What Has Changed? A Critical Examination of the Duluth Model and Batterer Intervention / Partner Assault Response Programs

What Has Changed? A Critical Examination of the Duluth Model and Batterer Intervention / Partner Assault Response Programs

By

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ABSTRACT

This thesis is motivated by an interest in intimate partner violence within heterosexual partnerships, rooted in an inquiry that posits that historical and present responses to perpetrators of intimate partner violence remain relatively unchanged. This study examines what past and present literature has said about the effectiveness of court-mandated batterer intervention programs (BIP)/partner assault response programs (PAR) in the United States and Canada, with specific focus on the Duluth Model. This study seeks to explore how feminist theories have contributed to, and underpin the development of, partner assault response programs, how effective are BIP/PAR programs at accomplishing their intended goals and objectives, and in what ways have PAR programs developed, or failed to develop, since their conception. Using a thematic analysis of 23 scholarly articles, this study will discuss six over-arching themes, and sub-themes for greater analysis. These themes include the strengths of the Duluth model, critiques of the Duluth model, the modality of the Duluth model, alternative approaches to working with perpetrators of intimate partner violence, notions of victim safety and offender accountability, and what is meant by a coordinated community response to this issue. This thesis is not arguing or advocating for the erasure of partner assault response programs, rather, it seeks to explore how these programs can be re-imagined using a newly defined 'radical' feminist thought; one that encompasses intersectional and anti-carceral frameworks and approaches.

Keywords: *intimate partner violence; perpetrators of domestic violence; batterer intervention programs; partner assault response programs; feminist theory*; *the Duluth Model.*

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Domestic violence has, and continues to be, a challenging and serious public health issue. In Canada, intimate partner violence has been categorized as an epidemic, with 44% of women (roughly 6.2 million), reporting that they have experienced some form of psychological, physical or sexual abuse in an intimate relationship at some point in their lives (Government of Canada, 2023). In the United States, domestic violence affects approximately 10 million people every year, and as many as one in four women are victims of domestic violence (Huecker, King, Jordan & Smock, 2023). I have found myself thinking about why is it that intimate partner violence remains such a prevalent and pervasive issue, and how its complexity has evolved over time. My social work area of interest has focused predominately on working with men, and I have been guided by the belief that men may not have the capacity to be responsible for their own 'reconstruction' without proper supports. The purpose of this thesis is to provide a preliminary examination into what institutional and societal responses are towards men who perpetrate acts of domestic violence. Specifically, looking at the history and development of mandated court-ordered batterer intervention/partner assault response programs (BIP/PAR programs) with particular attention on the Duluth Model, that are attended by men who have charges relating to intimate partner violence (IPV). Batterer intervention and partner assault response programs have long served as the dominant strategy in addressing intimate partner violence (IPV), with the aim of promoting accountability, preventing future harm, and supporting the safety of survivors. These programs typically engage individuals who have used violence in their intimate relationships, guiding them through structured group interventions designed to shift attitudes, behaviors, and beliefs related to power, control, and gender dynamics. While models such as the Duluth Model have historically shaped these programs with a strong

emphasis on patriarchal violence and gendered power imbalances, growing critiques and emerging approaches have prompted a re-examination of their effectiveness and capacity for meaningful change. My framing of this topic is rooted in an anti-carceral and intersectional feminist ontological positioning and is connected to my own personal experiences of engaging with men who were, and have been, incarcerated, and who have attended BIP/PAR programs. Throughout my engagement with this population, I found myself thinking about what the philosophical underpinnings and objectives of batterer/partner assault response programs are, how they came to be, and how we have come to understand responses to, and causes of, intimate partner violence. The purpose of this project was to examine what scholars and researchers have been saying about batterer/partner assault programs since their conception to present day, highlight notable themes within the literature as they relate to my research questions, and illuminate the strengths and areas of contention that have existed with respect to the effectiveness of these programs to provide insights into more effective methods of engagement with, and responses to, perpetrators of IPV. This project is not negating or advocating for the erasure of BIP/PAR programs, but offers a critical examination into what scholars and researchers have said about these programs throughout time and illuminate themes that emerge through an analysis of the literature. For the purposes of this project, I will be using the terms batterer intervention/partner assault programs (BIP/PAR) interchangeably, as referenced within the literature. The term ‘batterer’, though used less commonly now, is still prevalent within our discourse.

Locating the Researcher

As a white, heterosexual woman interested in advocating for more effective engagement with perpetrators of domestic violence, I have had ongoing reflections about my role as an advocate and ally of a (typically) demonized population. I recognize and acknowledge that I have never experienced physical or sexual acts of domestic violence, which allows me to engage with this issue through a privileged lens. However, my experiences with men have presented me with many challenges, and while navigating these challenges, I noticed patterns emerge. While I recognize the tension of focusing on how re-imagine institutional and societal responses to engaging with perpetrators of intimate partner violence may seemingly undermine the protection of women, my intention is quite the opposite. When I was young my father would read to me about the power of feminism, explain the potency of trauma, and the effects of male socialization. The impressions left by my parents cultivated a curiosity and passion for people, and the beauty of my father inspired my critical thinking. I believe that part of effectively addressing the complexity of gender-based violence requires re-conceptualizing the court-mandated programs that work closely with men who have been charged with counts of domestic violence. Throughout my experience in this field, I have reflected on the complexity of this issue, our responses to perpetrators/offenders of domestic violence, and the multiple and over-lapping aggravating factors that contribute to gender-based violence. I want to use my positionality and privilege to engage in this difficult and controversial topic, and make strides in bridging the divide of 'the war on gender' by thinking about how 'we', as an institutional and societal collective, can re-imagine responses and 'solutions' to this issue that may more effectively serve the needs of both 'victims' and 'offenders'.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

The following section outlines literature that discusses the historical and current landscape and development of institutional responses to intimate partner violence. It examines batterer intervention and partner assault response programs with specific focus on the Duluth Model, designed to 'combat' this issue and highlights various opinions and perspectives from researchers and scholars about men and masculinity. This thesis is motivated by an interest in the root causes of intimate partner violence within heterosexual partnerships, and the path-dependent practices and ideological beliefs that shape responses to this pervasive issue. It is rooted in a curiosity and inquiry which posits that historical and present responses to perpetrators of intimate partner violence have remain relatively unchanged. Meaning, that perpetrators are responded to with criminal justice interventions, specifically, court mandated programming that focuses on power and control as the root causes of domestic violence, engages men in group sessions which seeks to confront their violent behaviors and attitudes, and encourages them to take accountability for their actions. Additionally, that these programs have been consistently criticized for their 'one-size-fits all approach', which are centered on white and overly simplified perceptions and understandings about the causes of IPV, and of male perpetrators. As such, this thesis is not arguing or advocating for the erasure of partner assault response programs, nor is it negating their important impacts and contributions. Rather, it argues that partner assault response programs have remained stagnant since their conception in 1980, despite their ambiguous efficacy, and it seeks to re-imagine their content, frameworks and approaches. Through exploring the history and efficacy of partner assault response programs, I argue that such programs have failed to evolve and reflect the complexity of IPV. Further, that these widely used programs do not reflect the shifting ideological and discursive understandings of men, patriarchy,

and violence, particularly, the cultural, situational, and societal aggravating factors. As noted by Flood (2003) "violence prevention efforts must address such relationships between violence [and] social constructions of masculinity" (p.1) and move beyond neoliberal perceptions and responses to intimate partner violence which individualizes the causes surrounding men's use of violence.

Defining intimate partner violence

Intimate partner violence, also commonly known as domestic violence, refers to "multiple forms of harm caused by a current or former intimate partner or spouse" (Government of Canada, 2024). The United Nations uses intimate partner violence interchangeably with domestic violence, defining them as "patterns of behavior in any relationship that is used to gain or maintain power and control over an intimate partner. Domestic abuse can happen to anyone of any race, age, sexual orientation, religion or gender" and "affects people of all socio-economic backgrounds and education levels" (United Nations, 2021). There is no universal definition for intimate partner violence, as it can encompass a range of acts, with implications on both individual partners and children. For the purposes of this thesis, I am defining intimate partner violence, also referred to as IPV, more broadly as chargeable behaviors "by an intimate partner or ex-partner that causes physical, sexual or psychological harm" (Stewart, MacMillan & Kimber, 2021, p. 71). According to the Government of Canada, approximately 6.2 million women (aged 15 and older) have reported some form of abuse within their intimate partner relationships (2022). Intimate partner violence is one of the most common forms of violence against women, and The World Health Organization (WHO) recognizes that "IPV is a global public health concern that affects millions of people, with lasting health, social, and economic consequences" (Armagh House, 2022; World Health Organization, 2012). This is not to negate

the prevalence of intimate partner violence experienced by men, of bi-literal violence, or of male victimization within intimate relationships. However, because the focus of this paper is on the efficacy of court mandated partner assault response programs attended by heterosexual men, its focus will be on intimate partner violence perpetrated by heterosexual men against heterosexual women within intimate relationships.

