



SPECIAL REPORT

How Effective are Domestic Violence Programs in Stopping Partner Abuse?

COALITION TO END DOMESTIC VIOLENCE

Domestic violence is an important social problem in our country. Two milestones in the national effort to combat intimate partner violence were the enactment of the Family Violence Prevention and Service Act in 1984 and the Violence Against Women Act in 1994. Currently, the federal and state governments expend over \$5 billion annually to curb partner abuse.¹

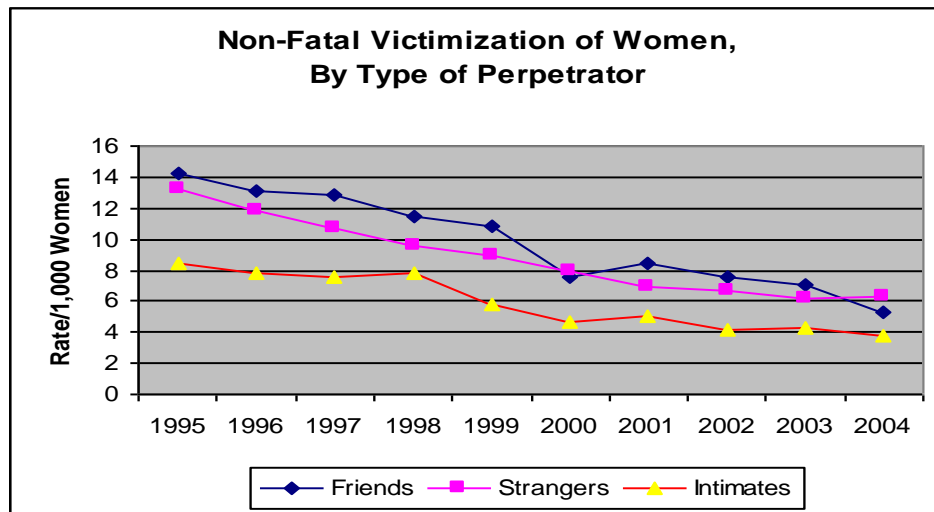
But a broad range of groups – policymakers, service providers, victims’ rights organizations, taxpayers, and others – are asking, Are these programs having their intended effect? Are they working to curb domestic violence? One Department of Justice official expressed this less-than-sanguine view:

“We have no evidence to date that VAWA has led to a decrease in the overall levels of violence against women.” -- Angela Moore Parmley, PhD²

Community surveys, homicide statistics, and reports of non-fatal victimizations all point to the same conclusion: domestic violence rates have followed a pronounced downward trend since the mid-1970s:

- Community surveys conducted in 1975 to 1992 revealed a decrease in annual partner aggression rate:³
 - Male victims: From 11.6% to 9.5% of couples
 - Female victims: From 12.1% to 9.1% of couples
- These declines have continued during the past decade:
 - In 2011, the CDC reported annual rates of 6.5% for male victims and 6.3% for female victims.⁴
 - Several years later, the CDC reported these numbers: 3.8% for male victims and 2.9% for female victims.⁵

FBI statistics of intimate partner homicides reveal a substantial decline:⁶ Reports of non-fatal victimization of women paint a similar picture:



DOMESTIC VIOLENCE PROGRAMS EFFECTIVE?

The graph reveals that over a 10-year period, violent crime against women fell at almost identical rates, regardless of the offender type:

- Stranger – 52%
- Intimate partner – 55%
- Friend or acquaintance – 63%*

This chart illustrates the fact that in the United States, *all* types of violent crime—robberies, simple assaults, and aggravated assaults—have been on the decline since the early 1980s.

Within that context, this Special Report reviews the evidence regarding the impact of domestic violence programs. Specifically, the Report analyzes the effectiveness of four key violence-reduction strategies widely employed by domestic violence programs:

1. Treatment Services
2. Restraining Orders
3. Mandatory Arrest
4. No-Drop Prosecution

Treatment Services

The dynamics of domestic violence are varied and complex. Partner aggression is influenced by factors such as marital status, age, socio-economic level, drug and alcohol use, psychological disorders, and childhood abuse experiences.⁷ Treatment services should be based on a careful client needs assessment, sound scientific research, and the best practices of the counseling profession.

Couples Counseling

A key factor in the treatment of partner abuse is whether the physical aggression is mutual. Studies typically reveal that at least half of all abuse is reciprocal and initiated by males and females at similar rates.^{8,9,10} For example, one Centers for Disease Control-funded survey of adults 18–28 years old found that half of all partner violence was reciprocal.¹¹ Another survey of dating couples reported that 70% of all physical abuse was mutual.¹² Logic dictates that counseling for both partners would be essential for a successful resolution of the conflict.

