in partial contrast, makes use of personal narratives to help clients discover where their fears and distrusts are coming from, while simultaneously identifying their hidden strengths. This may require exploration of family-of-origin issues. In the same way that self-love leads to love of others, learning to understand oneself may be a first step in learning to empathize with others.

Restorative justice methods also encourage empathy by including the victims' narratives in the conversation. Victim–offender panels are used as a means of getting male abusers to feel the victims' pain. Battered women and rape survivors tell their stories on these panels. In hearing the stories of pain and suffering that the crimes of violence engendered, offenders not only feel for the victims as people who were hurt by the careless or cruel behavior of others, but often they get in tune with their own past victimization. Getting in touch with their own feelings may prepare them for the humanization/rehabilitation process. In short, two themes–offender accountability and the empowerment of crime victims–ideally come together in the victim/offender initiatives. Just as offenders, in these encounters, see the human face of victims, so the survivors come to see the human face of offenders.

An important research question has not been adequately explored: For whom, for which type of batterers, would a restorative justice approach be effective? More precise knowledge of batterer typologies may ultimately be used to discriminate between offenders who might reasonably be

expected to benefit from such an approach and those who are unlikely to benefit, or who pose too great a safety threat. While batterer typology systems currently have limited clinical utility (Langhinrichsen-Rohling, Huss, & Ramsey, 2000), we are able to screen out those who, for instance, show antisocial tendencies, severe depression, or who have a history of violence directed towards others outside the family. Jacobson and Gottman (1998) offer a typology with important implications for treatment intervention. Based on their unique research monitoring 140 couples with electrical sensors as they discussed marital problems, these authors differentiated "cobras" from "pit bulls." The batterers who were labeled cobras, unlike pit bulls, were internally calm and highly dangerous. A minority of batterers, these men are sadistic, prone to death threats, and, as the authors argue, belong in prison. Clearly, such individuals should be screened from all victim/offender mediator programs.

Community Conferencing

The process of community conferencing as a way of effecting justice for victims of rape and battering is practiced in New Zealand with favorable results (Braithwaite & Daly, 1998). Sentencing in such a system is handled by community groups that include the victim and her family, as well as the offender and individuals from his support system. Power imbalances are addressed in various ways, such as limiting the right of the offender to speak on his own behalf, and including community members in a sort of surveillance team to monitor the offender's compliance. Braithwaite and Daly see the potential to use such methods safely by including them in a "regulatory pyramid," utilizing interventions of escalating intensity in refractory cases. While more conventional interventions such as imprisonment may still be used for offenders who do not respond, they see community involvement in decision making, as well as in rituals of shaming and community reintegration, as potentially more beneficial. The victim and other members of the community are given voice, and are able to bring social pressures to bear on the offender while both protecting the victim and offering the option of rehabilitation to the offender.

Other reports involving successful community conferencing in cases of severe family violence have come from Canada from traditional native community ceremonies. These are unlike traditional mediation methods used with divorcing couples in that community involvement changes the balance of power. Griffiths (1999), for example, presents the case of a Canadian aboriginal sentencing circle which took up the case of a man who, when drunk, beat his wife. Seated in a circle, the victim and her family told of their distress, while a young man spoke of the contributions the offender had made to the community. The judge suspended sentencing until the offender entered alcoholism treatment and fulfilled the expectations of the victim and of her support group. The ceremony concluded with a prayer and a shared meal. After a period of time, the woman who had been victimized voiced her satisfaction with the process. This case, as Griffiths explains, was clearly linked to the criminal justice system. Others may be handled more quietly, by tribal members. Griffiths concludes on a note of caution: victims must play a key role throughout the process to ensure that their needs are met and that they are not revictimized. This is a process we can expect to be hearing much more about in the future. The emphasis on restoration rather than retribution can be empowering to all parties involved.

Feminist researcher Mary Koss (2000) advocates what she terms "communitarian justice," a promising new model in its victim-sensitive orientation. Such methods are apt to be effective, notes Koss, because they draw on sanctions abusive men fear most: family stigma and broad social disapproval. Such conferencing, as Koss further indicates, is recommended for young offenders without extensive histories of violence.