Responses to intimate partner violence: Partner Assault Response Programs

There was little acknowledgement of intimate partner violence approximately 50 years ago, and domestic abuse was understood as a private matter that existed within the confines of marriage (Johnson & Ver Steegh, 2013, p. 63). During this time, there was no recognition surrounding these acts of violence, there was no support or resources for victims, and the struggles of victims existed in a silo. The landscape of intimate partner violence has since changed, and we now understand domestic abuse to be a widespread and serious social and public health issue (p. 64). What once went unacknowledged, responses to intimate partner violence over the past 40 years have shifted drastically in the opposite direction. Now, perpetrators of domestic violence are heavily responded to with punitive and carceral approaches, despite literature that has, and continues to, advocate for anti-carceral, ecological and integrative feminist ways of thinking about, and responding to, perpetrators of domestic abuse. Canada's response to intimate partner violence has mirrored those of the United States, whose reliance on punitive measures such as incarceration and mandated court programs, grew from 'tough on crime' policies and over-policing. These responses to intimate partner violence are echoed by Kajeepeta et al., who state that the primary tools used in the United States to "advance the ostensible goal of protecting women from gender-based violence" are "policing, prosecution, and incarceration" (para 6). Further, the authors state that carceral responses to

intimate partner violence "[have] persisted despite mixed evidence of its effectiveness, increased recognition of the harms of mass criminalization and incarceration, and growing calls for criminal legal reform" (Kajeepeta, Bates, Keyes, Bailey, Roberts, Bruzelius, Askari, & Prins, 2024, p 1). In Canada, "justice-linked responses to IPV" (Department of Justice Canada, 2023) dominate our actions, reactions, and 'remedies' to domestic abuse. Mandatory arrest policies, also known as pro-charge and prosecution policies with respect to domestic abuse, have been in place in all provinces and territories since the mid-1980s (Government of Canada, 2021). Within Canada, London, Ontario was the first to develop a coordinated network of services to support women who had experienced abuse, and, in 1981, established the London Co-ordinating Committee on Family Violence. The primary objective of the committee was the criminalization of spousal abuse, and their main recommendation was that police be directed to "lay charges in all cases of wife assault" (para 29). Thus, the London Police Department became the first Canadian police agency to implement a mandatory charge policy in Canada for domestic assault. Subsequently in 1982, the House of Commons unanimously adopted a motion that "all Canadian police forces to establish a practice of having the police regularly lay charges in instances of wife beating" (Government of Canada, 2021, para 3). The goal of policies that criminalize abuse are "directed towards both general and specific deterrence" – to send the message that domestic violence is wrong, with the hope that criminalization alone is enough to prevent the individual from engaging in further acts of abuse.

Programs that respond to perpetrators of intimate partner violence have historically been referred to as batterer intervention programs (BIPs) but are more commonly known in Canada as partner assault response (PAR) programs. The leading 'solution' to combatting intimate partner violence, PAR programs "subscribe to the power and control" causes for abuse, and do not

attribute causes of violence to result from mental illness, social determinants of health, culture, socio-economic status, trauma, or anger (Adams, 2003, p. 6). Partner assault response programs are court-mandated or court-ordered psychoeducation group programs, approximately 10-12 weeks in length, for adults who have been charged with domestic violence offences. These programs are delivered by non-profits/community-based organizations to individuals who have charges relating to intimate partner abuse. In Ontario, the content of, and funding for, PAR programs is governed by the Ministry of the Attorney General (MAG). Mandated within PAR programs in Canada are nine key topics that must be covered, with the goal of correcting abusive behaviors and beliefs, fostering accountability, and teaching perpetrators how to cultivate and build healthy relationships (Raise the Hammer, Nicoll, 2016). The over-arching philosophy of PAR believes that "abusive behavior is a choice", "abuse is the sole responsibility of the abuser", "abusive behavior is not an anger management problem" (2016). While not without value, the majority of partner assault response programs remain stagnant in their understanding and response to perpetrators of violence, and tend to individualize men's propensity to abuse their partners. Partner assault responses programs utilize a combination of two treatment models. Ones that use feminist analyses/theories to underpin program content and objectives, and Cognitive Behavioral Therapy (CBT) approaches. Critics of the feminist approaches used in PAR programming see these principles as being dominated by white, liberal, feminist understandings of domestic violence. Such ideological and discursive understandings center patriarchy, male privilege, and a man's need to maintain power and control as the underlying sole causes of intimate partner violence (Eckhart, Murphy, Whitaker, Sprunger, Dykstra & Woodard, 2013), and believe that "violence reduction is best achieved by exposing misogynistic attitudes, encouraging accountability and personal responsibility…and promoting gender-egalitarian

attitudes and behaviors" (Eckhart, Murphy, Whitaker, Sprunger, Dykstra & Woodard, 2013, p. 198).

The conception of PAR: The Duluth Model

Intimate partner violence was not only accepted, but considered legal in the United States up until the 1920's. Attention grew in the area of domestic violence, and the 1970's women's movement paved the way for the first community-based coordinated response to address intimate partner violence. The Duluth Model, developed in Duluth Minnesota USA in 1981, was the first community-based protocol and coordinated community response to 'rehabilitate' male 'batterers' of intimate partner violence. The city of Duluth Minnesota was the first to use coordinated efforts from local community agencies to support women fleeing violence, and the first to partner with law enforcement to address intimate partner violence. In 1981, nine community and law enforcement agencies came together to form the Domestic Abuse Intervention Project (DAIP) which revolutionized responses to domestic assault (DAIP, 2023). The Duluth Model was the first of its kind to involve the experiences of survivors in creating the programs 26-week long curriculum, and the first to invoke the mandatory charge and arrest policy when responding to incidents of domestic assault. The Duluth's Women's Shelter offered educational classes to women who were fleeing domestic violence that discussed why women stay in abusive relationships. From these classes, over 200 women who experienced partner abuse participated in interviews which led to the construction of a framework that was developed to describe and articulate the typical behaviors of physically and emotionally abusive men. The model's 183-page report discusses the feminist theoretical framework used to understand domestic abuse, the project design, curriculum, the role of the facilitator, content covered within each week, an evaluation of previous intervention programs, and issues regarding abuser accountability. The

underpinning philosophy of the model was based on white, liberal, feminist analyses and understandings of intimate partner violence, and the premise that the goal of men is to use violence to maintain power and control over women. The Duluth Model was the first to introduce the Power and Control Wheel, which remains an iconic image that is used widely in PAR programs today. The Power and Control Wheel describes the experience of victims of domestic abuse, and outlines eight primary tactics that abusers use to maintain control. The goal of the Duluth Model was, by engaging with men using the Power and Control Wheel and by using feminist, psychoeducational, group facilitated exercises, men would be able to change a "lifelong pattern of thinking, rationalizing, and acting that leads to violence and abuse" (Pence & Paymar, 1993, p. 5). I will analyze the content of the Duluth Model, with a focus on its Power and Control Wheel, to examine the program's goals and objectives. The purpose of analyzing its guiding principles is to connect its underpinning feminist theoretical framework and design to how it has adopted by PAR programs today.

In addition to the epistemological and methodological shortcomings of PAR programs and a questioning of their overall efficacy which are discussed in this paper, this thesis seeks to re-imagine dominant frameworks of, and approaches to, engagement with men and male perpetrators of violence. I argue, it is not that there is, or has been, a lack of academic scholarship that discuss and urge us to change our approach and response to our engagement with perpetrators of intimate partner violence beyond dominating ideological tenants of the Duluth Model, it is that this scholarship has not made its way into PAR programs which seek to 'remedy' this issue. To examine this, scholarship informed by intersectional and anti-carceral feminist frameworks will allow me to address the complex, multi-dimensional factors that

contribute to intimate partner violence which "lie alongside patriarchal influences" (George & Stith, 2014, p.191), and beyond liberal, carceral, feminist essentialized explanations for violence.

Institutional and community responses to perpetrators of intimate partner violence

Institutional and community responses to perpetrators of violence are predominately reactionary, guided by police intervention and punitive actions. There is a strong emphasis on coordinated community responses from hundreds of social services to support and respond to victims of IPV in multiple areas such as counselling, violence against women shelters, medical, legal, housing, financial, and child services. The majority, if not all, responses to intimate partner violence are designed for the 'protection' and support of women, in the aftermath of domestic abuse, with minimal supports available that address the emotional advancement or healing of men before or after, a domestic incident. I think it's an important distinction to make, that is, the differences between responses to victims of IPV (which are predominately women), and responses towards the perpetrators of this violence (predominately men). The primary responses to 'rehabilitate' perpetrators of domestic violence are criminal justice-oriented actions like incarceration, criminal charges, or the use of partner assault response programs, all of which individualize (and over-simply) the source of men's abuse, and run counter to our current decolonial, anti-racist, anti-carceral, feminist bodies of knowledge. Currently, there are 68 partner assault responses programs operating in 54 court jurisdictions across Ontario in an effort to end intimate partner violence, and over 1,500 batterer intervention programs operating in the United States, with numbers increasing (Adams, 2003).

Changing Ways, a non-governmental organization established in 1982 in London Ontario, was the first to offer batterer intervention programs in Canada. Using the principles

from the Duluth's Model Power and Control Wheel, the 12-session program examines "beliefs and attitudes towards domestic abuse" and discusses "non abusive ways of resolving conflict" (Changing Ways, 2018). Changing Ways offers a number of additional men's programs, including the Caring Dad's program, Being the Change Men's group, and Partners for Healthy Relationships. It is worth noting that, while these programs are also offered to the general public, the majority of men that attend these programs are because of a court-mandated order, and in the aftermath of an incident(s) of domestic violence.

Yet, there are examples of responses to men that pull from integrative feminist, anti-carceral frameworks, in that they see the benefits in approaching men through a compassionate, trauma-informed, and inclusive lens. Before the Duluth Model, an organization called Emerge Center Against Domestic Abuse started in Boston Massachusetts in 1977. Emerge was one of the first organizations to offer men's educational programs, and classes were open to all men with no eligibility criteria required. The classes were ran over the course of between 26-40 weeks, and were led by men who engaged the male attendee's in conversations about their own experiences with abuse, explored the ways that "power and privilege can transcend into issues of abuse", and worked to find shared pathways to accountability (Emerge, 2023). Amend Men's Healing Movement, which started in 2019, was open to all men, focused on holistic healing, and offered counselling that aimed to address trauma and foster personal and community growth. Amend recognized that "every man's story is unique" and the path to healing involves starting at the root causes of their pain, so that men can understand themselves more fully (Amend, 2024). This thoughtful and individualized engagement with men should also be reflected in our responses to perpetrators of violence.

Scholarships on perpetrators of violence.