Couples therapy has been shown to be effective in treating violent partners.^{13,14} But ironically, domestic violence treatment standards often discourage family therapy.¹⁵ In 30

* Non-fatal violence victimization rate per 1,000 females age 12 or older, 1995–2004:

	Perpetrator		
	Stranger	Intimate Partner	Friend/Acquaintance
1995	13.2	8.5	14.2
2004	6.3	3.8	5.3
Percentage decline	52.3%	55.3%	62.7%

Source: <http://www.ojp.usdoj.gov/bjs/intimate/table/vomen.htm>

COALITION TO END DOMESTIC VIOLENCE

states that have implemented standards for offender treatment programs, 42% of those states prohibit couples counseling.¹⁶

These restrictions have become a point of contention between traditional mental health providers and abuse intervention providers.¹⁷ As a result, “one is pressed to find anywhere in the family violence literature treatment approaches that are both systemic *and* take seriously violence perpetrated by women.”¹⁸

Services for Female Victims: Women’s Shelters

The 1,200 abuse shelters currently in operation in the United States are considered a mainstay of treatment services for victims of abuse. But what happens inside the protective walls of these facilities?

Feminist therapists advocate that women in shelters should be counseled to view their predicament as a consequence of patriarchy.¹⁹ One national survey found that 45% of shelters viewed their main role as promoting feminist political activism, while only 25% focused on providing treatment and support for abused women.²⁰

Although researchers have been studying women’s shelters for more than 20 years, the quality of the studies has been poor and the findings inconclusive. Such analyses typically lack pre-intervention data or comparison groups and fail to take into account critical control variables.²¹

One early study suggested that shelter residence could trigger new incidents of abuse.²² But overall, we do not know whether shelter services are effective, benign, or might make the situation worse.

Services for Female Abusers

Women are more likely than men to engage in partner aggression. Fewer than one in five cases of female violence are justified by the need for women to act in self-defense.^{23,24} Female-initiated violence is a cause for concern not only because of the physical and psychological effects on her partner,²⁵ but also because it raises the specter of retaliatory aggression.²⁶

So when abusive women request help from domestic violence agencies, they may discover that requests for treatment are dismissed (“He must have done something to provoke you”) or that female-specific services are non-existent.

For example, one evaluation revealed that among New York City intervention programs, there are “very few that accept female batterers.”²⁷ As attorney Linda Kelly explains, “Today’s treatment denies the possibility that women can be violent.”²⁸

Persons have decried the lack of services for women:

DOMESTIC VIOLENCE PROGRAMS EFFECTIVE?

- Researcher Susan Steinmetz tells of receiving letters from violent women who recognized that they needed help, but were “turned away or offered no help when they called a crisis line or shelter.”²⁹
- Ellen Pence, founder of the Duluth Domestic Abuse Intervention Project, has highlighted the neglect of female abusers: “In many ways, we turned a blind eye to many women’s use of violence, their drug use and alcoholism, and their often harsh and violent treatment of their own children.”³⁰

Services for Male Victims

The lack of services for male victims of domestic violence is well documented.^{31,32} One survey of 26 domestic violence shelters in California confirmed the fact that, “Most shelters do not admit males.”³³

Psychologist David Fontes has observed that “if a male victim happens to show up at a domestic violence center, they may try to help him, but are unlikely to have an active outreach program or services specifically set up with his needs in mind.”³⁴ For example, Ray Blumhorst contacted 10 shelters in southern California to request help. All 10 shelters turned him down.³⁵

*I am a male survivor and former victim of relationship abuse. I was mentally hijacked, emotionally destroyed, and physically beaten by my girlfriend for almost 3 years. ...I remember being huddled on the floor...as I watched, not felt, her beat me until she couldn't lift her arms anymore. ...After a year of therapy, I still haven't found a support group for abused men.*³⁶

Services for Male Abusers

Male offenders are often ordered to attend a Batterer’s Intervention Program (BIP) as an alternative to incarceration. These programs are often based methods on formulated by the Duluth Domestic Abuse Intervention Project.³⁷

The Duluth approach does not ascribe to traditional counseling methodologies.³⁸ Duluth interventionists do not try to develop a therapeutic relationship with the clients, even though that bond is an important predictor of psychological improvement.³⁹ Nor do interventionists make a clinical diagnosis because that supposedly could provide a “rationalization for behavior that may not be accurate.”⁴⁰

Psychologist James Kline believes Duluth interventionists act as quasi-probation officers, noting that such individuals “have such narrow training and such indoctrination into the batterer model” of inter-partner violence, that it leaves them inadequate as diagnosticians and counselors.⁴¹

The ideological flavor of such efforts is revealed by one program in New York State:

