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"Damn it Johnny, Stop!: Real Life 101"
Evaluating an Educational Approach to Treating Men Who Batter

A THESIS
The Honors Program
College of St. Benedict/St. John's University

In Partial Fulfillment
of the requirements for the distinction "All College Honors"
and the Degree Bachelor of Arts
In the Department of Social Work

by
Shannon Campbell
1994

"Damn it Johnny, Stop!: Real Life 101"
Evaluating an Educational Approach to Treating Men Who Batter

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ABSTRACT

A Feminist theory is an effective perspective from which to develop programs for treating men who batter. The Feminist perspective takes in to consideration possible societal, familial, economic, and judicial influences which perpetuate male violence in American society. The Feminist analysis of domestic violence contends that violence is a learned behavior. Using a Feminist orientation, the St. Cloud (MN) Intervention Project (SCIP) conducts large group educational programs for male batterers. SCIP was interested in testing their program to determine if it significantly reduced incidents of abuse in the relationships of participants. The partners ($N=21$) of the participants were given a pre-test concurrent with intake and post-test when the program was completed. Significant reductions in batter's violent behavior between pre- and post-tests ($p<.05$) were found in all categories surveyed.

One night as summer came to a close, I sat alone in my apartment packing and preparing for my final year at the College of St. Benedict. Anticipating graduation, I began to reflect on my future ambitions as a social worker. Ironically, on this night, the impact of domestic violence would touch me in an unwelcome but enlightening way. The screams were initially what caught my attention. Curious, I turned off my T.V. At first, the argument was somewhat entertaining. After all, I was just an eavesdropper listening to an innocent enough argument. As time slowly passed, the screaming voices and smashing objects possessed a warped attraction. Abruptly, the innocence came to an end. The sounds turned violent. Experiencing shock, disbelief, and even ignorance, I continued to sit. My fear had paralyzed me and I chose neutrality in a war I had professed a conviction to fight.

The vulgar words continued . . .

"Fuck, you, you bitch"

"No, fuck you, Johnny"

The noise intensified. The smashing of glass was the only relief from the screams. It became increasingly hard to listen, still I continued to sit.

The woman known only as Bitch screamed, "Don't you dare put your hands on my body, Johnny. I will hurt you bad, you fucking asshole".

Johnny retaliated "What the fuck. I'll do to you what you deserve, Bitch."

The sounds became unbearable. I felt sick. Slowly, I dialed 911. I struggled to form my mouth into audible words. The dispatcher thanked me for calling. She had already received calls concerning this particular incident. The police would be arriving within seconds.

While the police were able to abolish any immediate danger, the woman's screams, "Damn it Johnny, stop!" continue to echo, symbolizing the reality of violence and destroying the silence.

They have their teeth knocked out with hammers; they are run over by cars and trucks; they are raped with hot curling irons and large objects. They are beaten, stabbed, choked, and strangled. They are beaten in public, in the streets; they are beaten in the privacy of their own homes; they are tortured and beaten in front of their children; and they are tied up and forced to watch the torture and sexual molestation of their own children (Buel, 1992, p.4).

These atrocities against women plague American society with alarming frequency. According to the National Center on Women and Family Law, approximately three to four million women are abused by their intimates each year (Buel, 1992). In 1991, more than ninety women were murdered every week; fifty-percent of these murders were committed by men with whom they were intimately involved (Julian, 1993). Half of all women will experience some form of violence from their partners during marriage. Women are in nine times more danger in their own homes than they are in the streets (Buel, 1992). Every fifteen seconds a woman is battered by her husband, boyfriend, or live-in partner (Central Minnesota Task Force on Battered Women, 1993). Injuries related to domestic violence require medical assistance in more cases than rapes, auto accidents, and mugging combined; thus, constituting the single largest cause of injury to women. Although these widespread instances of dramatic beatings and physical injury have horrifying

consequences, many women describe the most damaging and unbearable aspect of being battered as an everyday life in which fear prevails (Edleson, Eisikovits, Guttman, 1985).

Recognizing that domestic violence is disproportionately directed toward women, this study will focus specifically on violence towards women. If violence against women is not distinguished from violence against men, the strong relationship between violence and gender is blurred (Avis, 1992). While the majority of male homicide victims are killed by someone outside the family, female victims are most often killed by their spouses (Hilbermann, 1980). Subsuming the problem of battered wives and battered husbands under the heading domestic violence denies that this violence is almost exclusively directed towards women and children (Russel, 1982). In ninety-five percent of marital violence, women are the victims of men (Avis, 1992). Although this study focuses on the struggles of women it is in no way intended to minimize the pain of men who are victims of violent crimes.

Statistics clearly indicate that many more victims of violence within the family are women; yet, the debilitating effects of these crimes are dramatic and long-lasting for both the victim and whole of society (Harlow, 1991). Medical bills directly related to domestic abuse cost the public more than $100 billion a year. In seventy percent of homes where a women is battered the children are also battered (Wellstone, 1994). It is estimated that more than eighty percent of psychiatric population and ninety percent of prison populations have a history of sexual, emotional, and/or physical abuse - most often multiple forms of abuse (Avis, 1992).

Sixty-three percent of the young men between the age of eleven and twenty who are incarcerated for homicide have killed their mother's batterer (Buel, 1992). The aftermath of domestic violence extends across the whole of society.

Domestic violence takes many different forms, including both overt and subtle acts. Verbal insults, degradation, humiliation, slapping, kicking, armed threats, isolation, and male domination all constitute abuse. However, the term abuse is too broad. For purposes of this study, physical abuse is more descriptive. It is defined as the use of the man's body parts or other objects to inflict physical harm upon the victim, including forced sexual activity. Additionally, physical abuse always inherently involves psychological/emotional abuse further compounding the impact of abuse (Avis, 1992). Psychological abuse is defined as behavior used to control the victim without physical force and includes threats of violence and other intimidating behaviors, isolation from others, use of male privilege to demand compliance, and repeated degradation and humiliation.

The desperate screams of "Damn it Johnny, Stop!" echo within our society as strong women are repressed, silencing these echoes. In this world of silence, abusive relationships continue. Many label women as stupid for remaining in the relationship, yet in many situations it is all but impossible for them to leave (Buel, 1992). A complex interplay of psychological, social, and environmental constraints trap women in violent lives (Hilbermann, 1980). Thus, understanding the underlying dynamics of the relationship is imperative.

The historic oppression and continued subjugation of women in American

culture occurs because men have defined almost every facet of society, thereby perpetrating a sexist belief system and institutionalizing male privilege (Paymar and Pence, 1993). This sexist idealogy casting women as inferior to men fosters contempt against women (Vogelman, 1990). Living in this oppression, battered women may not believe that they can escape from the batterer's domination (Hilberman, 1980). The expectation of powerlessness, whether real or perceived, may prevent women from taking effective action.

Despite the violence, a battered women's emotional ties to her partner may be strong. Most women fall in love with their partners before the violence begins. These women often contend that they still love their abusive mates, even though they do not like the abusive behavior. Emotional bonds support hopes that the violence will end. Unfortunately, this hope does not change the reality: domestic violence often continues with serious consequences.

Socially condoned inequality has reinforced men's use of violence as a means of maintaining control and power over their partners. Within patriarchal family structures, roles become rigid to the extent physical force is accepted to ensure male privilege. Although families rarely completely represent the patriarchal norm, the use of violence reflects the desire to mold the family into this "idealized" structure. Socially ascribed roles in a patriarchal society maintain that the male adult in the household determine the social status of females. Females acquire their own status only when not attached to a male. Men are culturally prepared for their role as head of the home. Society minimizes women's opportunities to assume a legitimate self-

supporting and autonomous role outside the home (Hilbermann, 1980). Lack of acceptable alternatives leave women choosing to remain in violent relationships.

Many women are financially dependent on their partner; consequently, leaving equals financial uncertainty (Paymar and Pence, 1993). For many women, once she decides to leave she immediately becomes homeless. In 1992 ninety-five percent of homeless shelters did not accept women. Even those who do accept women may turn a battered woman away in fear that if her partner finds her, the shelter as a whole will be endangered. Hence, five battered women are turned away for every two that are sheltered, and eight children are turned away for every two that are sheltered (Buel, 1992). Ironically, these women who fled their homes because of fear, face the imminent threat of danger when they leave.

The woman who leaves a violent home is often denied child-care facilities, equal educational, vocational and economic opportunities. Since the 1960's, the number of women who living in poverty has been increasing rapidly. Women and children are poor for two reasons. First, many women assume the role of parent without a sharing partner. In the past three decades, the number of single-parent families headed by mothers has greatly increased. The vast majority of these families share precarious economic conditions (Schroder, 1987). In a society where even a modest standard of living is predicated on the presence of two wage earners, the single-parent family has only one potential earner (Family Matters, 1991). Many fathers have the earning potential, and pay little towards child support (Schroder, 1987). Noncustodial fathers generally have an improved standard of living upon

leaving their children. Research has indicated that seventy percent of absent fathers had income over twice the poverty line. If all noncustodial fathers paid child support between $16 and $25 billion a year in additional money would go to women and children (Family Matters, 1991).

The second significant factor influencing the increasing poverty of women is dramatic segregation by gender in the labor market (Schroder, 1987). If the potential wage earner is a woman, sex discrimination almost certainly negatively impacts her job opportunities and earnings. If a women is a mother then her chances of finding adequate work are even further reduced. Even with equal or better training women rarely have the same economic opportunities as men (Estor, 1987). Research shows that qualified women competing with men for administrative posts have to do more and have to be significantly better in order to obtain the same positions. Social stereotypes dictate, women must conform to male norms minimizing their own values. Conventionally perceived women's virtues, such as communicativeness, readiness to cooperate, and non-conflictive behavior are qualities for which they are often criticized in the work place. In the late 1980's when women did earn wages they earned an average of $10,000 a year; men earned an average of $21,000 (Estor, 1987). This gap is narrowing, but discrepancies still exist between real wages of men and women.

Throughout American society, ample evidence exists to support the notion that women are appropriate targets for men's hostilities and aggression. The increasing popularity of violent pornography, pairing female sexual promiscuity with male acts

of brutality and mutilation, reinforces the objectification of women in the most profound sense (Cairns, 1990). Pornography implies that a woman's inherent seductiveness justifies any male response. It reflects and promotes the notion that female submission and male dominance are not only natural, but erotic and desirable (Kimmel, 1989). In literature, movies, and television men often subject women to degradation and humiliation. Several episodes of the daytime drama "General Hospital" were devoted to an incident of rape. At first the victim was humiliated, later the two characters were married. This implies that rape can be overlooked, or even the beginning of a romance. In this warped definition of entertainment, television depicts women raped, beaten, and shot with frightening regularity.

Sexist language is one more factor subjecting women to domination. Language plays a significant role in promoting oppressing attitudes. English language upholds a male-centered culture. Language is utilized as a mechanism for the social control of women. In pornography, women are referred to in derogatory terms such as "property," "bitch," "pussy," and "cunt". While efforts to change words like "freshmen," "chairmen," and "sportsmen" generate cynical reactions, changes to language are important in acknowledging women as integral to society (Vogelman, 1990). If change is not pursued, women may adapt a false consciousness in which they believe themselves to be inferior as the vocabulary contests (Edleson, 1991). While language is commonly misunderstood as a neutral facilitator of communication, in reality it mirrors the prevailing culture reinforcing the attitudes creating it.