Narratives, responses, and scholarships that discuss perpetrators of violence are often centered around punitive and/or carceral approaches that individualize one's propensity to abuse, and tend to ignore structural, socio-economic, cultural, racial, situational and societal contributory factors. It is the experience of the author as a social worker who has experience in carceral spaces engaging with incarcerated men, that this is the case. A popular example of such a narrative can be seen in the book Why Does He Do That? Inside the Minds of Angry and Controlling Men by Lundy Bancroft (2002). In it, Bancroft describes men as "magicians" who "rely on tricks" (p. 61) to divert their victim's attention to fulfil their abusive agenda. Even the title of the book leads us to believe that women experience abuse as the result of a handful of bad apples, and if women can stay on the look-out for those 'tricky' men, they can evade this problem. Bancroft puts forward a very binary narrative of abuse – one that depicts men as the 'bad wolf' and women as the victim 'sheep'. Further, he states that "abusiveness is not a product of a man's emotional injuries" (p. 148) or their wounded psychology. I posit that what Bancroft is seeking to do with, what I argue is an untrue statement, is to prevent men from side-stepping accountability because of their own struggles. While the goal is not devoid of value, the book has been rightfully criticized for creating "confusion, shame and hopelessness" which "have caused immeasurable and unnecessary harm to everyone who reads it" (Ananias Foundation, 2023). And, unfortunately, such frameworks and assumptions can be seen in the feminism that underpins PAR programs, which echo similar perspectives. Those who stand in opposition to such a message may stand in favor of something else; a need, a want, to re-imagine how we understand and respond to 'perpetrators of violence'.

The paper *How do men construct and explain men's violence* by Dagirmanjian and colleagues (2017) explores men's construction of violence, and examines men's explanations about their own violent behavior. While this qualitative research study focuses more broadly on men's violence, it offers interesting insight into how men think about their own violent behavior. The article makes three key assertions about men's violence, pulling from the social learning theory and feminist (gender-based) theories. As they explain, the social learning theory is "a contextual explanation for violence, which posits that people learn to be violent because they are exposed to violence" (p. 2276), and the subsequent are gendered explanations from a feminist perspective. The notion that "violence functions to establish and maintain male power" (p. 2277) is reinforced and normalized within masculine identity, and this conformity is deeply rooted in being able to demonstrate violent, hostile, or aggressive behavior. The authors argue that violence is situated primarily in patriarchal values which seek to legitimize the cultural expectations of men (p. 2277). What is worth noting is that men's understanding about being a man is weighted heavily by other men's perceptions of them, and their definitions of how to demonstrate masculinity. An examination about the "tenuousness of manhood" and "precarious manhood" (p. 2278) were two concepts that emerged from their analysis. The belief that "achieving manhood" or being perceived as masculine is something that must be earned, and therefore, can also be lost (Dagirmanjian et al., 2017, p. 2278). This leads one to ask whether men actually want to be violent, or do they feel that violence is a socially constructed requirement that is intrinsically linked to their credibility and survival.

Patriarchy and its connection to men's violence

Patriarchy can be a likened to the Hydra described by Greek mythologists; a multi-headed serpent with "effective powers of regeneration", acting as a symbol of struggle between

man and seemingly insurmountable challenges (Object, 2020). The many heads of the Hydra represent the micro, mezzo, and macro layers and challenges that encompass patriarchy's complex and perpetual identity. I argue that, whether subconsciously or consciously, the majority of feminist believe that patriarchy should erase or negate the problems, traumas, concerns, and experiences of men. It can fortify the notion that men cannot complain or feel anything less than whole because they have patriarchy on their side. However, patriarchy, and the continuous upholding of patriarchy by both men and women, has resulted in the emotional deprivation and under-development of male personhood.

Bell hooks is a racialized, intersectional, and radical feminist and scholar who offered unique, gracious, insightful and important understandings of feminism, men and patriarchy. In her book, The Will to Change (2004) Hooks is radical in her critique of feminist thought in relation to intimate partner violence by voicing her concern for men for the tremendous emotional deprivation and pain they have experienced because of patriarchy and the socialization. Most men do not think about the effects of patriarchy, or if they do, they may see it solely as a positive creation that sustains their power, domination, and assumed success. Many men (and women) understand patriarchy and masculinity in opposition to femininity; the binary perception that all men are powerful, and all women are weak. While separate or polarizing perspectives can depict a partial truth, these understandings of gender, which underpin much of our justifications for intimate partner violence, offer a singular and narrow scope which hinders alternative thinking, and distills this complex problem down to a single cause. Patriarchy has denied men access to their whole selves, denied men the ability to be loveable, and no amount of hierarchical status can replace the need to feel and to be loved (Hooks, 2004, p. 35). As stated by Hooks, it is patriarchy which hinders the emotional lives of boys by denying them access to their

full humanity. To be seen as a man, means you must be seen as in control. Hooks posits that control, power, and domination are not actually things that satisfy men, and their "deep-rooted unhappiness and dissatisfaction was not created by feminism" (2004, p. 30). If patriarchy were truly rewarding to men, pervasive violence, unhappiness, addiction, and suicide would not exist (Hooks, 2004).

John Rowan was an English counsellor, psychotherapist, and author who pioneered work in the 1980's and 1990's that examined patriarchy, and explored how men relate to feminism. In 1987, Rowan wrote a book called The Horned God: Feminism and Men as Wounding and Healing which argues that men are wounded, and that this wound cannot be healed in opposition to women, but must be addressed "at a conscious social-political level" which involves "changing laws, practice and daily behaviour" (Rowan, 1987, p. 1). Rowan pulls from peace campaigner Donna Warnock who defines patriarchy as "a society which worships the masculine identity…granting power to those who reflect and respect the socially determined masculine sex role" (Warnock, 1982; Rowan, 1987, p. 3). Rowan illuminates how "the language with which we criticized patriarchy was itself patriarchal" (p. 3), and describes it in the following way:

> "When the intellect and the dominating, controlling, aggressive tendencies within each individual are defined as the most valuable parts of their being, and those same attributes are emphasised in the political and economic arena, the result is a society characterized by violence, exploitation, a reverence for the scientific as absolute…The result is patriarchy (Swain & Koen, 1980; Rowan, 1987, p. 3).

This quote by Rowan challenges the common rationalization that's embedded in our understandings about, and responses to, intimate partner violence that individualizes men's propensity to abuse their partners; an individualism that reflects neoliberalist ideologies which disregard the detrimental and harmful structural and societal impacts of patriarchy, trauma, and

male socialization. Rowan argues that both feminism and patriarchy are defined by boundaries that stand in opposition to one another, and if we continue to frame these concepts in polarizing ways, we will perpetually see both as 'things' that need to be surpassed or conquered. Rowan acknowledges that "the institution of patriarchy is a unifying term", which has been "terribly cruel and destructive", and efforts must be taken to understand patriarchy's "many apparent separate struggles, and internal dynamics which are constantly changing" (Rowan, 1987, p. 4). PAR program content does not educate men about the negative and structural effects of patriarchy, nor does it give men the ability to unpack how patriarchy has contributed to their emotional suffering and deprivation. Men must be able to unpack their struggles before they are able grow out of a lifetime of pre-determined masculine prescriptions.

Scholarship that discusses the difficulty men experience existing within the confines of cisheteropatriarchy acknowledge that trauma is as a common predictive factor engaging in violent behaviors. Tod Augusta Scott is known internationally for his work in gender-based violence, men's trauma, and therapeutic approaches to working with men who perpetrate violence. In his work titled Complex Trauma and Dominant Masculinity (2017), Scott states how factors that contribute to men's abuse "are being increasing recognized as varied and complex" (p. 76). Scott argues that "understanding how trauma impacts men's sense of self in relationships" requires a recognition that "to stop abuse, it is important to simultaneously attend to men's experiences of being victimized and perpetrating violence" (p. 75). Meaning, interventions that solely engage with men as perpetrators of violence without acknowledging how their trauma impacts their sense of self and, therein, their relational dynamics, will continue to fall short. Scott argues that men avoid confronting past victimization and traumatic experiences because "dominant social ideas about masculinity lead them to think of themselves

as flawed for feeling vulnerable" (p. 75), and as a result, move through the world with a "victim-centered narrative", disrupting their ability to take responsibility for their own violence (p. 75). Scott puts forth the need to adopt a "trauma-informed narrative therapy approach" (p. 77) within conversations and interactions with men, which also draws from some aspects of feminist theory.

The efficacy of partner assault response programs

In addition to the epistemological and methodological problems with BIP/PAR programs and their overall critiqued efficacy, there are large gaps in the literature that discuss the trajectory and efficacy of partner assault response programs in Canada. The Ministry of the Attorney General has failed to complete a formal evaluation of PAR that could provide important insights into how to improve the program or make it more relevant (Nicoll, 2016). Partner assault response programs have been the topic of empirical investigation for about 25 years (Eckhardt, Murphy, Whitaker, Sprunger, Dykstra & Woodard, 2013), arguably since their conception. And yet, studies have consistently show ambiguous results regarding their efficacy, and, due to the on-going epidemic that is intimate partner violence, it is clear that there is a significant need to re-imagine these widely used programs. This is echoed by Eckhardt et al (2013), who, after reviewing 22 U.S studies on batterer programs, state that "despite the substantial public health" and "extensive criminal justice costs" associated with IPV, "the empirical status of BIP's is decidedly uncertain" (p. 208). In 2004, the government of Canada created a report titled Attitudinal Change in in Participants of Partner Assault Response (PAR) Programs recruited 41 men to participate in a study that examined the efficacy of PAR programs. Of these participants, 25% stated they were unemployed, 39% stated they earned less than $10,000 per year, 24% reported a history of past abusive behavior, and 13% disclosed daily drinking. Findings showed that, while PAR is not without some benefits, "there is currently little evidence that [traditional]

intervention programs for abusive men lead to reductions in men's assault on their partners" (para 2). This is supported by the fact that, in 2015, nine years ago, NDP MPP and Women's Issues Critic Peggy Sattler called on the Premier to address the ineffectiveness of partner assault response programs. Sattler stated that "everyone, except the government, understands that there is a crisis in the design and delivery of PAR programs" (Nicoll, 2016, para 22). This was the same year that Harmy Mendoza, Executive Director of The Woman Abuse Council of Toronto (WomanACT), was instructed to cease data collection about PAR's efficacy, as the data was showing how PAR's 12-week model "was creating a revolving door" and was arguably creating more harm (Ontario NDP, 2015).