The Domestic Violence Program for Men provides important, serious analysis and topics that explore the roots of sexism, racism and the other oppressions which contribute to the systemic problems leading to much of the violence men commit against their intimate partners.⁴²

The National Research Council has deplored the fact that these programs are “driven by ideology and stakeholder interests rather than by plausible theories and scientific evidence of cause.”⁴³

Thus, evaluations have shown the Duluth model to have no measurable impact.⁴⁴ Psychologist Julia Babcock once asked the rhetorical question, “Is the Duluth model set up to fail?”⁴⁵ As researcher Donald Dutton concludes, “Research shows that Duluth-oriented treatments are absolutely ineffective, and have no discernible impact on rates of recidivism.”⁴⁶

Summary

This review of research and policy reveals an ironic pattern of *available* services that are *ineffective*, along with a general *unavailability* of services that *are* effective:

- For partners engaged in mutual violence, couples counseling is often prohibited.
- For female victims, the effectiveness of abuse shelters remains to be demonstrated.
- For female abusers, domestic violence services are generally unavailable.
- For male victims, domestic violence programs are virtually non-existent.
- For male abusers, Duluth model treatment programs are ineffective.

Restraining Orders

Restraining orders are a widely employed strategy to combat domestic violence. Sometimes known as “orders for protection,” restraining orders are a legal directive that orders an individual to avoid contact and communication with his or her partner for a specified period of time.

It has been estimated that 2–3 million domestic restraining orders are issued each year in the United States.⁴⁷ Less than half of all restraining orders involve any allegation of physical violence—the reason being that most state statutes now employ a broad definition of domestic “violence,” relying on vague criteria such as “fear,” “apprehension,” and “emotional distress.”⁴⁸

In theory, restraining orders appear to be a straight-forward solution to a potentially dangerous situation. The parties can be separated and the violence prevented with a minimum of legal intervention. But research and experience suggest otherwise.

One early report stated, “All observers agree that—at least until they are violated—a civil protection order is useless with the ‘hard core’ batterer ... Any abuser who is determined to batter—or kill—his [or her] partner will not be deterred by a piece of paper.”⁴⁹ Front-line prosecutors have reached a similar conclusion: “Many stakeholders do not believe that orders of protection are an effective means of securing the safety of the complainant.”⁵⁰ The Independent Women’s Forum has noted that restraining orders seem to only “lull women into a false sense of security.”⁵¹

What light does research cast on this thorny question? Four studies address this issue:

1. One early study interviewed recipients of restraining orders in Pennsylvania. Although the orders appeared to be helpful in reducing the abuse of some women with less serious histories of family violence, the authors concluded that the restraining orders were generally “ineffective in stopping physical violence.”⁵²
2. A project interviewed 212 women with permanent restraining orders and compared the results of the interviews with those for 143 women not having such orders. Although having an order reduced psychological abuse, it was found to have no impact on threats of property damage, severe violence, or other forms of physical violence.⁵³
3. A third study followed 150 women in Houston, Texas, who met initial screening criteria for a permanent restraining order. Of these women, 81 were actually granted the order and 69 were not. The two groups of women were interviewed five times during an 18-month period. The women reported the same levels of threats, physical abuse, and stalking, regardless of whether they had received a restraining order or not.⁵⁴
4. An analysis of the availability of domestic violence resources in 48 major cities and the impact of those resources on partner violence concluded, “The adoption of certain types of protection order statutes is associated with both *decreases* in black married female victimization and *increases* in the number of black women killed by their unmarried partners.”⁵⁵

The research can be summarized as follows:

- Restraining orders may reduce psychological abuse.
- Restraining orders are generally ineffective in preventing future physical violence.
- Among unmarried partners, such orders may increase future violence.

Restraining orders are not panacea for partner violence, and may work only for couples at low risk of abuse.

Mandatory Arrest

Arrest for Assault

Mandatory arrest for partner assault has been a hotly debated topic over the past 25 years, and the focus of a number of evaluation studies as well. The first study, the Minneapolis Domestic Violence Experiment, found that arrest led to substantial reductions in subsequent violence. But the Minneapolis study was hampered by a short follow-up period and small sample size.