The American justice system has a history of minimizing the problem of

violence against women. Historic judicial decisions discouraged formal prosecution of domestic violence cases. The tradition is exemplified in State v. Oliver (1874) in which a North Carolina court stated that in incidents where "no permanent injury has been inflicted, nor malice, cruelty or dangerous violence shown by the husband, it is better to draw the curtains, shut out the public gaze and leave the parties to forgive and forget" (Rosenfeld, 1992, pg. 223). Just a little over a hundred years ago, woman was defined as property: she could neither vote, hold public office, attain a higher education, nor keep her name, money, or property after marriage. During this same time statute legalized male battery, allowing men to chastise their wives as long as they did not use a 'stick larger than their thumb' (Hanks, 43). Although these laws appear archaic, attitudes oppressing women prevail in American courts today.

When confronted by lobbyists advocating that rape in the marriage should be illegal, California State Senator, Bob Wilson stated "But if you can't rape your wife, who can you rape?" (1979). As late as 1982, the legal right of wife rape known as the "marital rape exemption" was included in most state rape statutes. One rationale offered for such laws has been the traditional importance of family autonomy, outweighed only in cases involving death, incest, or imminent threat to a minor child (Rosenfeld, 1992).

This widely accepted attitude of family autonomy creates a hesitancy on the part of spouses and prosecutors to press charges. Women may not pursue their cases in court because of the fear that the trial, which opens them to public opinion, will only bring about more pain. Disclosure puts the battered woman at increased risk for

retribution from her abuser, and jeopardizes her social and economic security. Fears associated with seeking court protection often are logical reflections of experience (Adams, 1990). Cited in Edlson and Syers, (1992) studies by Ford and Dutton found that the courts have an extremely small probability of prosecuting the perpetrators of violence against women. A criminal justice system that has historically ignored or blamed the battered woman, has facilitated the perpetrator's ability to conceal their violence (Adams, 1990). The victim is often distrusted because of her perceived part in the violence or is thought of as foolish for allowing the violence to occur (Vogelman, 1990). Men who batter their wives often do not come across to those outside the family as abusive individuals. Often judges and juries cast doubt that quiet, amiable, and educated men are capable of such ruthless acts (Adams, 1990). Furthermore, the male's case is strengthened due to lack of witnesses.

When children are present they inevitably become part of the battle. Children are confused, torn, and traumatized as they are forced to choose between parents. Using the children is a powerful tactic when men are trying to prevent their partner from leaving (Paymar and Pence, 1993). Women lacking financial security, emotional stability and a permanent home (variables related directly to the abuse) often face the risk of losing their children. Thus the predominating fear for many women involves their future with their children. This fear is not unfounded. A Massachusetts study found that men are successful in seventy percent of the cases when they attempt to get custody of their children (Buel, 1992). Consequently, as the justice systems inadvertently reinforces women's fears, millions of women continue to

live in violence.

Even if a woman resists all the factors condoning her situation and attempts to leave, her partner will likely use violence to stop her. Women are more likely to be murdered while attempting to leave an abusive relationship than at any other time (Adams, 1990). Battered women are the people who know their abuser best and they often know when he gives clues and signals that he may not stop at anything less then killing her. Through a combination of societal, familial, economic and judicial influences, a culture has evolved where the threat of violence continues to dominate the lives of women.

A major criticism of the research on domestic violence is the lack of theoretical models to explain the perception of male violence toward females (Julian, 1993). Considering the prevalence of this violence, researchers are attempting to understand the factors which affect people's perception of such violence in our society. For example, Lerner's (1980) "Just-World" theory based on the belief the people are motivated to believe they live in a just world where everyone gets what they deserve has been applied to domestic violence. Several studies considering this theory have indicated the innocent victims are frequently blamed or held responsible for their fate (Giulietti and Kristiansen, 1990). Women who had been verbally aggressive toward their partners were perceived as less "innocent" and were blamed more than the women who did not "provoke" their partner (Giulietti and Kristiansen, 1990). The woman is thought to be abused because something is wrong with her. The man defines her in this way and the system backs him up (Paymar and Pence,

1993). Consequently, many men in male batterer programs which support this theory do not accept responsibility for their abusive behavior. These men often regard their intimate relationships as more problematic and blame their female partner for provocations leading to violence (Julian, 1993). For women, victim blaming provides the perceiver with a sense of illusory control over the likelihood of their own potential victimization (Giulietti and Kristiansen, 1990). For example, if a woman's best friend is battered, the woman believes her friend deserved it. The women gains control because she can avoid abuse with her own "good" acts. In most psychodynamic explanations, like the "just-world" theory the abusive aspects of the offender's behavior are minimized and reinterpreted as "an ineffectual attempt to meet ordinary human needs (Avis, 1992). The "Just-World" theory removes society's responsibility to respond to the screams of "Damn it Johnny, Stop!"

In contrast to Lerner's "Just-World" theory, Shaver's (1970) Defense Attribution theory suggests that the more people see themselves as similar to a victim, the less they will attribute responsibility to the victim. According to this theory if a woman's best friend is abused, the woman does not blame her friend. The woman assumes a non-blaming attitude, realizing that she like her friend is a potential victim. This delineates blame should they ever become victimized (Giulietti and Kristiansen, 1990). Consequently, one would expect females to blame a victim less than males simply because women are more likely then men to become victims of domestic violence. However, results concerning gender and victim blaming are inconsistent. Therefore, it is unclear whether the need to avoid blame in the event on one's own

victimization motivates the perception of violence toward women (Giulietti and Kristiansen, 1990). The Defense-Attribution theory is interesting to explore; nevertheless, it does not suggest solutions to address the problem.

Unlike the "Just-World" theory and Defense-Attribution theory, the Social Learning theory is a useful framework from which to examine the motives for violence against women. According to this theory, abusive behaviors have been learned and reinforced both in the past and present. Battering is a system of behaviors used to establish and maintain power and control over another person. Abuse is functional and will continue until its reinforcement from within and outside the family is discontinued (Edleson, et al., 1985). The behavioral response of violence is seen as an effective means of achieving something one desires, or even an acceptable means of venting emotions (Julian, 1993). The threat or use of physical abuse reinforces these behaviors making them more powerful. The victim's compliance inadvertently tends to reinforce the violent behavior.

From the Social Learning theory evolved the Feminist theory which more extensively explores the relationships between men and women. A Feminist perspective on domestic violence requires that the degree to which violence against women exists is a response to a patriarchal society where violence is expected and condoned. Implicitly sanctioned by the culture, domestic violence is the most overt and visible form of control for men over women. In a feminist analysis, incest, sexual assault, and wife abuse are understood as intrinsic to a system of male supremacy. The Feminist perspective takes in to consideration the societal, familial,

economic, and judicial influences perpetrating male violence. Evidence strongly supports the feminist analysis. Numerous studies indicate that large numbers of men either engage in, or believe they have the right to engage in, coercive behaviors with women (Avis, 1992).

The Feminist analysis of male violence suggests that, contrary to the common belief that physically and sexually assaultive men are deviant, socially isolated, rigid, and lacking self-control, their behavior is, in fact, normative, common, and accepted. Although some men who batter may be profoundly disturbed, generalizing from these individuals to the phenomenon as a whole leads to false conclusions. If it is accepted that men who batter are different and something is inherently wrong with them, personal responsibility is undermined, and woman battering will be removed as a problem which effects the whole of society (Paymar and Pence, 1993). The Feminist theory is an effective perspective from which to develop an educational approach to treating men who batter. Such a feminist analysis suggest guidelines and direction for effective treatment.

1) Men who abuse or control must be seen as responsible for their abusive behavior and held accountable for it. Treatment must conscientiously avoid any conclusion in the abuser's denial, minimization, avoidance, or projection. Abusers cannot excuse their behavior as attempts to meet needs for mastery, nurturance, or intimacy. Further they cannot blame their behavior on that of others.

2) The primary focus of any treatment effort must be on changing the violent behavior itself. Treatment must consequently focus on the details of this behavior, on

its impact on others, and on the belief system which supports it.

3) Treatment programs must work in conjunction and cooperation with the police and courts in order to utilize legal sanctions and mandated treatment (Paymar and Pence, 1993).

The Central Minnesota Task Force on Battered Women (CMTFBW) in their dedication to the liberation and empowerment of battered women and children uses a feminist orientation as a philosophy and treatment goal. The CMTFBW is a coalition of agencies including Woman House, SCIP, and the Mille Lacs Reservation Project. Working towards the eradication of social conditions which transcend in violence, the CMTFBW provides temporary safe housing, advocacy, information, and referral for women and their children who have been abused, are being abused, or who live in fear of abuse. This project aims at removing legal responsibility from the victims of domestic violence and shifting it to the perpetrators and criminal justice system. The CMTFBW coordinates law enforcement, criminal justice system, and social service to promote a comprehensive community response (Shepard, 1992). Throughout legal proceedings, advocates work closely with the abused women, assisting them to secure or renew orders for protection, temporary custody, and child support agreements (Edleson and Syers, 1992). Legal advocates inform victims that domestic violence is a crime against the state and the decisions to press or drop charges is the responsibility not of the victim, but of the state.

The St. Cloud Intervention Project (SCIP) as one entity of the CMTFBW works with males who batter in a large group educational setting. The basis of the

SCIP program is that intervention should focus specifically on stopping this learned violence.

SCIP utilizes a curriculum based on the Duluth Model. Every aspect of the Duluth curriculum is designed to challenge a lifelong pattern of thinking, rationalizing and acting that leads to violence and other forms of abuse. The program in all its aspects rejects the notion of men as victims of sexism. If we see men who batter as only a victim of a larger system in which they have no say and are merely a product of a sexist society, we undermine individual responsibility, making change less like. Although emotional outbursts control many men when battering, their behaviors are not without intent. Ultimately, the men must be held accountable for the choices they make. The use of this curriculum challenges men to see their use of a violence as a choice. The curriculum gives each of the male participants the chance to achieve an equal relationship with a woman (Paymar and Pence, 1993).

In this model power and control results in authoritarian and destructive relationships. Power and control are established using eight different tactics: **1. Coercion and threats** - threatening to hurt her, to leave her, to commit suicide, to report her to welfare, to make her drop charges, to make her do illegal things, **2. Intimidation** - making her afraid by using looks, actions, gestures, smashing things, destroying her property, abusing pets, displaying weapons, **3. Emotional abuse** - putting her down, making her feel bad about herself, calling her names, making her think she is crazy, playing mind games, humiliating her, making her feel guilty; **4. Isolation** - controlling what she does, who she sees, what she reads, where she goes,

limiting her outside involvement, using jealousy to justify actions; **5. Minimizing, denying and blaming** - making light of the abuse and not taking her concerns about it seriously, saying the abuse did not happen, shifting responsibility for abusive behavior, saying she caused it; **6. Using children** - making her feel guilty about the children, using the children to relay messages, using visitation to harass her, threatening to take the children away; **7. Upholding "male privilege"** - treating her like a servant, making all the big decisions, acting like the master of the castle, being the one to define men's and women's roles; and **8. Economic abuse** - preventing her from getting or keeping a job, making her ask for money, not letting her know about or have access to family income (See Appendix 1).