The Duluth Model pioneered responses to intimate partner violence and was incredibly influential and impactful in informing subsequent partner assault response programs. I argue, however, that partner assault response programs have failed to develop, despite the amount of thoughtful academic scholarship that exists which recognize the benefits of utilizing anti-carceral frameworks and the difficulty men experience existing within the harmful confines of cisheteropatriarchy. Unlike current PAR programs, the Duluth Model does acknowledges that men "are not responsible for creating the many forces that have shaped their thinking" and argues that men are victims of dehumanizing socialization" (Pence & Paymar, 1993, p. 4). Further, the model states that perpetrators of violence may have a history of "childhood abuse; exposure to male role models who are hostile towards women, alcoholism, racial and class oppression, and the denial of love/nurture" (p. 4). Given what has been explored in the literature, it is not that there is a lack of insightful discursive scholarship that challenges the frameworks for and hegemonic responses to men, masculinity, and violence; instead, it appears that the integration of such scholarship has not yet made its way into the curriculum of partner assault

response intervention curriculums. What is needed are programs and new ways of conceptualizing IPV that reflect our current knowledge, and to re-imagine how we might more effectively engage with perpetrators of domestic abuse. The support of this thinking requires acknowledging some of the unintended ways in which carceral and feminist frameworks and approaches may now be contributing to, or exacerbating, domestic violence. What is required is the integration of our current knowledge into the transformation, re-conception, and re-imagining of our current responses and interventions to perpetrators of violence. It requires a level of thoughtful analysis on both macro and micro levels; one's that recognize the harmful societal expectations men experience living within the confines of masculinity and patriarchy, and ones that recognize the unique and complex struggles and array of contributory factors which contribute to an individual's propensity to abuse.

Chapter 3: Theoretical Framework

This paper is informed by my own ontological positioning, that is, responses to perpetrators of intimate partner violence remain rooted in punitive, carceral and white liberal feminist understandings and perceptions of violence. Further, the mandated court intervention programs used to engage with perpetrators do not reflect the shifting ideological and discursive understandings of men, patriarchy, and violence, particularly, the cultural, situational, socio-economic, and societal aggravating factors that perpetuate such abuse. My research is grounded primarily in intersectional, anti-carceral feminist theories, as I argue liberal, carceral, feminist theories and frameworks have both helped and hindered constructions of, and responses to, intimate partner violence. Waves and understandings of feminist thought have influenced and discussed the perpetual issue of violence against women, and whose principals have been

foundational to the construction of programs that respond to this issue. An intersectional, anti-carceral feminist framework will provide me with the flexibility to expose how feminist theories have done a "less extensive analysis of how [both] women and men are complicit in their own gendered subjugation" (Alvesson & Willmott; Martin, 2003, p.66). Meaning, how despite the multidimensional perspectives of feminist thought, interventions that respond to perpetrators of intimate partner violence are limited in their application and fail to consider the intersections of oppression men face from various factors and forces to offer a more informative, thorough, and thoughtful analysis of intimate partner violence. I will use the strengths of existing frameworks and approaches to guide future thinking around what an intersectional, anti-carceral, feminist framework would look like in practice, and how we could use this to reconceptualize our responses to perpetrators of violence.

Epistemologically, feminist perspectives include a wide range of ideologies and strategies that continue to evolve, yet much focus is put on patriarchy and gender inequality as the "root cause[s] of most intimate partner violence". (Becker et al., 2021, para 6). Broadly speaking, the key proponents of liberal feminism fought for the autonomy of women and advocated for equal opportunities and rights in the legal, labour, and political spheres. In the context of intimate partner violence, liberal feminist attributed this to gender inequality, and women's emancipation from domesticated roles. Radical feminism has historically focused on patriarchy and the need for men to maintain power and control as the source from which intimate partner violence stems. And yet, even the concept of patriarchy, and men's experience of it, has been universalized and white-washed (Dominelli, 2002).

Intersectional Feminist Theory

The concept of intersectionality was first coined by black feminist, activist and scholar, Kimberly Crenshaw, in the late 1980's to describe the "multi-dimensionality of women's marginalized experiences" (Nash, 2008, p. 2; Crenshaw, 1989), with a specific focus on the intersection of race and gender. Intersectionality also invited us to examine the ways "marginalized subjects" have been excluded and absent from feminism movements, anti-racist work, and how this exclusion has impacted that of theory and practice (Nash, 2008, p. 3). Women of color have critiqued "conventional feminism's essentialism" (Nash, 2008, p.3), and "perennial inattention to racial, ethnic, class, and sexual difference(s)" (p. 3). Utilizing elements of an intersectional feminist framework will assist in a more thorough examination of how we have historically, and presently, respond to perpetrators of domestic violence, and address the complex, multi-dimensional factors that contribute to intimate partner violence which "lie alongside patriarchal influences" (George & Stith, 2014, p.191). In the same way intersectional feminist scholars take issue with the essentializing or homogenizing of women's identities and experiences, expanding on the use of an intersectional feminist approach could illuminate how we also fall susceptible to essentializing and homogenizing men's experiences with violence and patriarchy, and how, without applying an intersectional analysis, we may fail to consider how such intersections contribute to domestic abuse. Further, programs that respond to perpetrators of domestic violence have historically been shaped by the experiences of white, liberal feminists. This is echoed by Ake & Arnold (2017) who state that "the dominant narrative of the causes and solutions to abuse shaped by liberal feminist interests eclipsed analyses that placed domestic violence in the context of other oppressions like racism and poverty" (Ake & Arnold, 2017, p. 9)

Lack of racialized feminist scholarship

Different from first-wave feminism whose primary focus was on gender equality specifically within the political and legal sphere, second wave feminism broadened the scope to address issues such as domesticity, sexuality, reproductive rights, rights to work, domestic violence and patriarchal dominating ideologies. During the second wave of feminism when IPV interventions were taking stride, it was a world where white supremacy was prevailing. Both white and racialized women were struggling against the effects of patriarchy in relation to intimate partner violence, but the voices of white women were stronger, and the experiences of racialized women were being over-shadowed. Issues of police brutality, the disproportionate use of incarceration on racialized people, systemic discrimination, racism, and socio-economic inequality are "layers of state-sponsored oppressions that women of color routinely face" (p. 9). It is not that there has been a lack of organized efforts by women of color to confront the issue of domestic violence, it is that racialized voices have been "largely written out of the history of the feminist movement" (p. 10), and responses to, and insights about, such issues. While second wave feminists brought private issues into a public light, its dominant liberal, white feminist lens tended to frame intimate partner violence as a "classless problem" (p. 12), and as a raceless one. Such an approach, which is still dominant today, ignores that mandatory criminal justice responses fail to address how inequality "renders entire groups of people more vulnerable to IPV" and to incarceration (p. 12). For example, Black women are disproportionately impacted by incidents of intimate partner violence, and, as such, part of conceptualizing "more culturally salient interventions" (Waller, Harris & Quinn, 2022, p. 1235) requires a more thorough understanding of such experiences, challenges, and interlocking oppressions. Further, policies

that criminal domestic violence have been structured to serve the needs of white, middle-class, heterosexual women, and have failed to consider the differing needs of, and impacts on, marginalized identities (Ake & Arnold, 2017, p. 12). Additionally, this feminist perspective believes that the patriarchal nature of arrangements and social institutions supports male domination of women within the domestic sphere, justifying any means necessary, including physical violence, to reinforce male power, control, and privilege (Eckhardt et al., 2013; Dobash & Dobash, 1979).

I am also drawing on black feminist theorist bell hooks to better explore patriarchy, masculinity, the dichotomous socialization of gender roles and their subsequent effects on how we respond to intimate partner violence. Bell hooks is a racialized, intersectional, and radical feminist who recognized the impact that intersecting social classifications have on both women and men. In her book, *The Will to Change* (2004) hooks offers unique, gracious, insightful and important understandings of feminism, men and patriarchy, all of which align with my own thoughts about intimate partner violence. Hooks is radical in her critique of feminist thought in relation to intimate partner violence, and unpacks the tremendous emotional deprivation and pain men experience as a result of patriarchy and socialization.

Anti-Carceral feminism

Carceral feminism broadly refers to "decades of feminist anti-violence collaboration with the carceral state or that part of the government most associated with the institution of police, prosecution, courts, the system of jails, prisons, probation and parole" for the protection of women (McGlynn, 2022, p. 1; Kim, 2018). An anti-carceral approach recognizes that there's an over-reliance on the justice system to 'fix' domestic violence, that this criminalization has

entrenched and exacerbated types of oppression and illuminates the paradoxes and harm within these "pro-criminalization feminist social movement strategies" (McGlynn, 2022, p. 2). Further, responding to intimate partner violence primarily through a carceral lens absolves "the state" from addressing the "underpinning structural [factors] which generate the abuse in the first place", and limits opportunities for expansive and reflexive approaches.

There are many differing views within feminist scholarship ranging from "liberal advocates of equal opportunity" to radical alternatives, with nuances that exist within each, all of which have been instrumental for promoting systemic change and equality for women. In writing this paper and developing my thesis, I have challenged and developed my own feminist positioning that borrows from anti-carceral and intersectional principles. I have come to learn that my epistemological perspective regarding intimate partner violence is not rooted in any one specific 'wave' of feminist thought, and one that requires a thorough examination of the ways feminist thought has, and continues to, contribute to the very problem it seeks to eradicate. Feminist researchers have long since exposed the widespread domestic violence in our society. Yet, since it's exposure, violence against women has not declined and in some instances has intensified (Hooks, 2004, p. 72). Antifeminists seek to blame the intensification of male violence on women's greater inequality, increased autonomy, and the effects of patriarchy; women perpetually seen as victims, and men as perpetrators, with masculinity standing in opposition to femininity. Scholarly discourse that discusses the benefits of engaging with perpetrators of violence from an anti-carceral approach, and the over-simplistic ways in which we understand men and violence have been present for decades, and yet these thoughtful and complex understandings about contributory factors have remained out of mainstream consumption and consideration.