How Restorative Justice Models Meet the Needs of Victims

The restorative-strengths approach described in this paper, unlike a policy-based approach to restorative justice, is also geared toward the treatment level. The goal of such an approach is to help violence-prone men to take responsibility for their actions while at the same time developing empathy for their victims. Like restorative justice, the aim is to build on positives so as to facilitate the offender's restoration to the community rather than their further estrangement from it.

In ongoing relationships, an end to the violence is of course crucial. Treatment coupled with close supervision of men who have engaged in battering are important elements in curbing further family violence. Sometimes restorative justice initiatives at the community level take the form of community conferencing, as discussed in the previous section. Participation by all parties is strictly voluntary and intensive preparation precedes all such conferencing. Issues of power and control for the victim must be addressed (Umbreit, 2000). Hearing directly from the offender of his guilt and remorse while receiving support from family members can help the victim heal while reducing feelings of self-blame. In contrast, few traditional programs address the psychological needs of victims in any meaningful way. Even in situations of violent crime, community conferencing can help victims by bringing the gravity of the violence that they have experienced out into the open. The message to all concerned is that any form of family violence is unacceptable. Such conferencing can attend to the psychological as well as physical abuse a survivor has experienced and counter her sense of helplessness by involving her as an active participant in the

process (Koss, 2000). Measures can be taken, moreover, to reduce the survivor's vulnerability such as in providing access to an individual bank account or transportation, for example.

Conclusion

The Duluth model has mobilized communities for the purpose of addressing the problems of domestic violence and abuse. It has brought victims, service providers, and law enforcement professionals together, enriching the conversation and yielding many creative solutions to problems. While this model should not be discarded, moving toward a more strengths-based, collaborative approach that acknowledges differing perspectives and considers the needs of all involved may further enrich the conversation. The emphasis on strengths and on restoration rather than on retribution can be empowering for all participants. Including the offender, the victim, family members, and the community in the dialogue can help break the destructive cycle of violence through increasing the connections between family and other community members.

References

Associated Press (1996, September 23). Violence research brings startling results. *Waterloo/Cedar Falls Courier*, p. A6.

Bednar, S. (2000). *Batterers' intervention: Perceptions of participants.* Unpublished raw data.

Bednar, S. (2001a). Recovering strengths in batterers. Sidebar in K. van Wormer, *Counseling Female Offenders and Victims: A Strengths-Restorative Approach* (pp. 174–176). New York: Springer.

Bednar, S. (2001b). Perpetuation of psychological abuse in batterer intervention programs. Manuscript in preparation.

Braithwaife, J., & Daly, K. (1998). Masculinity, violence and communitarian control. In S. Miller, (Ed.), *Crime control and women* (pp. 151–180). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Carey, M. (1996). Restorative justice in community corrections. *Corrections Today, 58*(5), 152–156.

Gondolf, E. V. (1995). Alcohol abuse, wife assault, and power needs. *Social Service Review, 69*, 274–284.

Gondolf, E. W. (1997a). Batterer programs: What we know and need to know. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence, 12*(1), 83–98.

Gondolf, E. W. (1997b). Patterns of reassault in batterer programs. *Violence and Victims, 12*(4), 373–387.

Gondolf, E. W. (1999). A comparison of four batterer intervention systems: Do court referral, program length, and services matter? *Journal of Interpersonal Violence, 14*(1), 41–61.

Gondolf, E. W., & Foster, R. A. (1991). Wife assault among V.A. alcohol rehabilitation patients. *Hospital and Community Psychology, 42*, 74–79.

Griffiths, C. T. (1999). The victims of crime and restorative justice: The Canadian experience. *International Review of Victimology, 6*, 279–294.

Jacobson, N. S., & Gottman, J. M. (March, 1998). Violent relationship. *PsychologyToday*, pp. 60–65, 81–84.

Koss, M. (2000). Blame, shame, and community: Justice responses to violence against women. *American Psychologist 55*(11), 1332–1343.

Langhinrichsen-Rohling, J., Huss, M. T., & Ramsey, S. (2000). The clinical utility of batterer typologies. *Journal of Family Violence, 15*(1), 37–53.

Marano, H. (1993, November/December). Inside the heart of marital violence. *Psychology Today*, pp. 50–53, 76–78, 91.