In contrast to the use of power and control, equality is identified as a system of behaviors based on values and choices which support an equal and respectful relationship. These behaviors are credible only when consistently practiced with no threats or use of violence. **1. Negotiation and fairness** - seeking mutually satisfying resolutions to conflicts, accepting change, being willing to compromise; **2. Economic partnership** - making money decisions together, making sure both partners benefit from financial arrangements; **3. Shared responsibility** - mutually agreeing on a fair distribution of work, making family decision together; **4. Responsible parenting** - sharing parental responsibilities, being a positive non-violent role model for the children; **5. Non-threatening behavior** - talking and acting so that she feels safe and comfortable expressing herself; **6. Respect** - listening to her non-judgementally, being emotionally affirming and understanding, valuing opinions, **7. Trust and support** -

supporting her goals in life, respecting her right to her own feelings, friends, activities and opinions, and **8. Honesty and accountability** - accepting responsibility for self, acknowledging the past use of violence, admitting being wrong, communicating openly and truthfully (See Appendix 2).

The focus of the research for this study was the large group educational program SCIP conducts for male batterers. SCIP was interested in testing their program to determine if it significantly reduced incidents of abuse in the relationships of participants.

The study explored the behavior of twenty-one men who have completed the twenty-four week SCIP anti-violence education program for batterers. This program consists of a three and half hour group intake followed by twenty-four weekly meetings lasting approximately two and a half hours. Attendance is mandatory. If participants do not comply they are terminated from the group. Two trained co-facilitators conduct the meetings.

The data was collected through telephone and mail surveys. Telephone surveys were used in all the cases except those who did not have a phone. In highest regard for the women's safety, if a man answered the phone, the surveyor did not either ask for the woman or leave a message. If the woman answered, the first question asked was is this a good time to talk. The mail survey was identical to the script used for the phone survey. The pretest was concurrent with intake. Post-test was collected within a month of completion of the SCIP program.

The instrument used for assessing the men's behavior is the Abusive Behavior

Inventory Scale (ABI) (See Appendix 3). The ABI explores the type and frequency of abuse present in the relationship (Paymar and Pence, 1993). The ABI consists of twenty psychological abuse items drawn from the subcategories: "emotional abuse" (humiliation or degradation), "isolation" (restriction or social constraint), "intimidation" (frighten with action, gestures), "threats" (of harm to self or others), use of "male privilege" (compliance demanded based upon belief of male entitlement), and "economic abuse" (restriction of financial resources). When set in a context where physical abuse has occurred all of these are psychologically abusive (Shepard and Campbell, 1991). Ten physical abuse items examine assaultive behaviors, including sexually abusive behaviors.

Data was analyzed utilizing the Statistix program run on an IBM compatible personal computer. The data collected using the ABI was further divided into eight categories reflecting the influence of power/control model (See Appendix 3). Emotional Abuse consisted of the questions 8, 15, and 28; Isolation questions 9, 16, and 22; Intimidation questions 10, 23, 26, and 30; Use of Children question 17; Use of Male Privilege questions 12, 18, 21, and 25; Economic Abuse questions 11, and 29; Coercion questions 13 and 19; Physical Violence questions 14, 20, 27, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, and 36.

Paired T-tests were used to analyze significant differences between pre- and post-tests for each subcategory. For all the subcategories a paired t-test indicated a significant difference at least at the .05 level.

The most remarkable findings involved significant declines in Physical Abuse

(M_{pre}=1.8; M_{post}=1.1; t=5.09; df=20; p<.01); Intimidation (M_{pre}=2.0; M_{post}=1.2; t=5.63; df=19; p<.01]; Economic Control (M_{pre}=2.0; M_{post}=1.1; t=5.68; df=20; p<.01); Coercion (M_{pre}=2.5; M_{post}=1.6; t=3.29; df=20; p<.01]; and Isolation (M_{pre}=3.0; M_{post}=2.1; t=3.28; df=20; p<.01); Male Privilege (M_{pre}=2.46; M_{post}=1.77; t=2.96; df=20; p<.01) (See Appendix 4). These findings indicate that the SCIP curriculum had a positive impact on eliminating Physical Abuse, Intimidation, Economic Control, Coercion, Isolation, and Male Privilege in the relationships of those who completed the program.

Findings in this study suggest SCIP, may have been more effective in addressing physical abuse then emotional abuse. One possible explanation is that while the males could conceptualize physical abuse, emotional abuse was harder to comprehend. The declines in the sub-categories Emotional Abuse, and Use of Children are not as drastic as the declines in the other sub-categories. However, even these findings indicate significant differences in pre- and post-tests. Emotional Abuse (M_{pre}= 3.06; M_{post}=2.44; t=2.37; df=20; p< .05); and Use of Children (M_{pre}=2.67; M_{post}=1.77; t=2.36; df=20; p<.05) (See Appendix 4). One can assess the SCIP program effectively addressed Emotional Abuse and Use of Children.

Although this study indicates the SCIP program is effective in the treatment of males who batter, the results must be weighed with caution. The following threats to the validity of these findings must be considered: 1. limited number of cases, 2. self-selection, 3. inconsistencies in administration of survey, 4. immediacy following the completion of the program, 5. evaluation apprehension, 6. statistical regression, 7.

restricted generalizability, and 8. multiple-treatment interaction.

The limited number of cases evaluated in this study is consequential. Generally thirty cases is considered an adequate sample size to obtain a normal distribution; however, only twenty-one women were considered in this evaluation (Royse, 1991). The Central Limit Theorem suggests that data should be normally distributed around the mean. In contrast to a normal bell shape distribution, the subcategory data point distribution in this study was often skewed (See Appendix 5). The low number of cases reflects difficulties in collecting data. Because domestic violence is a sensitive, highly stigmatized topic, women were hesitant to complete the surveys. The women were at times difficult to locate. Couples who separated prior to the male participating in treatment for were not considered in the findings. The distribution of the data possibly could have been controlled for with an increased number of cases, or could also be attributed to an error in the measuring instrument (ABI).

Another difficulty in the data collection was subject mortality - bias occasioned by self-selection of program dropouts. Drops-outs may have possessed different characteristics then those participants who completed the program. For example, the drop-outs may have been less motivated to change. Because of the large number of dropouts, it is reasonable to suspect the SCIP program may only be effective for some men. Feasibly those who completed the program were experiencing a positive outcome, therefore, more inclined to continue in the program. Those who were not recognizing positive changes were more likely to drop-out.

SCIP's effectiveness may be limited to a highly motivated self-selected group. Consequently the findings of this evaluation are not generalizable to all batterers.

Inconsistencies in data collection may have occurred. Individual surveyors may have varied in tone and response, consequently inadvertently influencing the respondent. Recognizing the sensitivity of the issue, the ABI instrument and script were used to maintain objectivity.

Another limitation of these findings is that they indicate changes concurrent with the conclusion of the SCIP program. Because of the immediacy of the evaluation, the changes could be attributed in part to a "halo effect." The "halo effect" occurs when positive changes are evident immediately following treatment, but disappear as time passes. Subsequent surveys six months, one year, and even five years after the completion of the SCIP program could control for the "halo effect".

Evaluation apprehension may have also threatened the validity of these findings. Respondents may have been apprehensive about being evaluated by persons who they perceived to be experts. In such cases respondents attempt to present themselves as both competent and psychologically healthy (Campbell and Cook, 1979).
The results may have been exaggerated as women wanted to believe change had occurred. Statistical regression must also be considered. This refers to the selection of subjects who were chosen because of extreme scores. The extent of statistical regression depends on the test-retest reliability of a measure and on the difference between the mean of deliberately selected subgroup and mean of the population from which the subgroup was chosen (Campbell and Cook, 1979). Many of the subjects

participating in the SCIP program either voluntarily or involuntarily sought treatment after a crisis situation. The event was most likely very traumatic and thus reflected in extremely high pre-test scores. Statistical regression recognizes a natural movement to the middle. The extreme pre-test score moves towards the group average in post-tests (Royse, 1991). Although subtle abuse continues, as time passes, the traumatic event may be minimized. Thus, the post-test indicates less extreme scores.

The final threat of validity to be considered is multiple-treatment interaction. Although the men participated in only the SCIP treatment program. The CMTFBW was responding to the needs of the community with increased resources, shelter, advocacy, and children's programs. The CMTFBW may have had a cumulative effect on the prevalence of violence in the family.

Despite consideration of the validity threats, the findings indicate the CMTFBW is positively impacting the community. This survey is a stimuli for future involvement of Social Work practice, policy, and research within the realms of domestic violence.

This research provides a strong basis for further study on the effectiveness of educational treatments for males who batter. Further research in this area demands an increase of sampling size. Research also should continue to determine long-term impacts to validate SCIP's potential to create changes in life-style.

As social work practitioners, we must consider each individual's unique needs. This work begins with a commitment to those women who are called names, beaten, kicked, pushed, stabbed, raped, and murdered. It requires a commitment to the

women who are subjected to constant threats on the very essence of their humanness. It demands a commitment to join with men in refusing to participate in a system that dehumanizes all of us. Because women experiencing violence are influenced by a number of factors, comprehensive community response is essential. Taking a feminist position in relation to male power provokes confrontation, challenging male control and domination, naming the abuse, and naming the abuser (Avis, 1992). Just as many men in these groups will stop the physical and emotional abuse of women, many will not. Violence is not a family problem; it is a societal problem. We must react to the societal disease of domestic violence. Confronting the traditional structures which uphold a patriarchal society where men dominate and women comply is essential.

Although society's values are deeply ingrained in the minds of many individuals, social work policy must not be apathetic. Instead social work policy should be active in confronting domestic violence. The SCIP program helped to end the violence in the lives of twenty-one women and their families. This alone supports the continuation of SCIP. A comprehensive community response can lead to true empowerment of both women and men. It challenges men to accept the risk of change. It challenges us all to listen and react to the screams of women and children.

The screams of "Damn it Johnny stop!" haunt me as I remember this woman known only as Bitch struggling to survive in the home of a batterer. She laid in a fetal position as he kicked her in front of their young son. She fainted as she had a screwdriver forced through her arm. She lived in terror. She was desperate to escape. Still he claimed to love her. Making her believe she was worth nothing, he controlled her. Justifying his actions he blamed her. He never had to hit anyone until he met her. The Bitch deserved to be hit. Her screams for help were urgent still suffered alone. A small town police office, refused to respond to her calls. Her family blamed her for marrying this man. Living in isolation, she waited for the day she would be "crazy" enough to kill either herself or her batterer.