Connection to Research

The specific questions my research will aim to answer are why and how have feminist theories contributed to and underpin the development of historical and current day approaches to partner assault response programs? How effective are PAR programs at accomplishing their intended goals and objectives? And, in what ways have PAR programs developed, or failed to develop, since their conception? This paper is asking us to consider an "alternative spectrum of decarceration" (McGlynn, 2022, p. 2), one that provides a more "expansive approach" to engaging with perpetrators of intimate partner violence. Using intersectional and anti-carceral feminist frameworks, I will support my positioning that what is required is a re-imaging of our engagement with perpetrators of domestic violence both discursively and practically. And, that this re-imagining of efforts and approaches could in fact, increase victim safety, and increase offender accountability. I hope that my research will have macro-level implications that advocate for the re-design of partner assault program content and to inspire greater prevention efforts that address the complexity of this issue, and acknowledge the multitude of aggravating factors that contribute to and exacerbate incidents of partner assault. Further, to pull from feminist scholars who align with intersectional and anti-carceral approaches, to explore more nuanced and compassionate understandings about perpetrators of violence, and potentially more constructive ways of engaging with them.

My research and positioning are guided by intersectional, anti-carceral feminist scholars and movements to inform my understandings about intimate partner violence, and responses to the perpetrators of such violence. Feminism has, almost single-handedly, shaped the direction, underlying assumptions about domestic violence, principles and content of partner assault

response programs, which are the primary 'rehabilitative' tool used to 'combat' intimate partner violence. White, liberal, feminist analyses and understandings of intimate partner violence underpin historical and current intervention program curriculums and has shaped dominant narratives about the causes of intimate partner abuse (Eckhart, Murphy, Whitaker, Sprunger, Dykstra & Woodard, 2013) and have been the foundation to discursive construction of all partner assault programs. Much of our understandings about, and responses to, intimate partner violence are seen through a white, middle-class, Eurocentric lens, which has diminished the knowledge and experiences of intersectional and racialized feminist contributions – not only within PAR program content, but in views about patriarchy, masculinity, and domestic violence. I am not arguing for the erasure of partner assault response programs, but what is required is a deeper dive into an inquiry that asks in ways have these programs remained archaic, 'white-washed', overly simple and surface level, and lacking a kind of uncomfortable reflection. Theoretical re-conception is required to address the underlying causes of intimate partner violence that move beyond reasons of power and control, and that reflect our current knowledge and understanding about perpetrators of violence. Carceral feminist responses have failed to "adequately address harm and violence within homes and communities" (Battle & Powell, 2024, p, 534), calling us to consider new approaches to victim safety. Principles of anti-carceral and abolitionist theories encourage new ways of thinking about "how we might end gendered violence" (p. 548) beyond the expansion of carceral methods of control and punishment.

Chapter 4: Methodology and Methods

Methodology

Critical Literature Review

A critical literature review is a method of inquiry that can provide "the basis for building a new conceptual model or theory" and can be valuable when "aiming to map the development of a particular research field over time" (Snyder, 2019, p.334). A critical method of inquiry will allow for a thorough engagement of my topic, as it "seeks to review the literature on a particular subject or theme using a critical-thinking approach" (Garrod, 2023, p.141), with a focus on the strengths, weaknesses, and underlying assumptions about a particular topic. Further benefits of a critical literature review are that it "contributes to scholarly conversations" (p. 142) on a given topic, encourages an overview of the current state of knowledge and highlights key findings within existing literature. A critical literature review allows for an analysis of gaps within our conceptualization and understanding of the traditional responses to perpetrators of domestic violence with a view to engaging new ways of thinking about how we might end gendered violence beyond the expansion of carceral methods of control and punishment. This critical literature review will focus on three intersecting areas of inquiry toward increasing our understanding of the successes, challenges and limitations of PAR programs toward illuminating possibilities for transformation. These include:

1. What, why and how have feminist theories, contributed to and underpin the development of historical and current day approaches to partner assault response programs? How effective are PAR programs at accomplishing their intended goals and objectives? And,
2. In what ways have PAR programs developed, or failed to develop, since their conception?

Feminist frameworks and ideological beliefs have influenced and discussed the perpetual issue of domestic violence for decades. Radical and liberal pro-feminist frameworks and objectives that were dominant in spearheading the battered women's movement in the 1970's were foundational in shaping our understanding of domestic violence, and instrumental in the creation of interventions that have, and continue to, respond to it; Specifically, in the creation of the first court-mandated program, The Duluth Model, that sought to remedy this issue, and all subsequent IPV interventions that respond to domestic violence. As such, I will be reviewing academic literature that discuss the strengths and the critiques of partner assault response programs from their inception to present day within the United States and Canada. Literature grounding my examination of partner assault response programs will be guided by scholarship that focuses on the critiques and benefits of partner assault response programs, and how these programs have been discussed in the literature throughout time

Process of Inquiry

I will be pulling from the process and 6 steps of a critical literature review outlined by Pare and Kitsiou (2015) from their chapter entitled *Methods for Literature Reviews* from the Handbook of eHealth Evaluation: An Evidence-based Approach by Lau & Kuziemsky (2017). As stated by Templier and Pare (2105), although the steps are listed sequentially, it is an iterative process, and "many activities can be initiated during the planning stage and later refined during subsequent phases" (para 6).

Step 1: Formulating the research question(s) and objectives(s).

The purpose of step one is to articulate the research question(s) that are being investigated. A clearly defined questions(s) "underscore" the process and inform the search and selection of relevant literature (para 7). I am undertaking this critical literature review to engage

with historical and current development, design and effectiveness of batterer intervention/partner assault response programs (BIP/PAR) that have been and continue to be implemented in the United States and Canadian contexts. The objective of this thesis is to gain a better understanding about the following questions: How have feminist theories contributed to and underpin the development of historical and current day approaches to partner assault response programs? How effective are PAR programs at accomplishing their intended goals and objectives? And, in what ways have PAR programs developed, or failed to develop, since their conception?

Step 2: Searching the extant literature

Step two consists of "searching the literature and making decisions about the suitability of material to be considered for review" (para 8). One strategy of searching for literature is concentrating on "prior works that have been central or pivotal to a particular topic" (para 8). This may include empirical studies, academic papers, that have "initiated a line of investigation" and/or introduced concepts and looked at how things are framed. In order to address the above-mentioned guiding questions, the online portals I am using to select my chosen sources are the McMaster Library website and Google Scholar. My search focused on literature published between 1990 and 2022 in both US and Canadian contexts which document the development of BIP/PAR, and empirical studies, meta-analyses, systemic reviews that discuss the effectiveness of these programs. Specific search databases included Scholars Portal Journals, Elsevier ScienceDirect Journals, Sage Complete, Sage Journals, JStor, Springer, Research Gate, Journal of Family Violence, Sociology and Criminal Justice Journals. It is worth noting that there are approximately 2,500 BIP programs operating throughout the United States, and approximately 68 operating Canada wide. Thus, the majority of the literature complied for my review are based on US studies. The implementation of Canada's PAR programs are based on those developed in

the United States, and whose interventions share similar content/curriculum, theoretical frameworks, and ideologies around responses to, and understanding of, intimate partner violence.

Step 3: Screening for inclusion and deciding on search terms

This step involves "evaluating the applicability of the material" (para 9). A challenge of this step is trying to maintain my own objectivity when selecting the literature to mitigate to the best of my ability biases. My search terms included the language of both 'batterer' and 'partner assault' programs, as the United States more commonly refers to their mandated court programs for perpetrators of domestic assault as 'batterer intervention programs' (BIP), whereas Canada refers to these same programs more commonly as 'partner assault response programs' (PAR). For the purposes of this thesis, I reference 'batterer' and 'abuse' interchangeably. I used the following search terms to compile my literature; *Batterer Intervention Program Studies, do batterer intervention programs work', efficacy of BIP/PAR programs, evaluations of batterer programs, reviews on BIP programs, Canadian evaluations on partner assault response programs, court-mandated abuser programs, men who batterer, batterer treatment, best practices for IPV interventions, partner assault response programs and racism, The Duluth Model,* and *scholarly perspectives on partner assault response programs.*

My search resulted in a comprehensive list of relevant articles which spanned the above-mentioned timeline to examine what has been said about these widely used programs over time. My search results yielded over a hundred different articles. After screening titles, abstracts, and years of publication, I had complied a list of 40 articles. Much of the literature I am focusing are research papers that discuss the strengths and critiques of the first fully formed batterer intervention program, The Duluth Model, as all subsequent BIP/PAR programs been heavily influenced by this model. The references that were repeatedly cited from the peer-reviewed

articles I selected informed my further choosing. For the scope of this thesis, I decided on 23 publications to review that would best support my questions of inquiry, in that they focus on the authors commentary and primary research studies that discuss partner assault response and batterer programs/interventions. The articles discuss and review BIP/PAR programs from the early days of its inception, up until present day, and paid specific attention on the strengths and critiques of PAR, and whether they have or have not, shifted over time. From the 22 publications, 20 are based on US studies of batterer intervention programs, 3 are based on Canadian reviews of partner assault response programs, 4 discuss both US and Canada BIP/PAR programs, and 19 of the articles are peer-reviewed. The articles that are not peer-reviewed are chapters from larger works/books from scholars who specialize in working with men in various therapeutic capacities, or government funded reviews, and pilot projects that discuss partner assault response programs. The publications I am using span from 1999 – 2022. Two articles were published in 1999, one from 2003, two from 2004, one from 2006, one from 2007, one from 2010, three from 2011, one from 2012, one from 2013, two from 2015, two from 2016, two from 2017, one from 2019, one from 2020, and two from 2022.

Specifically, my critical literature will focus on heterosexual men who have been mandated by the courts to attend batterer/PAR intervention programs for acts related to intimate partner violence. I have chosen not to include commentary or research relating voluntary programs/interventions for men, or programs that are available to men while incarcerated. Further, my scope for research does not extend to abuse within same-sex couples, transgendered, LGBTQ identified individuals, women who are charged with acts of domestic violence, or racially specific populations. This is because the first, and most subsequent, BIP/PAR programs are intended for heterosexual males, and heterosexual male perpetrators of IPV attend BIP/PAR

programs most frequently. Further, the dominant frameworks utilized by BIP/PAR programs are those that subscribe to feminist understandings of IPV that center patriarchy, power and control as the leading causes for domestic violence.