Mederos, F. (1999). Batterer intervention programs: The past, and future prospects. In M. Shepard & E. Pence (Eds.), *Coordinating community responses to domestic Violence: Lessons from Duluth and beyond* (pp. 127–150). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Murphy, C. M., & Baxter, V. A. (1997). Motivating batterers to change in the treatment context. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence, 12*(4), 607–619.

Orme, J., Dominelli, L., & Mullender, A. (2000). Working with violent men from a feminist social work perspective. *International Social Work, 43*(1), 89–105.

Pence, E. (1999). Some thoughts on philosophy. In M. Shepard & E. Pence (Eds.), *Coordinating community responses to domestic violence: Lessons from Duluth and beyond* (pp. 25–40). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Pence, E., & Paymar, M. (1993). *Education groups for men who batter: The Duluth model.* New York: Springer.

Pence, E., & Shepard, M. (1999). An introduction: Developing a coordinated community response. In M. Shepard & E. Pence (Eds.), *Coordinating Community response to domestic violence: Lessons from Duluth and beyond* (pp. 3–23). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Peterson, K. (1998, August 2). Anti-battering programs do help men unlearn violence. *USA Today*, p. 1D.

Ptacek, J. (1997). The tactics and strategies of men who batter: Testimony from women seeking restraining orders. *Violence between intimate partners: Patterns, causes and effects* (pp. 104–123). Boston: Allyn & Bacon.

Ritmeister, T. (1993). Batterers' programs, battered women's movement, and issues of accountability. In E. Pence and M. Paymar, (Eds.), *Education groups for men who Batter: The Duluth model* (pp. 169–178). New York: Springer.

Ronel, N., & Claridge, H. (1999). Gray therapy: A new approach to the treatment of male batterers. *Contemporary Justice Review 2*(3), 283–308.

Rosen, H. (1996). Meaning-making narratives: Foundations for constructivist and social constructionist psychotherapies in H. Rosen & K. Kuehlwein (eds.), *Constructing realities: Meaning-making perspectives for psychotherapists* (pp. 3–51). San Francisco: Josey-Bass.

Scalia III, J. (1994). Psychoanalytic insights and the prevention of pseudosuccess in the cognitive–behavioral treatment of batterers. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence, 9*(4), 548–555.

Shepard, M. (1993). Evaluation of domestic abuse intervention programs. In E. Pence & M. Paymar, *Education groups for men who batter: The Duluth model* (pp. 163–168). New York: Springer.

Shepard, M., Falk, D., & Raschick, M. (2000, Oct.). *Final report of the evaluation of the enhanced domestic abuse intervention project.* Paper presented at the Partner Abuse Intervention 2000: Research, Practice & Criminal Justice Conference, Springfield, IL.

Shepard, M., & Pence, E. (1999). *Coordinating community responses to domestic Violence: Lessons from Duluth and beyond.* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Stosny, S. (1997). Group testament of spouse abusers. In G. L. Grief & P. H. Ephrons (Eds.), *Group work with populations at risk* (pp. 147–159). New York: Oxford University Press.

Tolman, R. M., & Bennett, L. W. (1990). A review of quantitative research on men who batter. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence, 5*, 87–118.

Umbreit, M. (2000). *Family groups conferencing, Implications for crime victims.* Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Justice.

van Wormer, K. (1999). The strengths perspective: A paradigm for correctional counseling. *Federal Probation, 63*(1), 51–58.

van Wormer, K., & Bartollas, C. (2000). *Women and the criminal justice system.* Boston: Allyn & Bacon.

Viano, E. C. (2000, July). Restorative justice for victims/offenders. *Corrections Today*, p. 132.

Katherine van Wormer *is a professor of social work at the University of Northern Iowa. She is the author of six books including* Counseling Female Offenders and Victims: A Strengths-Restorative Approach. ***Susan G. Bednar*** *is a clinical social worker in Illinois. Correspondence regarding this article should be directed to the first author at: 33 Sabin Hall, Social Work Department, University of Northern Iowa, Cedar Falls, IA 50614, or e-mail: vanwormer@uni.edu.*

Manuscript received: October 5, 2000
Revised: November 22, 2001
Accepted: February 21, 2002