Follow-up studies failed to confirm the Minneapolis results. In Colorado Springs, researchers concluded, “An arrest can sometimes make things worse.”⁵⁶ And in Milwaukee, arrests were found to cause an overall *increase* in partner violence among Black women, noting that “an across-the-board policy of mandatory arrest prevents 2,504 acts of violence against primarily white women, at the price of 5,409 acts of violence against primarily Black women.”⁵⁷

Furthermore, these studies did not account for the fact that mandatory arrest might discourage victims from seeking police assistance in the event of future abuse. That possibility was examined by Harvard economist Radha Iyengar, who analyzed the impact of the passage of mandatory arrest laws in 15 states. Her surprising conclusion: “Intimate partner homicides increased by about 60% in states with mandatory arrest laws.”⁵⁸

The evidence consistently shows mandatory arrest policies cause more harm than good. Furthermore, if a state has mandatory arrest, the likelihood of subsequent conviction drops by more than half.⁵⁹ Lawrence Sherman, director of the Milwaukee study, has termed mandatory arrest policies a “failure”⁶⁰ and recommended that such policies be repealed.⁶¹

Mandatory Arrest for Restraining Order Violations

In 33 states, violation of a restraining order is cause for mandatory arrest.⁶² Breaches of such orders appear to be common, with studies reporting violation rates ranging from 35% over a 12-month period⁶³ to 44% over an 18-month period.⁶⁴

Violations of such orders occur for a variety of reasons. In some cases the offender continues to harass the victim. Sometimes the couple decides to re-unite but forgets to have the order rescinded.

There is no evidence that prosecution of restraining order violations reduces subsequent abuse, and one Department of Justice-funded study found that such policies place victims at greater risk. “Increases in the willingness of prosecutors’ offices to take cases of protection order violation were associated with *increases in the homicide* of White married intimates, Black unmarried intimates, and White unmarried females,” the study concluded.⁶⁵

Summary

In a well-intentioned effort to “get tough” on domestic violence, the majority of states have enacted laws that mandate arrest for alleged assault or violation of a restraining order.⁶⁶

Victims who summon the police usually want the situation to be stabilized; they don’t want their partner to be arrested.^{67,68} Eventually, victims whose partners are subject to mandatory arrest are less likely to request police assistance.⁶⁹

Mandatory arrest laws have given rise to a range of civil rights abuses, including the undermining of probable cause, disregard of the notion of innocent-until-proven-guilty, and gender-profiling in the name of predominant aggressor assessment.⁷⁰

No-Drop Prosecution

The majority of abuse cases involve disputes in which the conflict is a minor, mutual, and/or one-time occurrence. The victim usually believes that these situations can be better handled through counseling or a short “cooling-off” period rather than legal intervention. So in about 80% of cases, the person who requests police assistance later recants or drops the charges.⁷¹

But many jurisdictions have reached the conclusion that persons charged with abuse should be prosecuted regardless of the claimant’s request. So they have instituted so-called “no-drop” policies, which require continued prosecution of the case. One survey revealed that 66% of prosecutors’ offices have implemented such policies.⁷²

But no-drop policies can do a disservice to both alleged abusers and victims. They eliminate prosecutorial discretion, thus increasing the likelihood of frivolous legal action. If the defendant is poor, he or she will have to rely on the counsel of an already overburdened public defender. In many cases, the accused accepts a plea bargain arrangement that requires admitting to having committed a lesser crime, even if no violence had occurred.

If the alleged victim refuses to testify, the prosecutor may charge obstruction of justice and threaten to take away the children. In one California case, a county prosecutor put a woman in jail for 8 days after she refused to testify against her boyfriend. She later won a \$125,000 settlement for false imprisonment.⁷³

Aggressive prosecution policies dissuade women from seeking future police assistance, as well. One survey of female victims in Quincy, Mass. found that among women who did not report a subsequent incident of abuse, 56% believed that the victim has no say or rights in the criminal justice system. In contrast, among women who did report such incidents, only 12% shared that belief.⁷⁴

Echoing these findings, law professor Kimberle Crenshaw has argued that “many women of color are reluctant to seek intervention from the police, fearing that contact with law enforcement will exacerbate the system’s assault on their public and personal lives.”⁷⁵ As the Ms. Foundation for Women notes, victims want their voices to be heard, not silenced.⁷⁶

Only one randomized study has evaluated the effectiveness of varying levels of prosecution on subsequent aggression. The research found that only one factor reduced abuser recidivism—allowing the victim to select whether and how aggressively the prosecutor would pursue the case.⁷⁷ Obviously a no-drop prosecution policy eliminates the opportunity for the victim to make that choice.

One analysis reached this sobering conclusion: “We do not know whether no-drop increases victim safety or places the victims in greater jeopardy.”⁷⁸

Summary

VAWA’s grants for Services, Training, Officers, and Prosecutors (STOP) allocate at least 25% to prosecutorial activities.⁷⁹ In two-thirds of jurisdictions, prosecutors are bound by domestic violence no-drop policies. But we do not know whether such policies are helpful, harmful, or have no effect at all.

Symbols Over Substance

Declines in intimate partner homicides began in the mid-1970s, and trend lines continued on the same course following passage of the Family Violence Prevention and Services Act in 1984 and the Violence Against Women Act in 1994.