Step 4: Assessing the quality of primary studies

Part of this step involves assessing the "scientific quality of the selected studies, that is, appraise the rigour of the research design and methods" (para 10). The majority of the literature in my review are research studies which examine the 'effectiveness' or impact of BIP/PAR programs based on their findings, and also the opinions, perceptions and conclusions of the researchers and scholars on BIP/PAR programs, with specific focus on these opinions inform my research questions.

Step 5: Extracting data

The following step involves "gathering or extracting applicable information from each primary study" and "deciding what is relevant to the problem of interest" (Pare & Kitsiou, 2015, para 11; Cooper & Hedges, 2009). As stated by the authors, the type of data that should be noted depends primarily on research questions one is seeking to explore. Also stated by Pare and Kitsiou (2015) is that important information may be gathered and extracted based on when and by whom a study was conducted (para 12). The timelines of the research articles I have gathered is also relevant to my data extraction process and research questions, as they seek to examine what was being said about batterer programs at the time of their conception in the 1980's to current opinions and perceptions.

Step 6: Analyzing and synthesizing data

The final step of the process involves summarizing, organizing, and comparing the extracted data, and presenting it in a meaningful way "that suggests a new contribution to the

extant literature" (para 13). This stage involves providing a "coherent lens to make sense of extant knowledge on a given topic" (para 13) which should align with your research questions.

Thematic Analysis

A thematic analysis was used to conduct my analysis of the literature, as this type of analysis can be used to develop, analyze, and interpret patterns of qualitative data (Braun & Clarke, 2006). A thematic analysis a flexible approach to analysis, and can offer insights into patterns of meaning across a data set. I will be pulling from strategies suggested by Braun and Clarke and Vaismoradi et al (2016) which include the phases outlined by Braun & Clarke (2006; 2012) that make up the process of a thematic analysis. I will be looking at reoccurring themes that appear within the text and themes that are based on my subjective interpretation. A theme, according to Braun and Clarke (2006), "captures something important about the data in relation to the research question, and represents some level of patterned response or meaning within the data set (p. 82)". As further stated by the authors, the "keyness" of a theme "is not necessarily dependent on quantifiable measures" but more so in terms of "whether it captures something important in relation to the overall research question (p. 82). A thematic approach to analysis allows researchers to see and make sense of collective or shared meanings. The publications I chose to focus on are peer-reviewed empirical studies, meta-analyses, systemic reviews, scholarly commentary, and articles that discuss how BIP/PAR programs have been talked about and described since their conception.

Phase 1: Familiarizing myself with the data

The process of familiarizing oneself with data requires engaging with it in an "active way – searching for meanings, patterns and so on" (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 16). The articles were downloaded as PDF's, read and re-read several times and highlighted electronically to capture

areas of importance, and both latent and semantic themes, as they related to my research questions. In order to more thoroughly familiarize myself with the data, the articles were then organized using a word document table. I then listed the articles in a table chronologically with column separating the name of the article, the year in which it was published, and the key points within each article in a column beside each corresponding article. The key points were direct quotes that were most relevant to my research questions. This was done for each article. Once I had synthesized the articles, direct quotes were color coded on a word document which represented different re-occurring themes that were present throughout the articles. From the literature, several notable themes emerged and were constructed, based on the context of my research questions. While I familiarized myself with the data chronologically, I will be analyzing the literature fluidly.

Phase 2: Generating initial codes

According to Bruan and Clarke (2006), the process of coding is part of the analysis, as "codes identify a feature of the data (semantic content or latent) that appears interesting to the analyst" to be "assessed in a meaningful way regarding the phenomenon" (p. 18). Braun and Clarke (2006) emphasize that coding does not mean "smooth[ing] our or ignor[ing] tensions and inconsistencies within and across data items (p. 19). Using a manual, color coded approach to differentiate key ideas/areas of focus, initial codes that I generated included Duluth Model; intervention effectiveness; intervention approaches; intervention modalities; gender-paradigm; competing ideological positions; philosophical assumptions; persistent tensions surrounding contributory factors for domestic violence; one-size-fits-all, lack of empirical evidence; research methodology; institutional bias; pro-feminist approaches; offender accountability; victim safety; alternatives; coordinated community response; new treatment approaches.

Phase 3: Searching for and reviewing potential themes

Searching for themes "re-focuses the analysis at the broader level", and involves sorting through different codes, or combining codes, "to form an overarching theme" (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 19). This required me to re-read the articles with greater intention. Some of the codes were combined to form broader themes. For example, 'competing ideological positions', 'persistent tensions surrounding contributory factors for domestic violence' and 'lack of empirical evidence' were grouped into a larger theme of 'critiques of BIP/PAR programs', some of initial codes remained sub themes that will be discussed in the finding chapter. The themes I gathered were organized in a virtual table format. As stated by Bruan and Clarke, which was applicable and relevant in my process, some of my initial codes formed main themes, while other initial codes formed sub-themes. There were also several themes that I felt could be of importance, or grouped in with a sub-theme, which I labeled miscellaneous. Reviewing themes is the refining process where some themes are discarded, and others collapsed into one another (Braun and Clarke, 2006).

Phase 5: Defining and naming themes.

This phase required a further refinement of the themes to "identify the essence of what each theme is about" (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 92). I reviewed my research questions to help anchor which themes were most relevant: *How have feminist theories contributed to and underpin the development of historical and current day approaches to partner assault response programs? How effective are PAR programs at accomplishing their intended goals and objectives? In what ways have PAR programs developed, or failed to develop, since their conception?* Based on my examination of the literature, I outlined six over-arching main themes that are most suited to my research questions: strengths of the Duluth Model, critiques of the

Duluth Model, alternative approaches to working with perpetrators of IPV, discrepancies surrounding the modality of the Duluth Model, notions of victim safety and offender accountability, and what is meant by a coordinated community response to IPV. Sub-headings will be used to explore the themes in greater detail. Below is a chart that outlines the names and authors of the articles I have chosen to review listed in chronological order, information regarding whether the article is a US or Canadian study, and key search terms of the articles as the relate to my areas of inquiry.

Author(s), year of publication, article title	**Key words/search terms**	**Canadian or USA study**
• Austin & Dankwort (1999) - Standards for Batterer Programs.	Batterer intervention programs, domestic violence.	U.S.A
• Davis & Taylor (1999). Does Batterer Treatment Reduce Violence?	Effectiveness of batterer programs, violence reduction, program outcomes, Duluth Model.	U.S.A
• Adams (2003). Certified Batterer Intervention Programs: History, Philosophies, Techniques, Collaborations, Innovations, and Challenges	Treatment programs for batterers, historical development, power and control, feminist theories, Duluth Model.	U.S.A
• Babcock, Charles & Robie (2004). Does batterers' treatment work? A meta-analytic review of domestic violence treatment	Duluth Model, cognitive behavioral therapy, domestic violence, recidivism.	U.S.A
• Scott & Stewart (2004). Attitudinal Change in Participants of Partner Assault Response (PAR) Programs: A Pilot Project	Investigation of men's progress through PAR, intervention assessment	Canada

• Dutton & Corvo (2006). Transforming a flawed policy: A call to revive psychology and science in domestic violence research and practice	Domestic violence, criminal justice, intimate partner violence, Duluth Model, batterer interventions, feminist theory.	U.S.A
• Gondolf (2007). Theoretical and research support for the Duluth Model: A reply to Dutton and Corvo	Feminism, Duluth Model, gender-based violence, batterer interventions, treatment.	U.S.A
• Murphy & Ting (2010). Interventions for Perpetrators of Intimate Partner Violence: A Review of Efficacy Research & Recent Trends.	Intimate partner violence, treatment, perpetrators, batterers.	U.S.A
• Cluss & Bodea (2011). The effectiveness of batterer intervention programs. A Literature Review & Recommendations for Next Steps.	Effectiveness of batterer intervention programs, study challenges, intimate partner violence, the Duluth Model.	U.S.A
• Barner & Carney (2011). Interventions for Intimate Partner Violence: A Historical Review	Batterer intervention programs, intimate partner violence, criminal justice paradigm, Duluth Model.	U.S.A
• Gondolf (2011). The weak evidence for batterer program alternatives	Batterer programs, alternatives, domestic violence offenders, program evaluation, batterer types.	U.S.A
• Pender (2012). ASGW Best Practice Guidelines: An evaluation of the Duluth Model	Duluth Model curriculum, domestic violence, treatment orientation, ASGW practice standards.	U.S.A
• Eckhardt, Murphy, Whitaker, Sprunger, Dykstra & Woodard	Review of BIP interventions, intimate	U.S.A

(2013). The Effectiveness of Intervention Programs for Perpetrators and Victims of Intimate Partner violence	partner violence, cognitive-behavioral therapy, treatment effectiveness.	
• Holmes (2015). What do we mean by domestic violence? Mandatory prosecution and the impact on partner assault response programs	Criminal justice impact/response to domestic violence, power and control; influence of the Duluth Model, typology of violence, program effectiveness.	Canada
• Coker & Macquoid (2015). Alternative U.S Responses to Intimate Partner Violence	Restorative justice, batterer treatment, perpetrator interventions, responses to intimate partner violence, feminist discourse.	Canada and U.S.A
• Cannon, Hamel & Buttell (2016). A Survey of Domestic Violence Perpetrator Programs in the United States and Canada: Findings and Implications for Policy and Intervention	Domestic violence, batterer intervention research, policy, feminist-gendered program philosophy.	U.S.A
• Bohall, Bautista & Musson (2016). Intimate partner violence and the Duluth Model: An examination of the model and recommendations for future research and practice.	Intimate partner violence, Duluth Model, domestic violence.	U.S.A & Canada
• Aaron & Beaulaurier (2017). The Need for New Emphasis on Batterers Intervention Programs	Batterers' intervention programs, domestic violence abuse, coordinated community response, batterer treatment, Duluth Model.	U.S.A
• Augusta-Scott (2017). Innovations in Interventions to Address Intimate Partner Violence	Restorative approaches to perpetrators of IPV, identity, masculinity, power and control story.	Canada