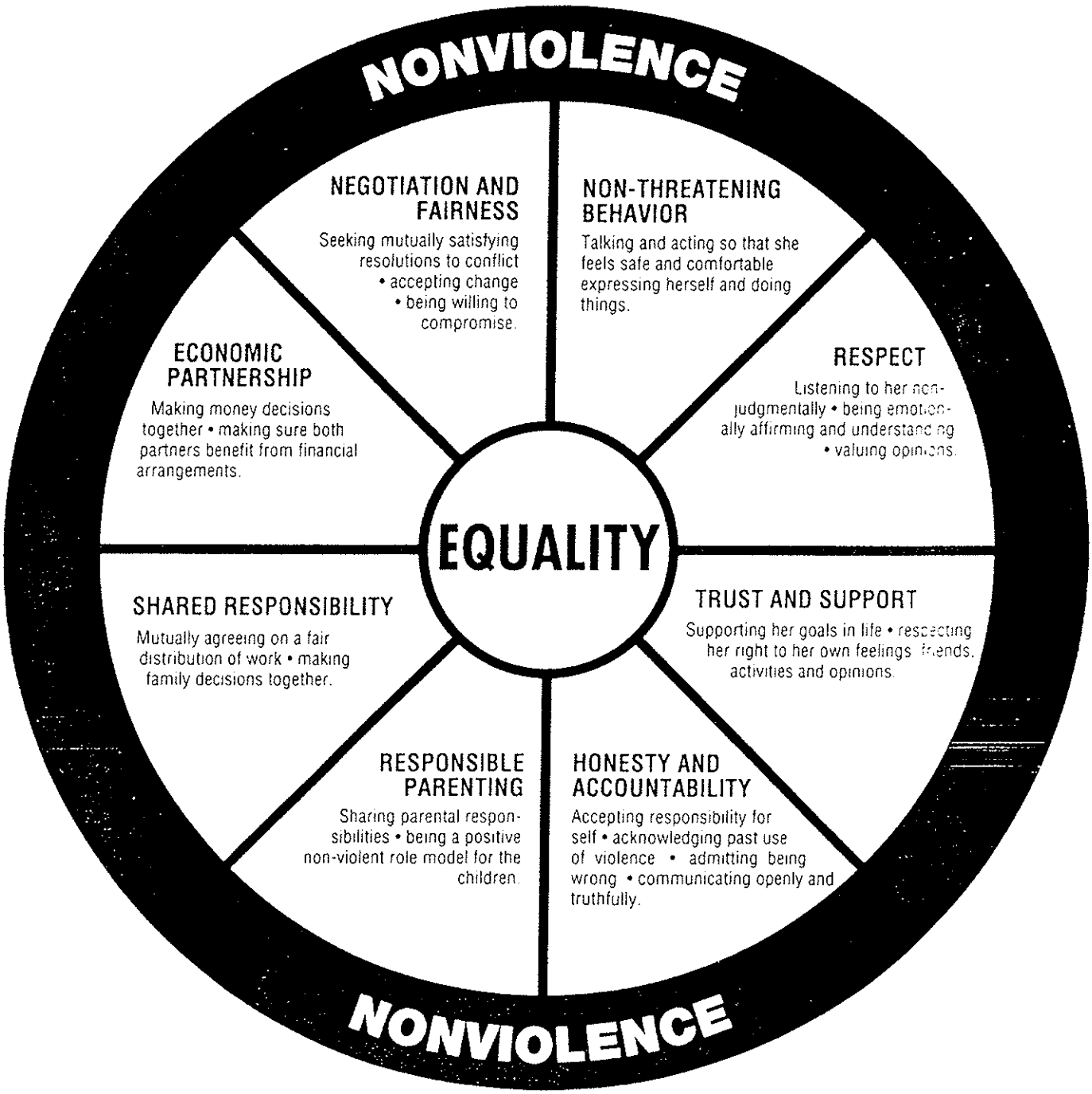
The silence has been destroyed, the prevalence of violence in our society effects us all. The woman's screams continue to echo, symbolizing the reality of violence and forever destroying the silence.

APPENDIX 1

Power and Control Wheel

APPENDIX 2

Equality Wheel



APPENDIX 3

1. What is the current status of your relationship? A. Married, Living Together, B. Not Married, Living Together, C. Married, Living Apart, D. Not Married, Living Apart, E. Divorced, Living Apart

2. Do you have children?
3. Do you have custody of the children?
4. If yes to two, does he pay child support?
5. With visitation, do problems occur?
6. Have the police been called to your home because of abuse since he started at SCIP?
7. If yes to six, was he arrested?

Here is a list of behaviors that many women report have been used by their partners or former partners. We would like you to estimate how often your partner or former partner used these behaviors against you. Your answers are strictly confidential. Please use the following scale: A=never; B=rarely; C=occasionally; D=frequently; E=very frequently

8. Called you names and/or criticized you.

9. Tried to keep you from doing something you wanted to do. (Example: going out with friends, going to meetings)

10. Gave you angry stares or looks.

11. Prevented you from having money for your own use.

12. Ended a discussion with you and made the decision himself.

13. Threatened to hit or throw something at you.

14. Pushed, grabbed, or shoved you.

15. Put down your family and friends.

16. Accused you of paying too much attention to someone or something else.

17. Used your children to threaten you (Example: told you that you would lose custody, said you would leave town with the children).

18. Became very upset with you because dinner, housework, or laundry was not ready when he wanted it or done the way he thought it should be done.

19. Said things to scare you. (Example: told you something "bad" would happen, threaten to commit suicide).

20. Slapped, hit, or punched you.

21. Made you do something humiliating or degrading. (Example: begging for forgiveness, having to ask his permission to use the car or do something).

22. Checked up on you. (Examples: listened to your phone calls, checked the mileage on your car, called you repeatedly at work).

23. Drove recklessly when you were in the car.

24. Pressured you to have sex in a way that you did not like or want.

25. Refused to do housework or child care.

26. Threatened you with a knife, gun, or other weapon.

27. Spanked you.

28. Told you that you were a bad parent.

29. Stopped you or tried to stop you from going to work or school.

30. Threw, hit, kicked, or smashed something.

31. Kicked you.

32. Physically forced you to have sex.

33. Threw you around.

34. Physically attacked the sexual parts of you body.

35. Choked or strangled you.

36. Used a knife, gun, or other weapon against you.

Appendix 4

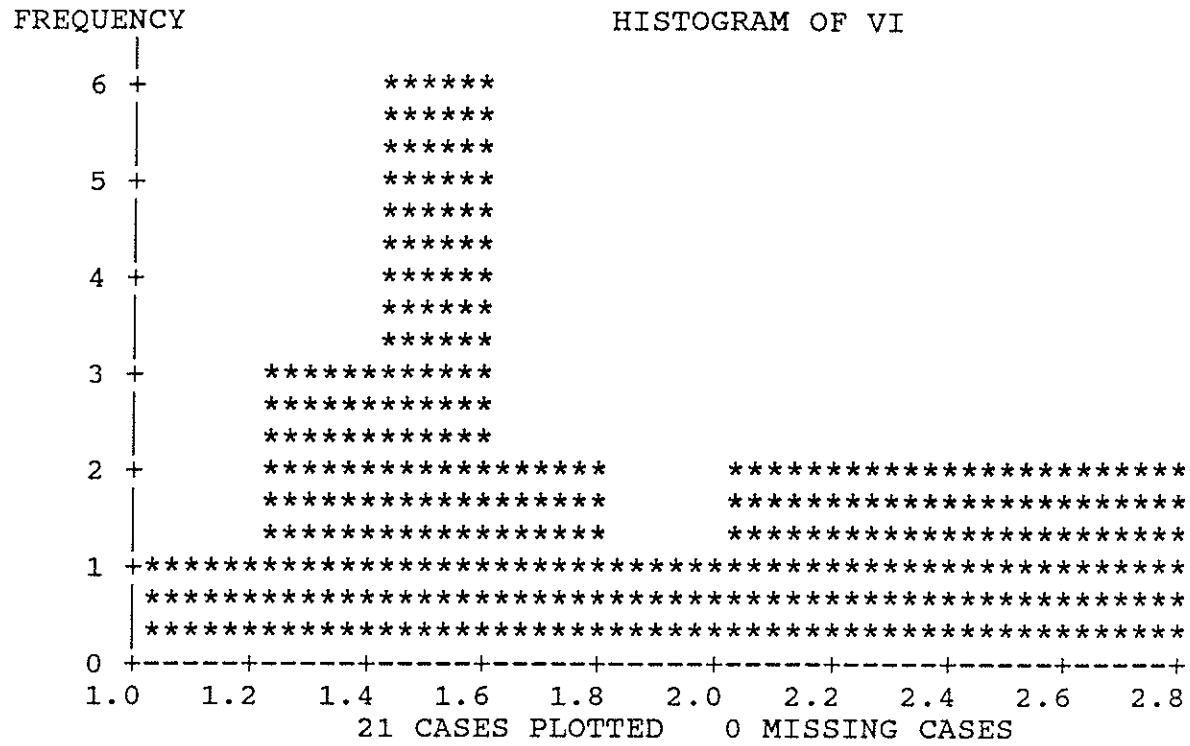
Results of paired T-test of ABI
pre- and post-intervention
(N=22)

Item	Mean	SE	df	T
Emotional Abuse	.61	.26	20	2.37*
Use of Children	.80	.34	20	2.36*
Isolation	.90	.27	20	3.29**
Use of Male Privilege	.68	.23	20	2.96**
Economic Abuse	.85	.15	20	5.68**
Coercion	.90	.22	20	3.97**
Intimidation	.85	.15	19	5.63**
Physical Violence	.68	.13	20	5.09**