This report examined the evidence supporting the effectiveness of four widely used violence-reduction strategies: abuser treatment, restraining orders, mandatory arrest, and no-drop prosecution. This review reveals that:

- Abuser treatment services are either ineffective, or those known to be effective are generally unavailable.
- Restraining orders generally have no impact on subsequent physical abuse.
- Mandatory arrest laws substantially increase homicides, discourage future requests for police assistance, and reduce conviction rates.
- We do not know whether no-drop prosecution increases, reduces, or has no impact on future violence.

In sum, we conclude that domestic violence programs are generally ineffective and sometimes harmful. Others have reached a similar conclusion:

- Family violence researcher Richard Gelles stated, “Policy and practice based on these factoids and theory might actually be harmful to women, men, children, and the institution of the family.”⁸⁰
- New York University vice provost Linda Mills concluded: “At worst, the criminal justice system increases violence against women. At best, it has little or no effect.”⁸¹
- Researcher John Hamel wrote, “Current policy toward domestic violence, including criminal justice and mental health responses ... has proven to be shortsighted and limited in its effectiveness.”⁸²

In 2020, 46 state-level domestic violence and sexual assault coalitions signed a statement calling for major changes to domestic violence laws.⁸³ Titled “Moment of Truth,” the statement notes, “We have invested significantly in the criminal legal system, despite knowing that the vast majority of survivors choose not to engage with it, and that those who do are often re-traumatized by it.” The paper expresses regret for the movement’s long-standing focus on “increased policing, prosecution, and imprisonment as the primary solution to gender-based violence,” and calls for a greater focus on restorative justice.

So why have these harmful policies been allowed to persist?

University of Hawaii law professor Virginia Hench has noted that these policies are “a classic example of a ‘get tough’ policy that has symbolic value with the electorate, but which can lead to a host of problems.” Hench concludes that if we “choose symbols over substance, that is a true failure to support those victims” of violence.⁸⁴

References

- ¹ Coalition to End Domestic Violence. Estimated National Expenditures for Domestic Violence Programs. (2021).
- ² Parmley A. Violence against women post VAWA. *Violence Against Women* Vol. 10, No. 12, (2004). p. 1424.
- ³ 1975 data: National Surveys of Family Violence. 1992 data: National Alcohol and Family Violence Survey.
- ⁴ Centers for Disease Control and Prevention. National Intimate Partner and Sexual Violence Survey. (2010) http://www.cdc.gov/ViolencePrevention/pdf/NISVS_Report2010-a.pdf
- ⁵ Centers for Disease Control and Prevention. National Intimate Partner and Sexual Violence Survey: 2015 Data Brief – Updated Release, Atlanta, Georgia. (2018). Tables 9 and 11. <https://www.cdc.gov/violenceprevention/pdf/2015data-brief508.pdf>
- ⁶ Catalano S. *Intimate Partner Violence in the United States*. Washington, DC: US Department of Justice, (2006). <http://www.ojp.usdoj.gov/bjs/intimate/ipv.htm>
- ⁷ Centers for Disease Control: Intimate Partner Violence: Risk and Protective Factors. <http://www.cdc.gov/ViolencePrevention/intimatepartnerviolence/riskprotectivefactors.html>
- ⁸ Nicholls T and Dutton D. Abuse committed by women against male intimates. *Journal of Couples Therapy*, Vol. 10, (2001), pp. 41–57.
- ⁹ Anderson K. Perpetrator or victim? Relationships between intimate partner violence and well-being. *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, Vol. 64, (2002), pp. 851–863.
- ¹⁰ Williams S and Frieze I. Patterns of violence relationships, psychological distress, and marital satisfaction in a national sample of men and women. *Sex Roles*, Vol. 52, Nos. 11/12, (2005), pp. 771–785.
- ¹¹ Whitaker DJ et al. Differences in frequency of violence and reported injury between relationships with reciprocal and nonreciprocal intimate partner violence. *American Journal of Public Health*, Vol. 97, No. 5, (2007).
- ¹² Straus MA. Dominance and symmetry in partner violence by male and female university students in 32 nations. *Children and Youth Services Review*, (2008).
- ¹³ Heyman R and Schlee KA. Stopping wife abuse via physical aggression couples treatment. In Dutton DG and Sonkin DL (eds.): *Intimate Violence: Contemporary Treatment Innovations*. New York: Haworth Press, (2003).
- ¹⁴ O’Leary KD, Heyman R, and Neidig PH. Treatment of wife abuse: A comparison of gender-specific and couple approaches. *Behavior Assessment*, Vol. 30, (1999), pp. 475–505.
- ¹⁵ Austin J and Dankwort J. Standards for batterer programs. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, Vol. 14, No. 2, (1999), pp. 152–168.
- ¹⁶ Maiuro R et al. Are current state standards for domestic violence perpetrator treatment adequately informed by research? *Journal of Aggression, Maltreatment, and Trauma*, Vol. 5, (2001), pp. 21–44.
- ¹⁷ Quoted in Healey, Smith, and O’Sullivan. Controversial approaches in batterer intervention. In Healy KM: *Batterer Intervention*, U.S. Dept. of Justice, National Institute of Justice, (1998), p. 25.
- ¹⁸ Hamel J. Gender-inclusive family interventions in domestic violence: An overview. In Hamel J and Nichols TL (eds.). *Family Interventions in Domestic Violence: A Handbook of Gender-Inclusive Theory and Treatment*. New York: Spring Publishing Co., (2007), p. 257.
- ¹⁹ Rosewater L and Walker LE. *Handbook of Feminist Therapy*. New York: Spring Publishing, (1985).
- ²⁰ Epstein S, Russell G, and Silvern L. Structure and ideology of shelters for battered women. *American Journal of Community Psychology*, Vol. 16, (1988), pp. 345–367.