		U.S.A
• Farr (2019). Power and Control: Radical Feminism, State Cooptation and Intersectional Queer Theory in Domestic Violence Praxis.	Feminism, domestic violence analysis, patriarchy, Duluth Model	
• Wagers & Radatz (2020). Emerging Treatment Models and Programs in Intimate Partner Violence Treatment	Batterer intervention programs, intimate partner violence, evidence-based practices, etiologies for IPV perpetration, political context of IPV, Duluth Model.	Canada and U.S.A
• Murphy, Rosenbaum, Hamberger, Wagers, Langhinrichsen-Rohling, Vaughan-Eden, Vieth, Geffner & White (2022). Relationship Violence Perpetrators Intervention Programs: History and Models.	Batterer intervention programs, history, early controversies, Duluth Model, pro-feminist consciousness-raising.	U.S.A
• Becker, Kafonek, Manzer, Tinney, Wagers, Langhinrichsen-Rohling, ., Hamberger, Rosenbaum, Vaughan-Eden, Vieth, Geffner & White (2022). Feminist Perspectives of Intimate Partner Violence and Abuse (IPV/A).	Feminist perspectives, gender, masculinity, patriarchy, intersectionality, power and control, intimate partner violence abuse.	Canada and U.S.A

Ethical Considerations

While I will not be submitting a McMaster Research Ethics application or conducting primary research with participants, I still must be mindful of ethical considerations when utilizing secondary data. As defined by Heaton (2008) "secondary analysis involves the re-use of pre-existing qualitative data derived from previous research studies" (p. 34). Heaton (2008)

distinguishes between three different types of secondary analysis, which I found helpful in forming my own understanding of engagement with this research method. A *supplementary analysis* is a more "in-depth analysis of an emergent issue or aspect" (p. 39) within the data that was only briefly touched upon in the original work. The second type of secondary analysis is called *supra-analysis*, where "the aims and focus of the secondary study transcend those of the original research" (p. 39). Finally, *re-analysis*, which is when data is re-examined to confirm the researcher's findings. All types of secondary data analysis require attention to avoid potential ethical misconduct. I must also be mindful of my own bias when interpreting/analysis the data, be aware of potential bias within the author's writing, and the goals/aims of the primary research. I must be mindful of, and acknowledge that, when using secondary data, my relationship to the data and my interpretation of the information may differ from those of the original researchers. Heaton describes this pitfall as "the problem of data fit" (p. 40), a notion that extends to the potential misalignment of the intended epistemology and ontological perspectives in the original work. This is difficult to gage, as I may interpret or use the primary study's findings, whether coconsciously or unconsciously, to meet the purposes for which I require. Heaton (1998) elaborates on this by stating that secondary research uses data collected from a prior study in order to "pursue a research interest which is distinct from that of the original work" (para 1). Therefore, it is my job to interpret and represent the original data correctly, and not misuse or misrepresent the data or the intended purpose of the original work.

Researcher reflexivity (critical reflection)

It is important I acknowledge the importance of researcher reflexivity within qualitative research practices. While there are various interpretations and facets of what is meant by reflexivity (also often referred to as critical reflection), it is broadly understood as an on-going

evaluation of one's assumptions, biases and subjective perspectives in relation to the area of focus or topic being examined. As defined by Fook (1999), reflexivity is about "recognising the use of the subjective in research" (p. 14). Reflexivity "acknowledges that the researcher is unavoidably located politically, culturally and socially, and that her or his experience and perceptions are necessarily mediated through the lens of their own body, biography and changing contexts" (p. 14). Reflexivity is a process of self-critique that is present throughout the research and writing process. It requires the researcher to turn their investigation inward, and invites us to ask ourselves questions such as, how has my personal positioning and history influenced the topic, and the research process? Patnaik (2013) states that reflexivity is "the constant awareness, assessment, and reassessment by the researcher of the researcher's own contribution / influence / shaping of inter-subjective research and the consequent research findings" (p. 3). Based on the definitions and descriptions of research reflexivity and critical reflection, I recognize that my findings are influenced by my own positionality and subjectivity.

Chapter 5: Findings

Based on my examination of the literature, I outlined six over-arching main themes that most suited my research questions. The six main themes are: strengths of the Duluth Model, critiques of the Duluth Model, alternative approaches to working with perpetrators of IPV, discrepancies surround the modality of the Duluth Model, notions of victim safety and offender accountability, and what is meant by 'coordinated community responses' to IPV. Sub-headings will be used to explore these themes in greater detail. The table below lists the titles of the articles I reviewed in chronological order, the coded extracts of data from the articles, the initial

codes the data illuminated, and how the codes reflect the above-mentioned themes that support my research questions.

	Data extract (direct quotes)	**Initial Codes**	**Larger Themes**
Standards for Batterer Programs (1999) (Austin & Dankwort)	"…domestic violence literature reported apprehensions and controversy about competing views on the causes of battering and over how batterer programs actually worked with male perpetrators in accordance with how the problem was conceptualized" (p. 152). "…pro-feminist advocates emerged during the battered women's movement in the 1970's developed program standards…some have argued they are not sufficiently based on scientific research" (p..) "BIP prescribe a psychoeducational model and restrict other modes of intervention". "The type of intervention approach used is often vaguely defined – identified as either psycho-educational, pro-feminist, or cognitive-behavioral" (p. 163).	-Competing perspectives about the conceptualizing of IPV. -Feminist understandings versus scienfific evidence -Intervention approaches	-Lack of evidence in support of BIP's. -Lack of intervention diversity
Does Batterer Treatment Reduce Violence? (Davis & Taylor, 1999).	"Current trends in treatment programs seem to be going in conflicting directions…there is an increasing sentiment that a 'one-size-fits-all' approach to batterer treatment fails to recognize the diversity of batterers that enter treatment" (p. 71). "…the volume of literature of BIP's is deceptive, and not many can make legitimate claims about the difference between treated and untreated batterers".		
Certified Batterer Intervention Programs: History, Philosophies, Techniques, Collaborations, Innovations, and Challenges (Adams, 2003)	"there may be additional reasons, beyond power and control, which contribute to men's propensity to abuse". "BIP programs all share dual goals of victim safety/protection of victims and perpetrator accountability." "One major challenge in overviewing batterer programs is that they are ever evolving". "The majority of certified batterer intervention program subscribe to the so-	-Power and control philosophy as the dominant approach. -Offender accountability & victims safety.	-The need to explore alternative intervention modalities.

	called "power and control" model of battering"		
Does batterers' treatment work? A meta-analytic review of domestic violence treatment (Babcock et al., 2004)	"…program standards have been developed independently of empirical research. There is little empirical evidence that treatment is effective in reducing recidivism" (p. 1024). "The Duluth Model is not, and does not consider itself, to be therapy. It is conscious-raising….it remains the unchallenged treatment choice for most communities" (p. 1026). "Battering intervention agencies are more likely to improve their services by adding components or tailoring their treatments to specific clientele, rather than by rigidly adhering to any one curriculum in the absence of empirical evidence of its superior efficacy".	-Referencing the need for more diversity in programming.	-Lack of empirical evidence to support BIP
Transforming a flawed policy: A call to revive psychology and science in domestic violence research and practice (Dutton & Corvo, 2006)	"legislation aimed at solving the problem has been based on models of IPV that are not empirically supported" "For over thirty years, the public policy response to the problem of domestic violence has been defined by activists as the socially sanctioned dominance of women by men. This view of patriarchy as the sole cause of domestic violence is the underpinning for a policy/practice paradigm that has dominated the regulatory, legal, and policy discourse of the United States, Canada and other countries" (p. 458) "Instead, a "one size-fits all" approach, based on a contraindicated political model of male domination prevails. The Duluth model remains intact in the face of extensive contradictory evaluation findings" (p. 459). "…The Duluth models deems assault to be a willful exercise of male priviledge. In this view, poverty, stress, anger, chemical dependency, anxiety, deficits in self-esteem, or the man's lifetime experience of victimization and trauma are never risk factors for male abuse perpertration" (p. 459).	-Referencing the need to broaden our scope of contributory factors. -Referencing moving beyond ideologically entrenched assumptions of IPV.	-Critque of the Duluth Model; The deficits of a patriarchal paradigm.

	"This ideologically narrowed view of domestic violence distorts and limits other approaches to change…" (p. 461). "…the safety of the victims is used as a rationale for mandating Duluth-tyoe interventions" (p. 463). …."heterogeneity is reduced by the monolithic view maintained by the Duluth model" (p. 465)		
Theoretical and research support for the Duluth Model: A reply to Dutton and Corvo (Gondolf, 2007)	"Duluth Model is described as "a gender-based cognitive-behavioral approach to counselling and/or educating men" (p. 4) "The way forward may be hindered most by oversimplified denunciations from researchers as well as practitioners". "Researchers, as well as practitioners, can fall into ideological positions that categorically dismissed other points of view. How we move beyond that, as Dutton and Corvo themselves ask, is the major issue at hand" (p. 11).	-Confusion around intervention terminology.	
Interventions for Perpetrators of IPV: A review of efficacy research and recent trends (Murphy & Ting, 2010).	Provides an overview and summary of prior reviews focused on the efficacy of IPV perpetrator interventions. "psychosocial interventions for perpetrators of IPV are widely available, yet it has proven very difficult to find conclusive evidence regarding the efficacy of these interventions" (p. 27).		
The effectiveness of batterer intervention programs. (Cluss & Bodea, 2011)	The overarching observation in reviewing the literature is that the more rigorous the methodology of evaluation studies, the less encouraging their findings. There is no solid empirical evidence for either the effectiveness or relative superiority of any of the current group interventions. Mandated treatments seem 'blind' to the variability of needs and contexts of participants. Theoretical approaches informing BIPs are based less on empirical premises	-Institutional responses -The short-comings of the Power and Control Wheel.	