*Significant at the $p < .05$ level

**Significant at the $p < .01$ level

Appendix 5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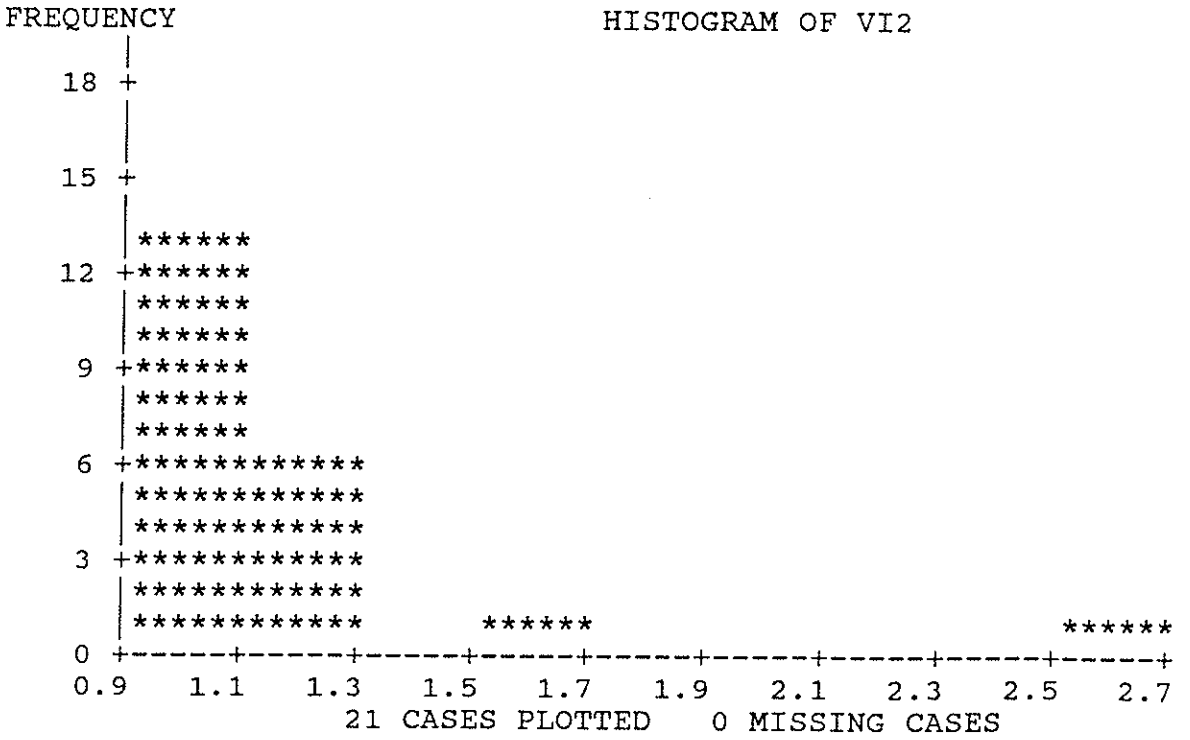
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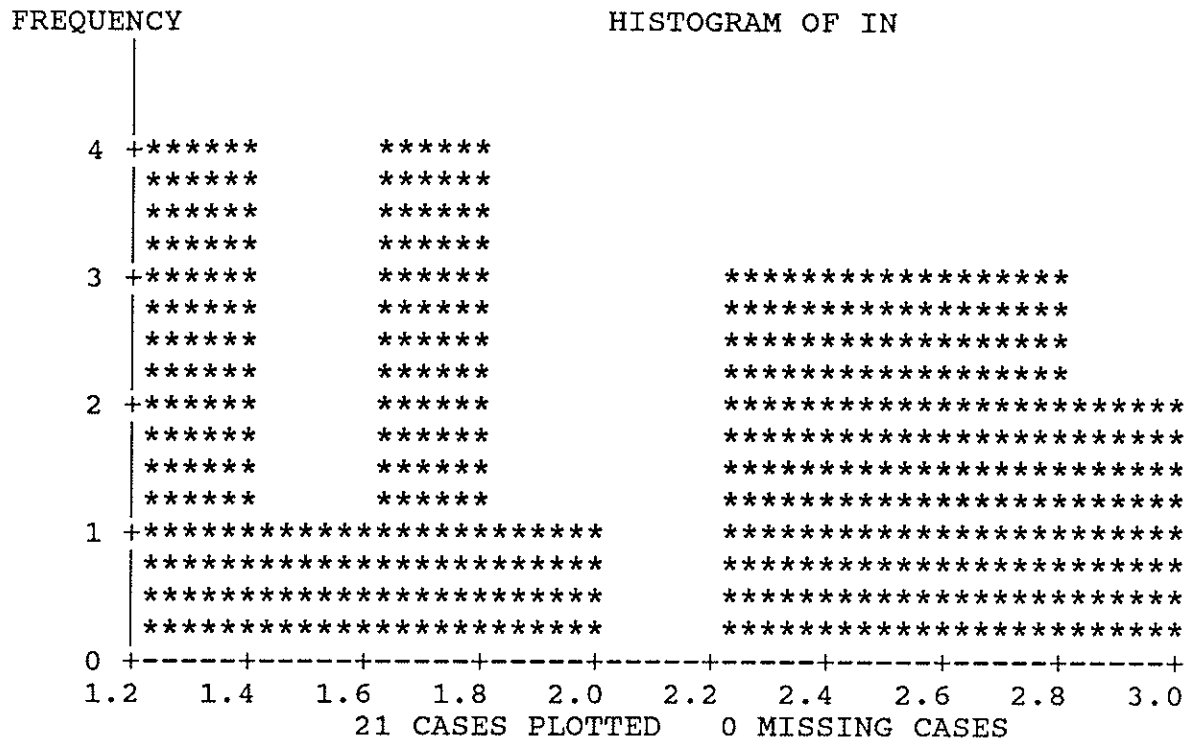
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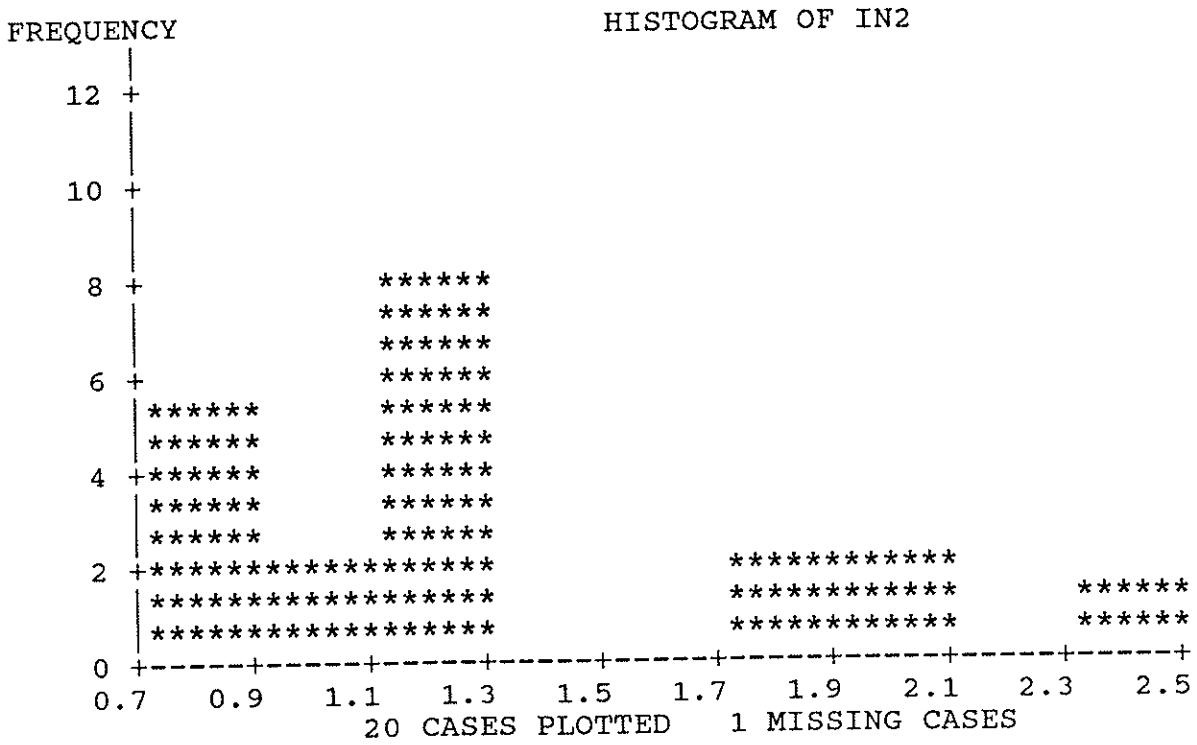