- ²¹ Dutton-Douglas MA and Dionne D. Counseling and shelter services for battered women. In Steinman M (ed.): *Woman Battering: Policy Responses*. Cincinnati: Anderson Publishing Co., (1991).
- ²² Berk RA, Newton PJ, and Berk SF. What a difference a day makes: An empirical study of the impact of shelters for battered women. *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, Vol. 48, (1986), pp. 481–490.
- ²³ Follingstad D, Wright S, Lloyd S, and Sebastian J. Sex differences in motivations and effects in dating relationships. *Family Relations*, Vol. 40, (1991), pp. 51–57.
- ²⁴ Carrado M, George MJ, Loxam E, et al. Aggression in British heterosexual relationships: A descriptive analysis. *Aggressive Behavior*, Vol. 22, pp. 401–415.
- ²⁵ Hines DA, Douglas EM. A closer look at men who sustain intimate terrorism by women. *Partner Abuse* Vol. 1, No. 3, (2010).
http://www.clarku.edu/faculty/dhines/Hines%20&%20Douglas%20Dec_7_2009_closer_look_at_abused_men.pdf
- ²⁶ Straus MA. Women's violence toward men is a serious social problem. In Gelles RJ and Loseke DR (eds.): *Current Controversies on Family Violence*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications, (2004).
- ²⁷ Gavin C and Puffett NK. Criminal Domestic Violence Case Processing: A Case Study of the Five Boroughs of New York City. New York: Center for Court Innovation, (2005). p. 33.
<http://www.courtinnovation.org/uploads/documents/Citywide%20Final1.pdf>
- ²⁸ Kelly L. Disabusing the definition of domestic abuse: How women batter men and the role of the feminist state. *Florida State University Law Review*, Vol. 30, (2003), p. 847.
<http://www.law.fsu.edu/journals/lawreview/downloads/304/kelly.pdf>
- ²⁹ Cook P. *Abused Men: The Hidden Side of Domestic Violence*. Westport, CT: Praeger, (1997), p. 110.
- ³⁰ Pence E. Some thoughts on philosophy. In Shepard M and Pence E (eds.): *Coordinating Community Responses to Domestic Violence: Lessons from Duluth and Beyond*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publishers, (1999), p. 30.
- ³¹ Cook P. *Abused Men: The Hidden Side of Domestic Violence*. Westport, CT: Praeger, (1997).
- ³² Coalition to End Domestic Violence. Domestic Violence Programs Discriminate Against Male Victims. (2021).
- ³³ Bugarin A. *The Prevalence of Domestic Violence in California*. Sacramento, CA: California Research Bureau, (2002). <http://www.library.ca.gov/crb/02/16/02-016.pdf>
- ³⁴ Fontes DL. Male victims of domestic violence. In Hamel J and Nichols TL (eds.). *Family Interventions in Domestic Violence: A Handbook of Gender-Inclusive Theory and Treatment*. New York: Spring Publishing Co., (2007).
- ³⁵ Carnell B. Man files lawsuit over access to domestic violence shelters. EquityFeminism.com, September 24, (2003). <http://www.equityfeminism.com/archives/years/2003/000082.html>
- ³⁶ Richard C. An abused man speaks out. *FAVTEA Bulletin*, Spring/Summer (2004).
<http://www.favtea.com/news-archives/SpringSum2004.Bulletin.pdf>
- ³⁷ Pence E, Paymar M. *Education Groups for Men Who Batter: The Duluth Model*. New York: Springer, (1993).
- ³⁸ Dutton DG, Nicholls TL. The gender paradigm in domestic violence research and theory: The conflict of theory and data. *Aggression and Violent Behavior*, Vol. 10, (2005), pp. 680–714.
- ³⁹ Schore AN. *Affect Regulation and the Repair of the Self*. New York: Norton, (2003).
- ⁴⁰ Pence E and Paymar M. *Ibid*, p. 23.
- ⁴¹ Kline JA. *The Whole Truth about Domestic Violence*. Dillon, CO: Swan Mountain Press, (2003). p. 147.
- ⁴² New York Model for Batterer Programs, (accessed August 25, 2007).
http://www.nymbp.org/how_program_works.htm