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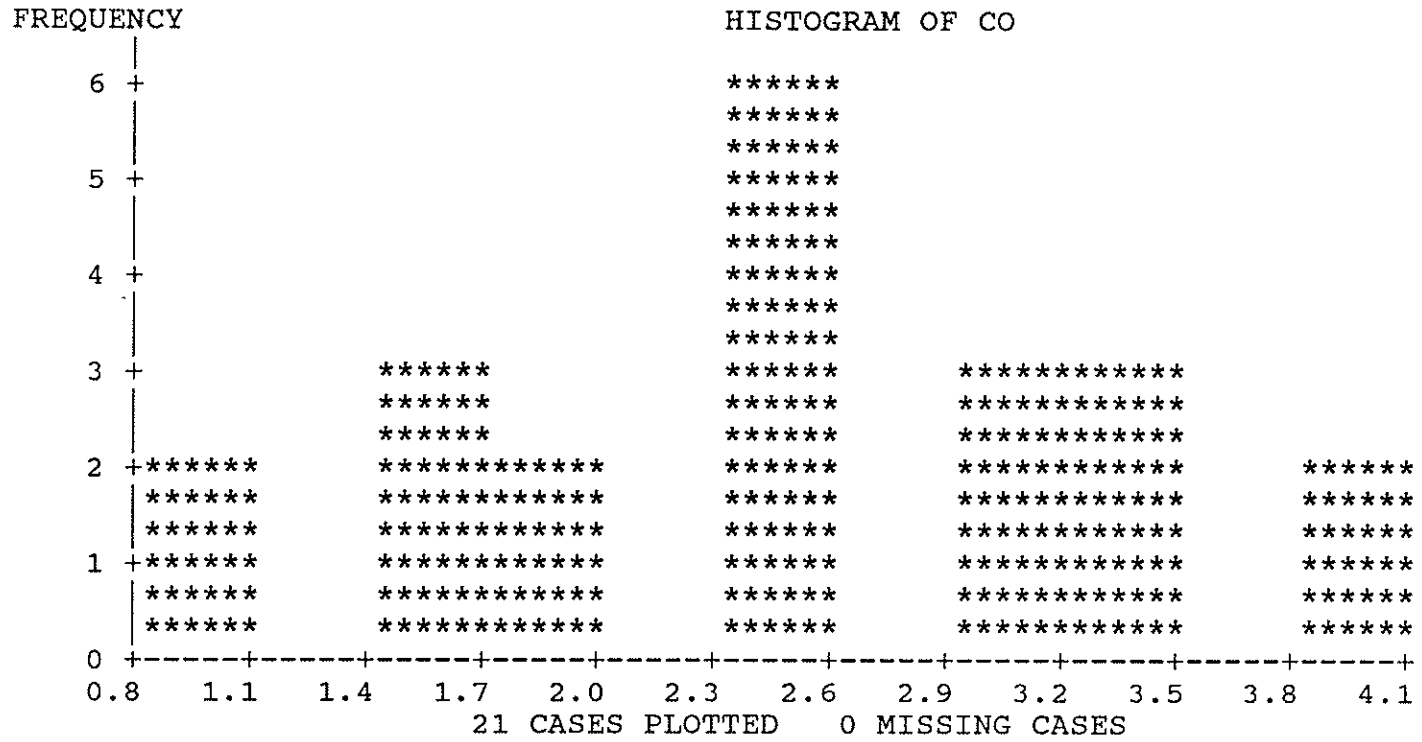
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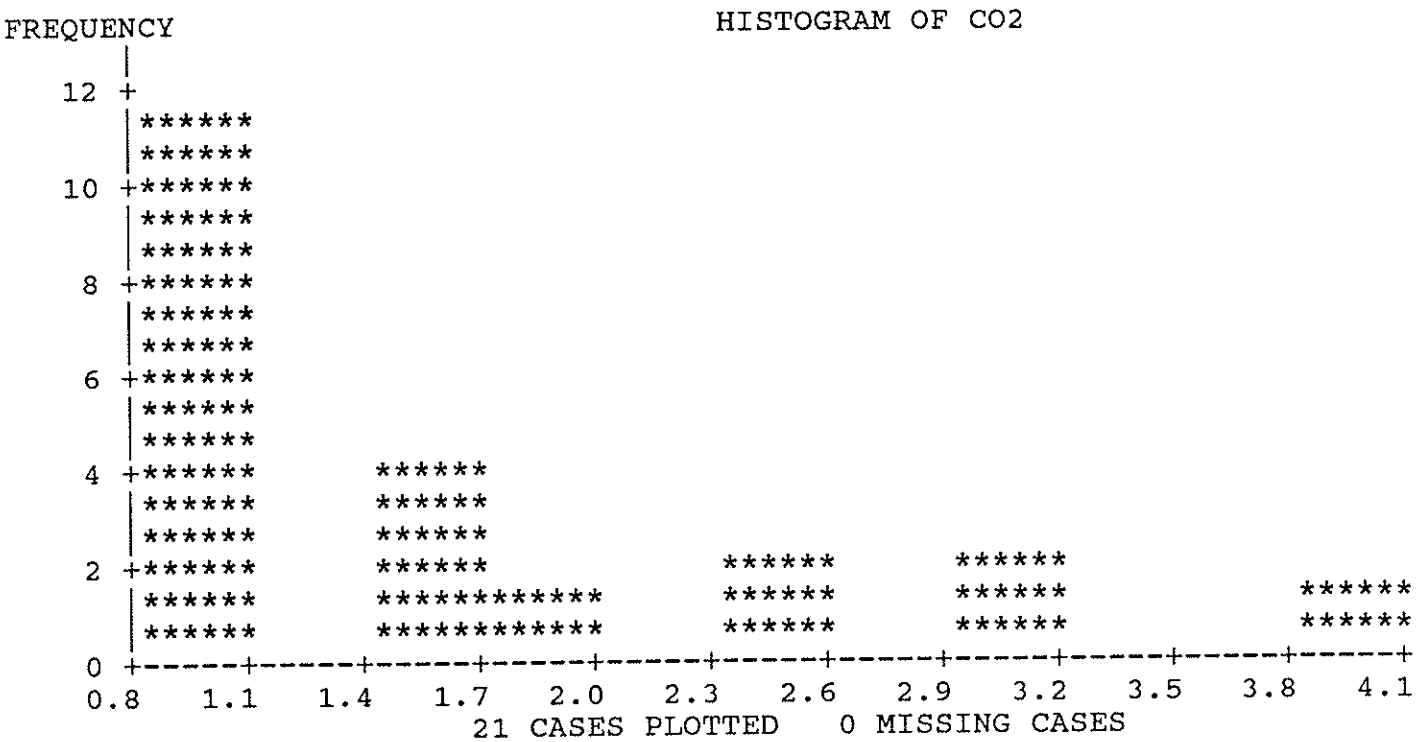
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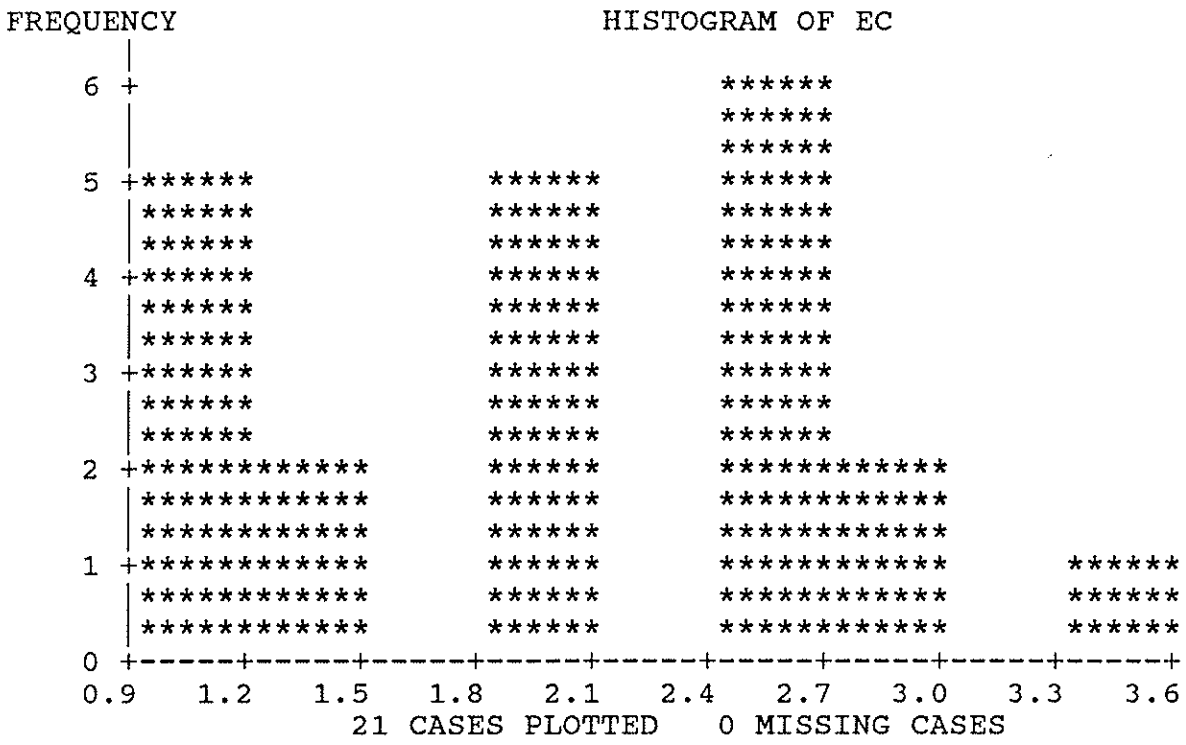
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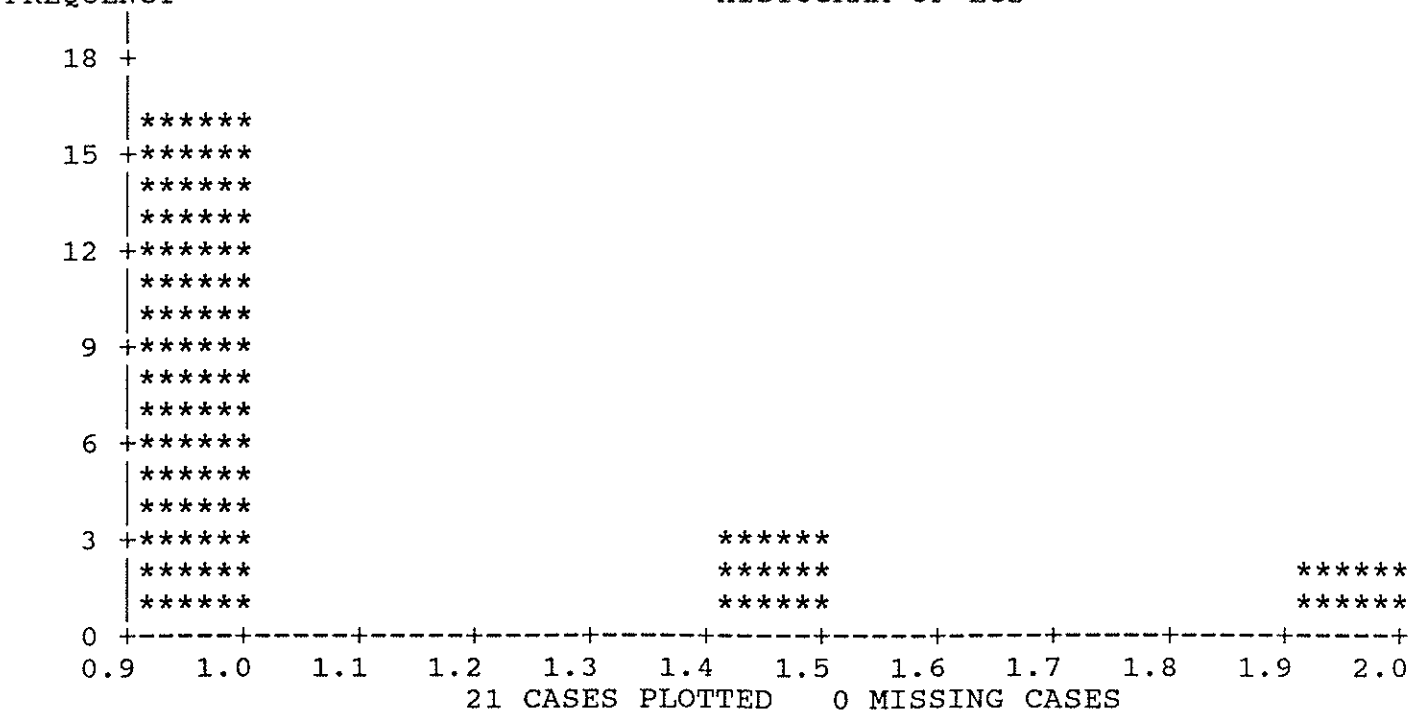
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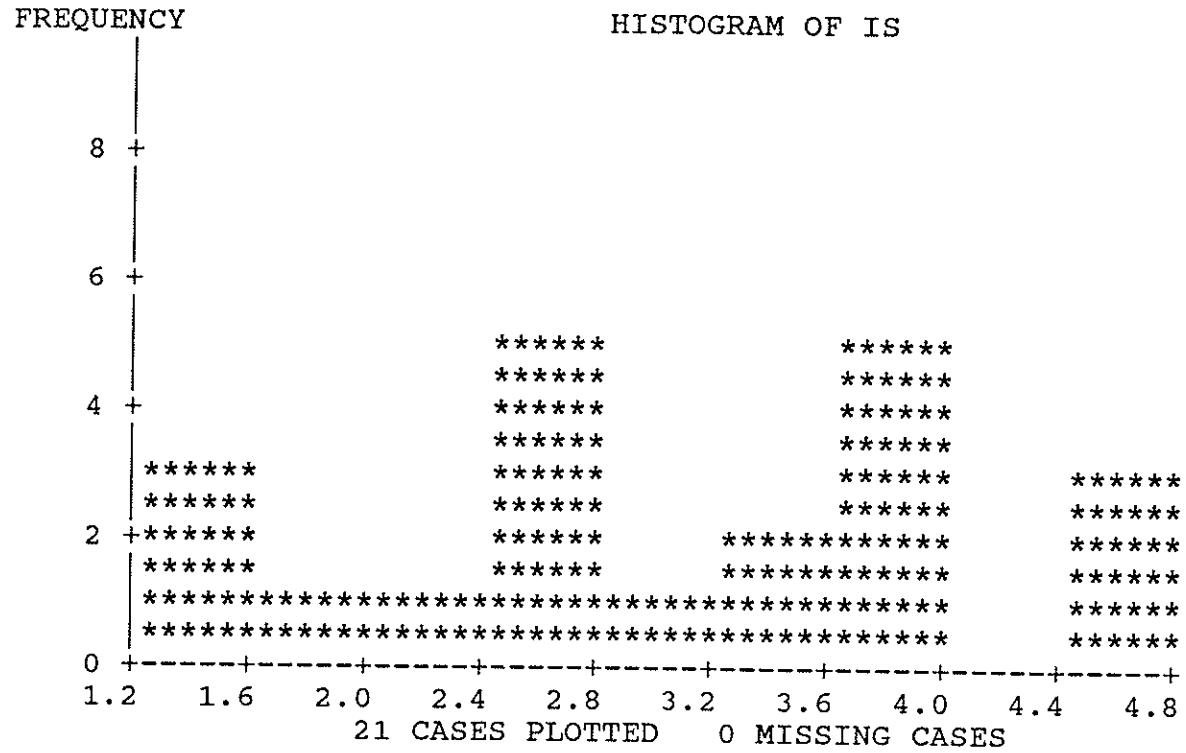
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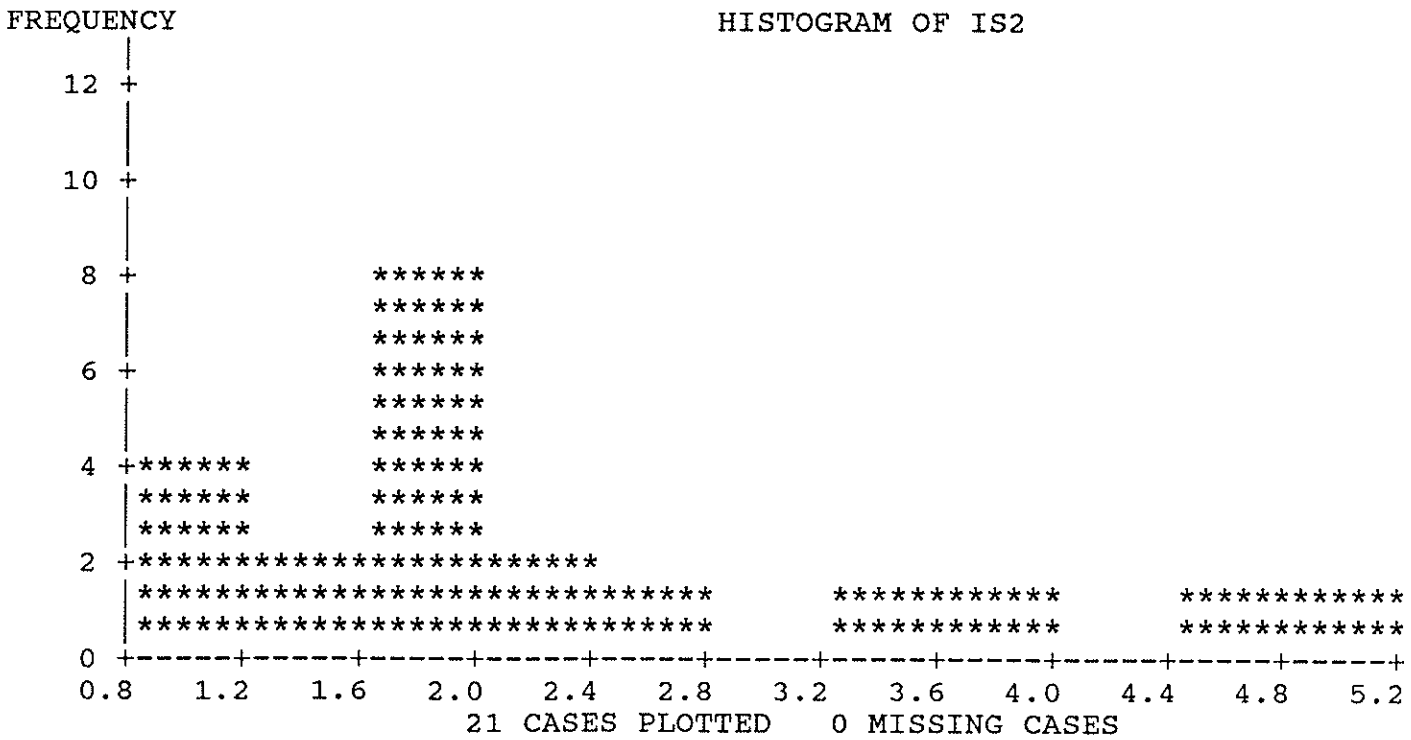
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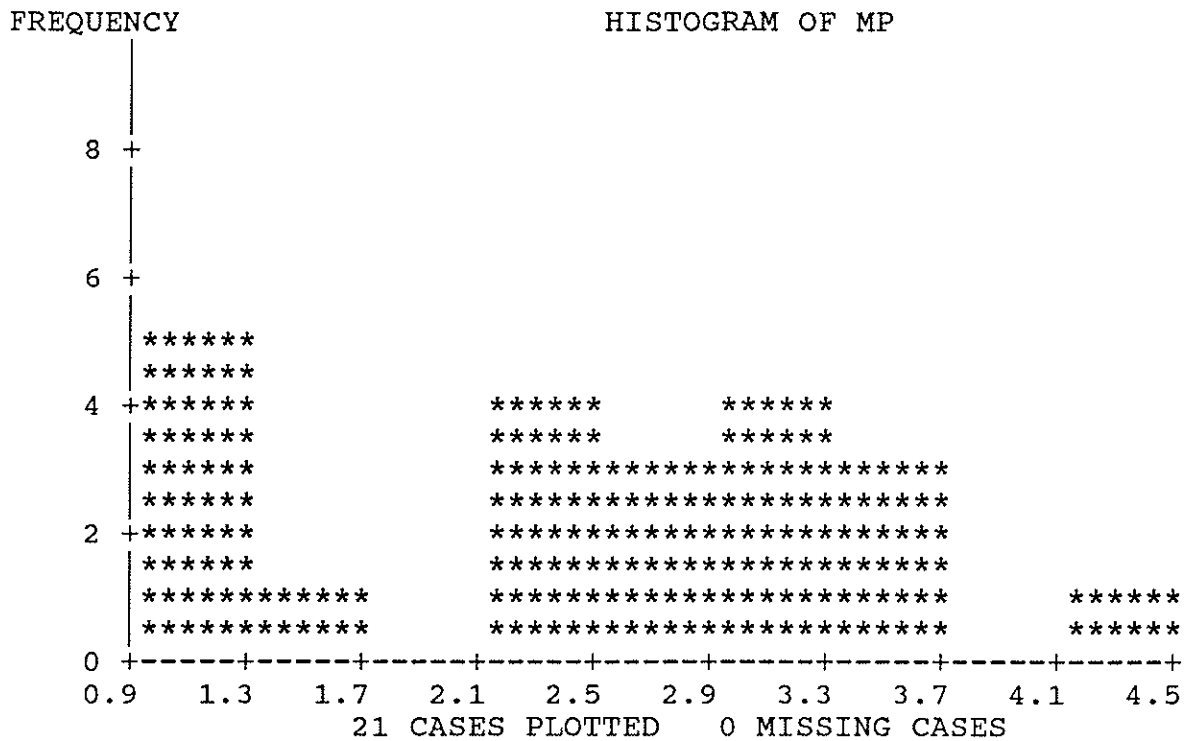
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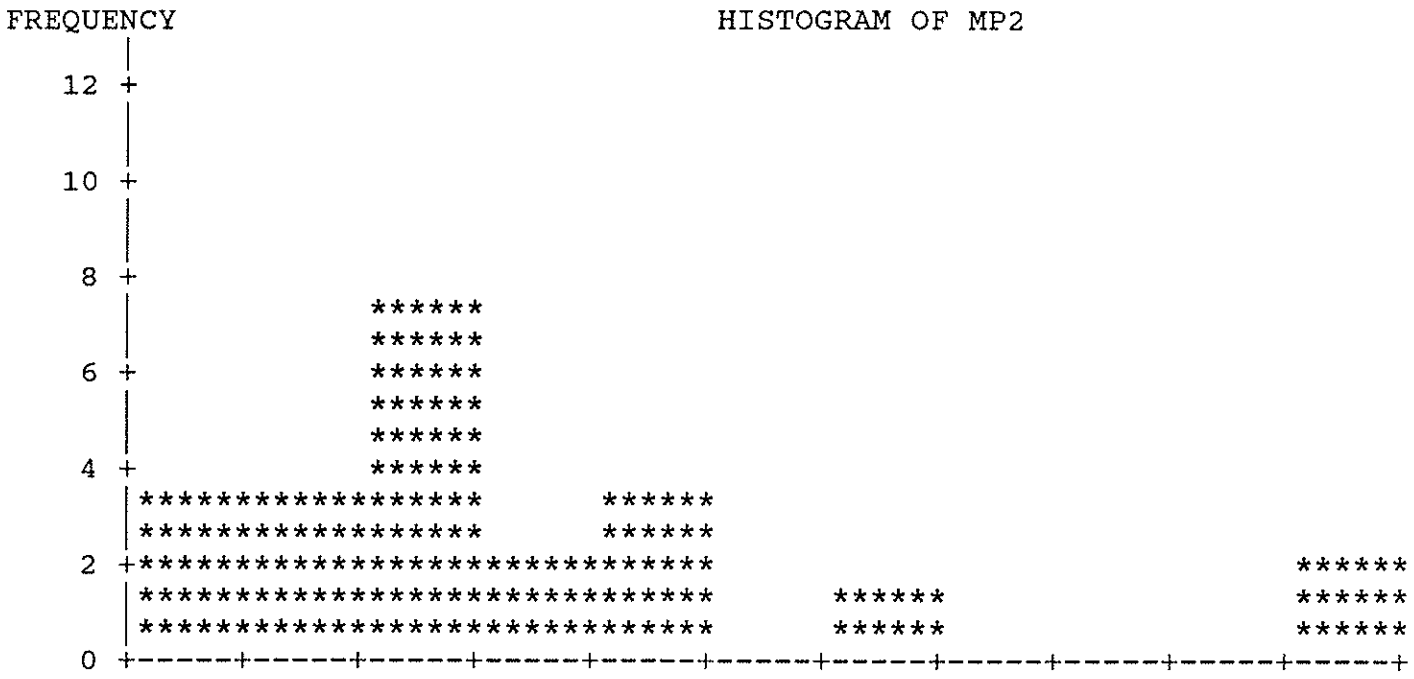