- ⁴³ Kruttschnitt C, McLaughlin BL, and Petrie CV (eds). *Advancing the Federal Research Agenda on Violence against Women*. Washington, DC: National Research Council, (2005), p. 6.
<http://www.nap.edu/catalog/10849.html>
- ⁴⁴ Feder L and Wilson DB. A meta-analytic review of court-mandated batterer interventions programs: Can courts affect abusers' behaviors? *Journal of Experimental Criminology*, Vol. 1, (2005), pp. 239–262.
- ⁴⁵ Babcock JC, Canady BE, Graham K, and Schart L. The evolution of battering interventions: From the Dark Ages into the Scientific Age. In Hamel J and Nichols TL (eds.). *Family Interventions in Domestic Violence: A Handbook of Gender-Inclusive Theory and Treatment*. New York: Spring Publishing Co., (2007).
- ⁴⁶ Dutton D. *The Abusive Personality: Violence and Control in Intimate Relationships*. New York: Guilford Publications, (1998).
- ⁴⁷ Coalition to End Domestic Violence. The use and abuse of domestic restraining orders. (2021).
- ⁴⁸ Coalition to End Domestic Violence. Expanding definitions of domestic violence. (2021).
- ⁴⁹ Finn P. *Civil protection orders: A flawed opportunity for intervention*. In Steinman M (ed.): *Woman Battering: Policy Responses*. Cincinnati: Anderson Publishing Co., (1991).
- ⁵⁰ Gavin C and Puffett NK. *Criminal Domestic Violence Case Processing: A Case Study of the Five Boroughs of New York City*. New York: Center for Court Innovation, (2005), p. 30.
<http://www.courtinnovation.org/uploads/documents/Citywide%20Final1.pdf>
- ⁵¹ Independent Women's Forum. Domestic Violence: An In-Depth Analysis. Washington, DC, (2005).
- ⁵² Grau J, Fagan J, and Wexler S. Restraining orders for battered women: Issues of access and efficacy. *Women and Politics*, Vol. 4, (1984), pp. 13–28.
- ⁵³ Harrell A and Smith B. Effects of restraining orders on domestic violence victims. In Buzawa C and Buzawa E (eds.): *Do Arrests and Restraining Orders Work?* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, (1996), p. 229.
- ⁵⁴ McFarlane J, Malecha A, Gist J et al. Protection orders and intimate partner violence: An 18-month study of 150 Black, Hispanic, and White women. *American Journal of Public Health*, Vol. 94, No. 4, pp. 613–618.
- ⁵⁵ Dugan L, Nagin D, and Rosenfeld R. Exposure reduction or backlash? The effects of domestic violence resources on intimate partner homicide. NCJ Number 186194, (2001).
<http://www.ncjrs.gov/app/Publications/Abstract.aspx?ID=186193>
- ⁵⁶ Berk RA, Campbell A, Klap R, and Western B. A Bayesian analysis of the Colorado Springs spouse abuse experiment. *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*, Vol. 83, (1992), pp. 170–200.
- ⁵⁷ Sherman LW et al. The Variable Effects of Arrest on Criminal Careers: The Milwaukee Domestic Violence Experiment. *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*, Vol. 83, (1992), pp. 137–169.
- ⁵⁸ Iyengar R. Does the certainty of arrest reduce domestic violence? Evidence from mandatory and recommended arrest laws. Cambridge, MA: National Bureau of Economic Research, (2007).
- ⁵⁹ Hirschel D et al. Explaining the prevalence, context, and consequences of dual arrest in intimate partner cases. Grant No. 2001-WT-BX-0501. (2007), p. 152.
<http://www.ncjrs.gov/pdffiles1/nij/grants/218355.pdf>
- ⁶⁰ Quoted in Sontag S. Fierce entanglements. *New York Times Magazine*, November 17, 2002, p. 56.
- ⁶¹ Schmidt JD and Sherman LW. Does arrest deter domestic violence? In American Bar Association and U.S. Department of Justice (eds.): *Legal Interventions in Family Violence: Research Findings and Policy Implications*. Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office. NCJ 171666, (1998), p. 54.