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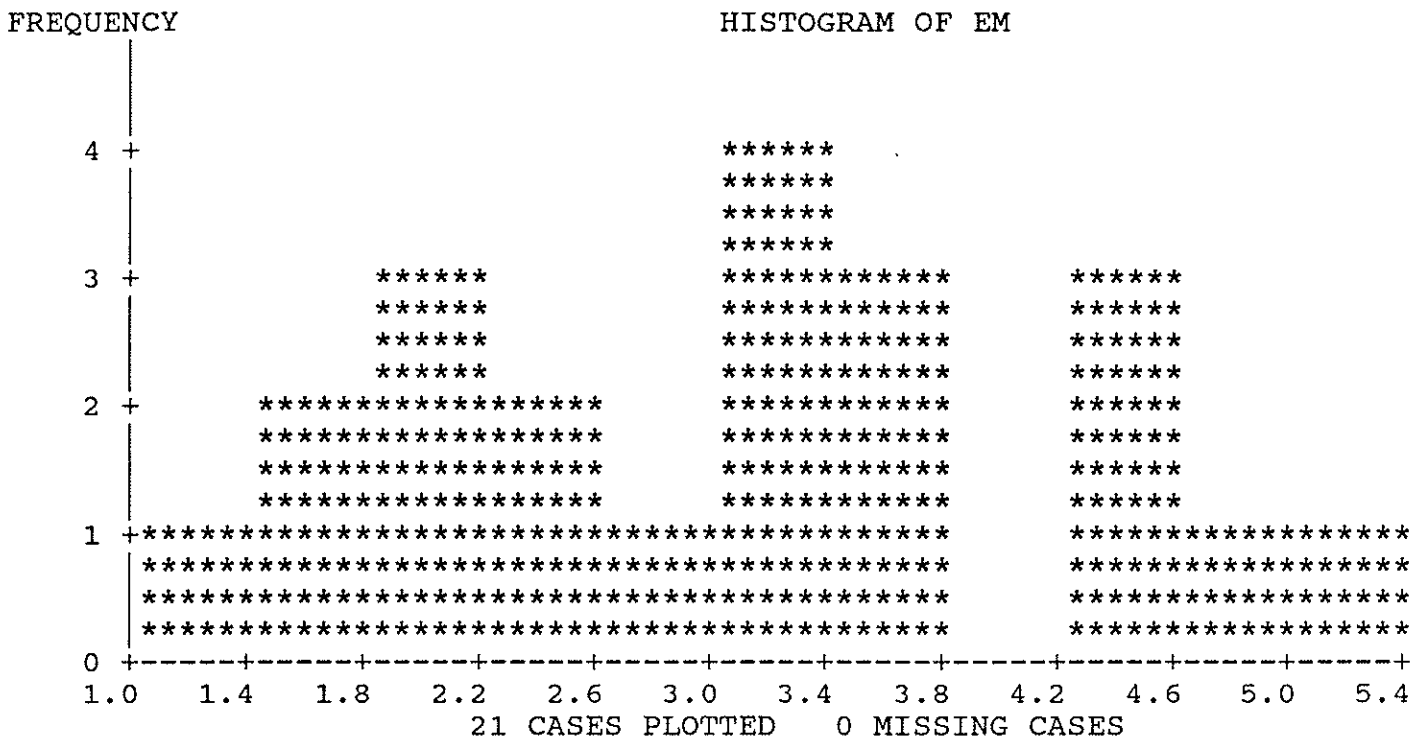
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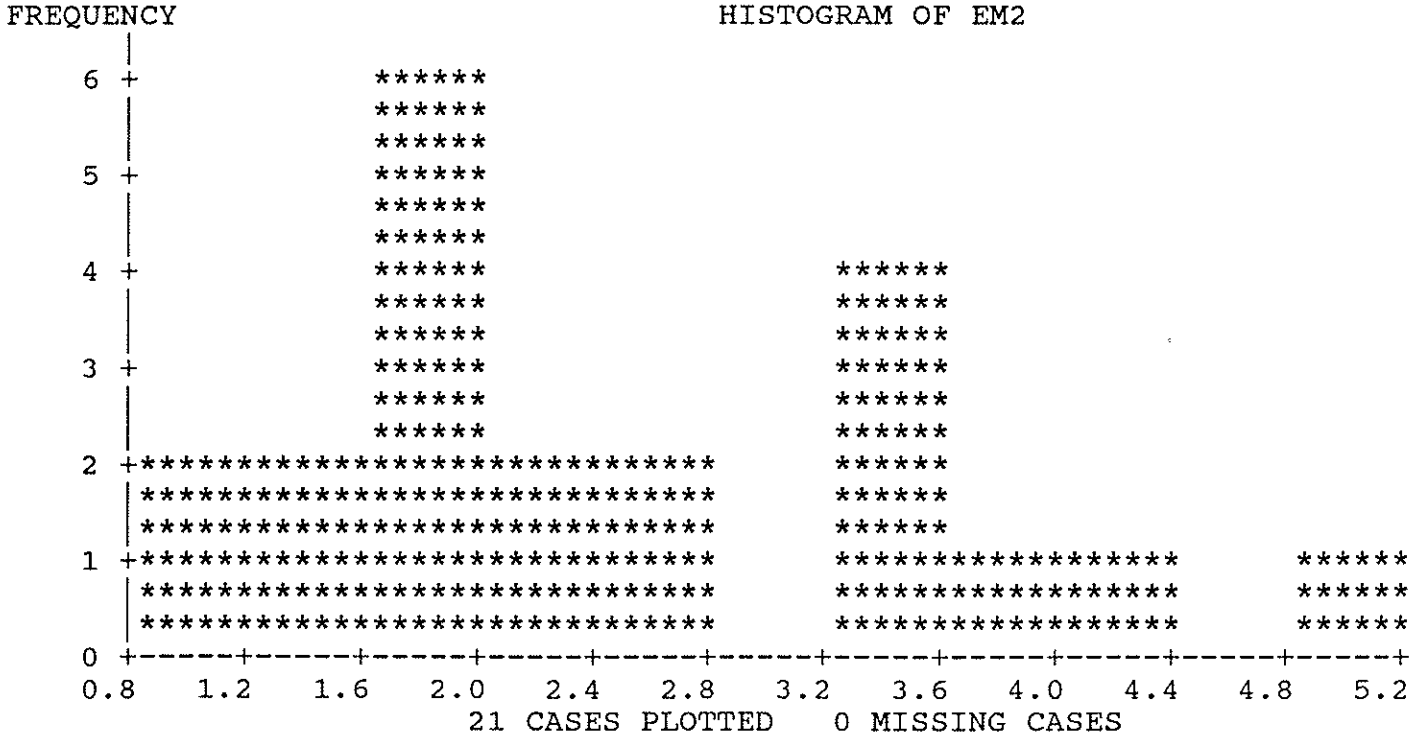
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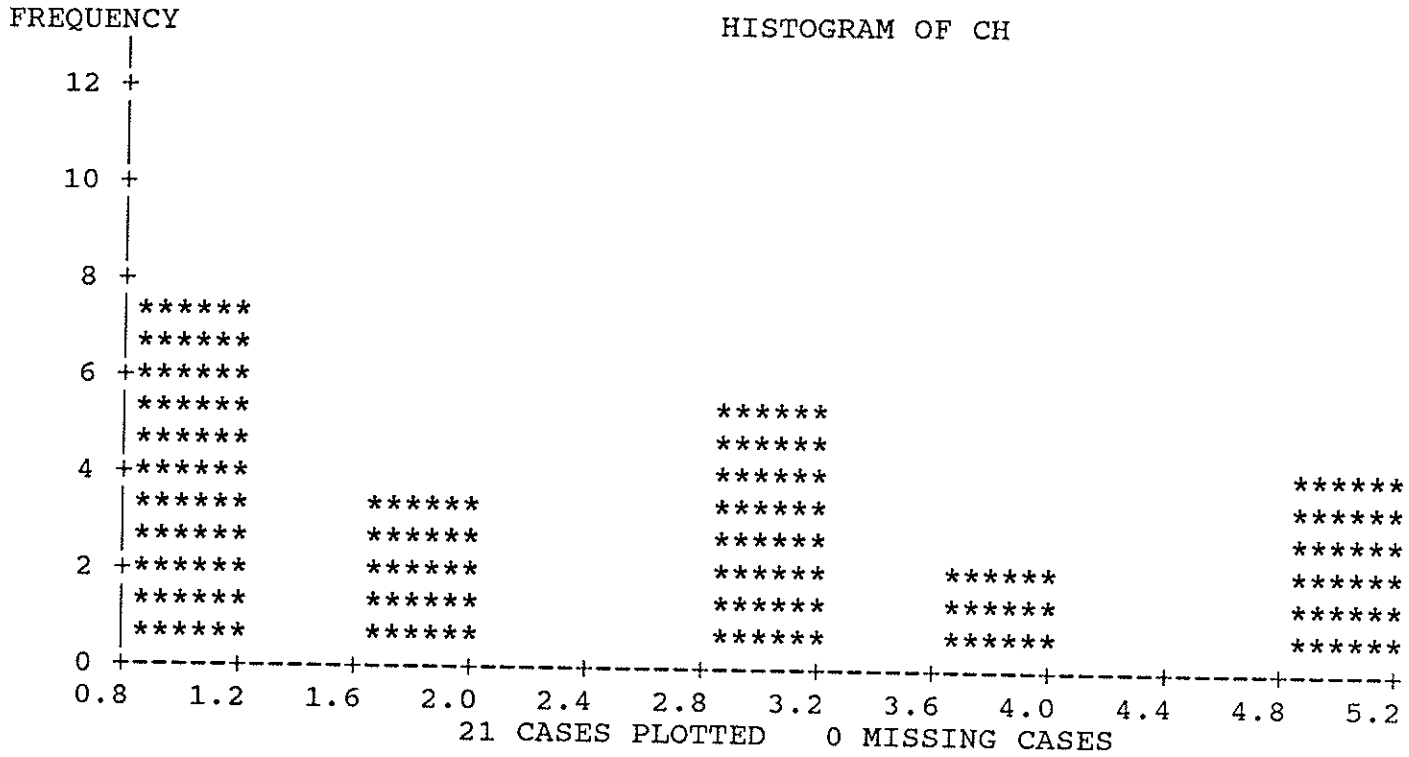
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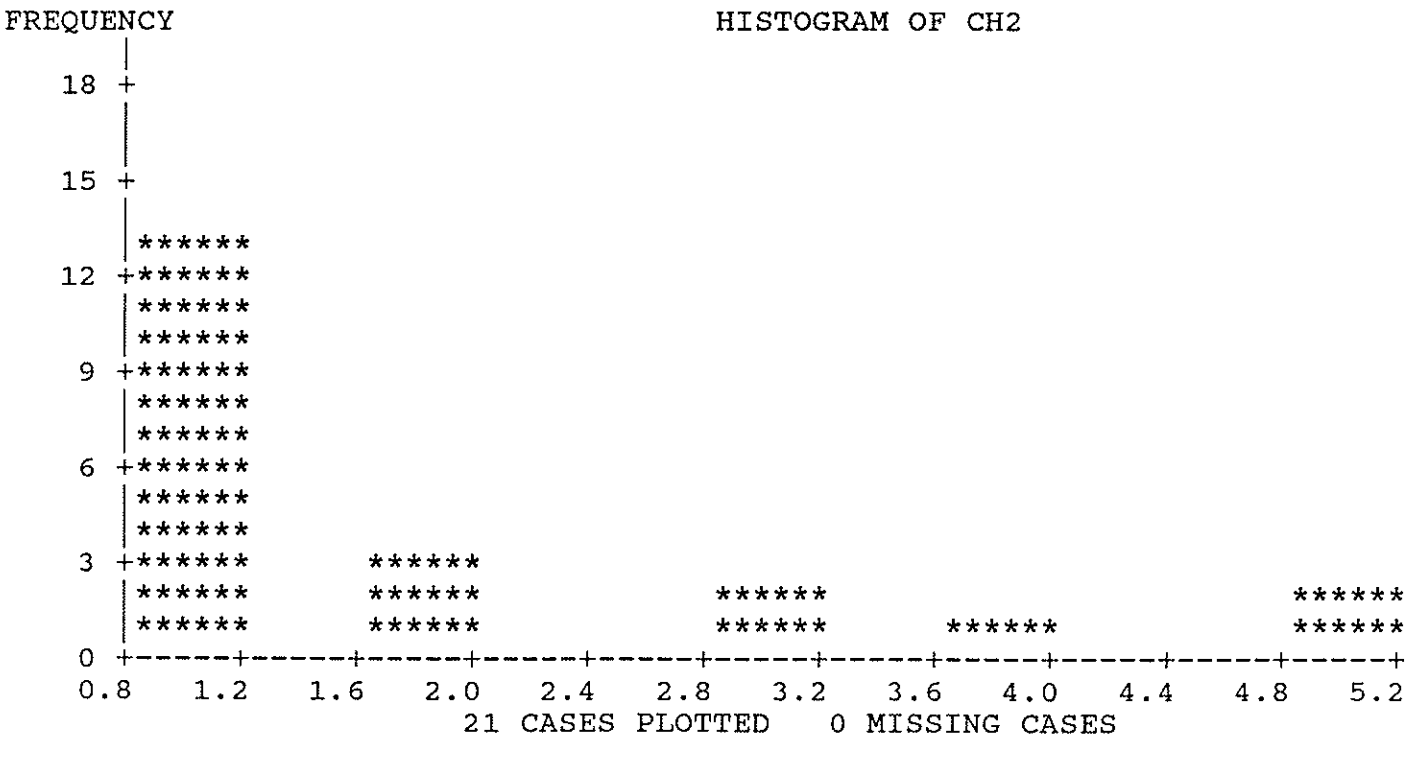
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