- ⁶² Hirschel D and Buzawa E. Understanding the context of dual arrest with directions for future research. *Violence Against Women*, Vol. 18, (2002), Table 1.
- ⁶³ Hotaling GT and Buzawa ES. Forgoing criminal justice assistance. Document No. 195667, (2003), Table 1. <http://www.ncjrs.gov/pdffiles1/nij/grants/195667.pdf>
- ⁶⁴ McFarlane J, Malecha A, Gist J et al. Ibid.
- ⁶⁵ Dugan L, Nagin D, and Rosenfeld R. Exposure reduction or backlash? The effects of domestic violence resources on intimate partner homicide. NCJ Number 186194. (2001). <http://www.ncjrs.gov/app/Publications/Abstract.aspx?ID=186193>
- ⁶⁶ Miller N. Domestic violence: A review of state legislation defining police and prosecution duties and powers. Alexandria, VA: Institute for Law and Justice, (2004). http://www.ilj.org/publications/DV_Legislation-3.pdf
- ⁶⁷ Buzawa ES and Austin T. Determining police response to domestic violence victims. In American Bar Association and U.S. Department of Justice (Eds.): *Legal Interventions in Family Violence: Research Findings and Policy Implications* (NCJ-171666, p. 58). Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, (1998).
- ⁶⁸ Erez E and Belknap J. In their own words: Battered women's assessment of the criminal processing system's responses. *Violence and Victims*, Vol. 13, (1998), pp. 251–268.
- ⁶⁹ Hotaling GT and Buzawa ES. Forgoing criminal justice assistance. Document No. 195667, (2003). <http://www.ncjrs.gov/pdffiles1/nij/grants/195667.pdf>
- ⁷⁰ Coalition to End Domestic Violence. Arrest policies for domestic violence. (2021).
- ⁷¹ Lininger T. Bearing the cross. *Fordham Law Review*, Vol. 74, (2005), pp. 1353–1364.
- ⁷² Rebovich D. Prosecution response to domestic violence: Results of a survey of large jurisdictions. In Buzawa E and Buzawa C (eds.): *Do Arrests and Restraining Orders Work?* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, (1996).
- ⁷³ Anderson C. Batterer bias? *San Francisco Daily Journal*, (April 4, 2003).
- ⁷⁴ Hotaling GT and Buzawa ES. Forgoing criminal justice assistance. Document No. 195667, (2003). <http://www.ncjrs.gov/pdffiles1/nij/grants/195667.pdf>
- ⁷⁵ Crenshaw K. Mapping the margins: Intersectionality, identity politics, and violence against women of color. *Stanford Law Review*, Vol. 43, (1991), p. 1257.
- ⁷⁶ Davis RL. Mandatory arrest and no-drop prosecution. *Intellectual Conservative.com*. (April 7, 2006). <http://www.intellectualconservative.com/2006/mandatory-arrest-and-no-drop-prosecution>
- ⁷⁷ Ford DA and Regoli MJ. The preventive impacts of policies for prosecuting wife batterers. In Buzawa ES and Buzawa CG (eds.): *Domestic Violence: The Criminal Justice Response*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, (1996).
- ⁷⁸ Davis RC, Smith BE, and Davies HJ. The effects of no-drop prosecution of domestic violence upon conviction rates. *Justice Research and Policy*, Vol. 3, No. 2, (2001), pp. 1–13, (NCJ Number 193235).
- ⁷⁹ Violence Against Women and Department of Justice Reauthorization Act of 2005, Section 101. http://frwebgate.access.gpo.gov/cgi-bin/getdoc.cgi?dbname=109_cong_public_laws&docid=f:publ162.109.pdf
- ⁸⁰ Gelles RJ. The politics of research: The use, abuse, and misuse of social science data—The cases of intimate partner violence. *Family Court Review*, Vol. 45, No. 1, (2007).
- ⁸¹ Mills LG. *Insult to Injury: Rethinking our Responses to Intimate Abuse*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, (2003), p. 6.
- ⁸² Hamel J. Gender-inclusive family interventions in domestic violence: An overview. In Hamel J and Nichols TL (eds.). *Family Interventions in Domestic Violence: A Handbook of Gender-Inclusive Theory and Treatment*. New York: Spring Publishing Co., (2007), p. 247.
- ⁸³ *Moment of Truth*. (July 14, 2020). <https://www.endabusewi.org/moment-of-truth/>
- ⁸⁴ Hench VE. When less is more—Can reducing penalties reduce household violence? *Hawaii Law Review*. Vol. 19, (Spring 1997).