Interventions for Intimate Partner Violence: A Historical Review (Barner & Carney, 2011) The weak evidence for batterer program alternatives. (Gondolf, 2011)	"This perpetrator-centric criminal justice paradigm characterized primarily by "no-drop" policies, increased prosecutions, and mandatory arrests for IPV would become an increasingly more powerful and publicly recognized aspect of domestic violence intervention". "The institutional response has evolved from a victim-centered to perpetrator-centered treatment focus". The "power and control wheel" = suggests that relationship violence is rooted in "patriarchal" societal learning, rather than a constellation of cognitive or emotional triggers (pp. 7–8). In the Duluth model, a direct emphasis is placed on punitive responses to the violent actions of the perpetrator". "Several studies have debated the distinctions between the predominant Duluth psycho-educational model of behavioral intervention and the rise of cognitive-behavioral therapy" (p. 240) "Duluth Model is, by design, not therapeutic, does not want to be seen as therapeutic, yet makes claims to initiate psychotherapeutic and behavioral change in IPV perpetrators" (p. 240). "…the Duluth model, and the women's movement has retained certain institutional biases characteristic of each discrete intervention paradigm". "Two salient problematic areas within the current coordinated community response paradigm: Race and gender". "Family Violence Survey have shown that the majority of physical domestic violence in the United States is bidirectional in nature. These discrepancies mandate a need for more in-depth analysis of the phenomena of IPV outside of a rigid gender-based framework" (p. 241). "In the midst of the debate over batterer program effectiveness, several alternative approaches have been promoted…" (p. "The effectiveness of the predominant batterer programming has been under debate since its inception in the late 1970s".	-References to heterogeneity of 'batterers'. -References to treatment versus education.	-Broader implications of the criminal justice system's involvement. -Inherent assumptions and biases within IPV responses; What constitutes victim safety and offender accountability?

	"…The other side of the debate argues that the rejection of gender based, cognitive–behavioral batterer programs is shortsighted". "Throughout the study of batterer characteristics there has been reference to different "types" of batterers that may warrant different kinds of treatment or programming approaches"		
ASGW Best Practice Guidelines: An evaluation of the Duluth Model (Pender, 2012)	"To date, no evidence-based consensus exists regarding the most effective treatment for domestic violence perpetrators". "There appears to be a fundamental difference in the views of why domestic violence exists in today's society" (p. 221). Pender and Prichard (2009) stated ''psychoeducational groups are not intended to be reparative or have a treatment orientation''(p. 179; Pender, p. 222).	-Feminist thinking/rationalization of IPV as leading narrative.	
The Effectiveness of Intervention Programs for Perpetrators and Victims of Intimate Partner Violence Eckhardt, C. et al. (2013).	"Interventions for perpetrators showed equivocal results regarding their ability to lower the risk of IPV…" "There is no empirical basis for the centrality of Duluth-model program effectiveness, or even for specific elements of this model in predicting IPV cessation" "Most programs are grounded in a feminist analysis of IPV. From this perspective, the patriarchal nature of social arrangements and social institutions supports male domination of women…" …programs rely on a gender reeducation model rather than psychotherapeutic models "The majority of programs that respond to IPV presume that violence reduction is best achieved by exposing patriarchal attitudes and encouraging accountability".		
What do we mean by domestic violence? (Holmes et al., 2015).	"In 1987, I attended a conference. The conference provided a backdrop for a debate between two competing paradigms" (p. 198)		

	…"we began to question the one size- fits-all approach of our program…" (p. 201) "The second wave of feminism brought "wife battering" into our collective conscious ness, it is time to think more critically and have a more nuanced understanding of the different types of violence that sometimes occur in relationships". "Although the Duluth Model is sometimes simplistically used to describe a curriculum for use in groups for men who are abusive, it actually refers to a coordinated community response to end domestic violence" (p…).		-Need to re-conceptualize/re-define a Coordinated Community Response
Coker & Macquoid (2015) Alternative U.S Responses to Intimate Partner Violence	"the dominant U.S response to intimate partner violence is separation-focused, law-focused, and criminal-law focused" (p. 170). -"responses are based on the assumption that there is a universal experience of IPV, failing to recognize the ways in which structural inequalities increase risks and frame responses" (p. 170). "…much of the popular discourse and advocacy has been grounded in crime-control rhetoric and methods". "Years after the introduction of mandatory criminal policies, the reality too often is that domestic violence legal interventions become another tool of state control of poor men and women". "understanding IPV primarily as a criminal justice problem…deflects attention from state policies that create and deepend structural inequalities that help to create and maintain IPV" (p. 171). "The dominant responses to IPV are frequently grounded in the assumption that there is a universal risk for and experience of battering, regardless of race, class, or sexual orientation" (p. 171). "Critical treatment programs raise consciousness about the interlocking nature of systems of oppression (of race/class/gender/heterosexism) not only to bring about personal change, but also to foment collective action for social change"	-Structural inequalities as contributory factors to IPV. -Referencing dominant discourses, rhetoric and assumptions around IPV.	-Collective action for social change (coordinated community response).

A Survey of Domestic Violence Perpetrator Programs in the United States and Canada (Cannon et al., 2016).	"On the whole, outcome research suggests that these perpetrator treatment programs are only moderately successful in reducing recidivism among offenders" (p. 227). "…no one disputes the importance of women's advocacy groups in raising awareness about the problem of PA and advancing the needs of victims, their understanding of perpetrator programs specifically—and the characteristics, causes, and consequences of PA as a whole—is limited at best and reflects a particularly rigid ideology" (p. 228) "current programs are somewhat less likely to endorse a feminist or Duluth model and less rigidly wedded to a one-size-fits-all curriculum" (p. 255).		"One-size-fits-all"
Intimate Partner Violence and the Duluth Model: An examination of the Model and Recommendation for future research & practice. (Bohall, Bautista, Musson, 2016)	Supports and controversies of the Duluth Model. "…the Duluth Model, and group CBT as the most common interventions for batterers. In their review, all three interventions have minimal ability to break the cycle of violence" (p. 1013). "The Duluth Model favors the simplistic explanation of violence and the patriarchal view…This narrow focus of IPV does a disservice to perpetrators and victims" (p. 1032).	-Barriers impeding change because of persistent tensions.	
The Need for New Emphasis on Batterers Intervention Programs (Aaron & Beaulaurier, 2017)	"Research on BIPs also suggests that they have not been particularly effective at preventing recidivism". "A persistent tension exists between the objectives of rehabilitation and accountability among programs" (p. 426).		
Innovations in Interventions to Address Intimate Partner Violence. (Augusta-Scott, 2017)	"While men often desire power and control, many of them also value fairness and justice. Their values are often contradictory" (p. 194).		-Barriers impeding program re-imagination.
Power and Control: Radical feminism, state cooptation and intersectional queer theory in domestic violence praxis (Farr, 2019).	"The reality for most men is that they have been both powerful and powerless, oppressed and oppressive" (p. 195). "…feminism developed the analysis of domestic violence as the concepts of power and control…thereby shaping the understanding of violence across the political spectrum" (p. 61).		

	"…this has resulted in the entire anti-violence movement coming to life as a feminist orientation toward the oppression of women" (p. 66). "As a feminist epistemological praxis, this has resulted in the standard definition of domestic violence and the accompanying models of intervention" (p. 68).		
Emerging Treatment Models and Programs in Intimate Partner Violence Treatment (Wagers & Radatz, 2020).	"…potential philosophical and practical barriers that may impede and/or challenge forward movement towards evidence-based practices within treatment of IPV offender" (p. 204). "activists continue to work to bring about the recognition of IPV as a problem specific to oppression, inequality, and male dominance inherent in patriarchy" "…two predominant goals of the BWM: to keep victims safe and to hold offenders accountable". "IPV is much more complicated and multifaceted than simply addressing patriarchy (Hamel, 2020; Wagers, 2015). Additionally, for over 30 years there have been extensive and heated debates on the core assumptions of feminist theories" "While empirical research has shown IPV offenders to be diverse and heterogeneous, many IPV offenders are sentenced to attend "one-size-fits-all" programming that does not reflect the diverse needs IPV offenders may have"		-Victim safety and offender accountability.
Relationship Violence Perpetrator Intervention Programs: History and Models (Murphy et al., 2022)	"Early practice was surrounded by many controversies, including whether programs should be educational or therapeutic; structured or unstructured; and/or delivered by grassroots activists or mental health professionals" (p. 3388). "Roberts also discussed potential drawbacks of conducting RVIPs under the sponsorship of women's advocacy programs. In particular, to the degree that the advocacy programs view offenders as incapable of change, or as "no good," (p. 91). "A related controversy was whether these intervention programs should be labeled and framed as education or treatment. Consistent with a sociopolitical understanding of IPV, these proponents		

	referred to the work as education, and the material presented as curricula". "for some programs "Duluth" is more of a philosophy or belief system rather than a curriculum".		
Feminist Perspectives of Intimate Partner Violence and Abuse (IPV/A). Becker, Kafonek, Manzer (2022).	"Feminist explanations of IPV/A focus on the misuse and abuse of power and control by perpetrators" "IPV/A can be explained with biological, criminological, psychological, feminist, social learning, and ecological perspectives, to name a few". "In particular, women of color, lesbian feminists, third world feminists, and feminists that identify as members of other marginalized groups are critical of the tendency of prior eras to propose "one-size-fits-all" approaches to addressing IPV/A, for example, criminalizing IPV/A". "The first and second waves of feminism implicitly supported a standardized approach to resolving IPV/A across racial and class lines by centering gender as the focal issue of the movement". "Since the early 1970s, the feminist perspective has been one of the predominant theoretical models in the field of IPV/A - the core assumption within feminist models addressing IPV/A is men's power and control over women".		

Historical context of the Duluth Model

Before sharing findings regarding the strengths and critiques of the Duluth model, a brief history and understanding of the model is necessary. In 1980-1981 in Duluth Minnesota (USA), nine community and law enforcement agencies came together to form the Domestic Abuse Intervention Project (DAIP) which revolutionized responses to domestic assault. The city of Duluth Minnesota was the first to use coordinated community response which integrated support from various stakeholders such as local non-profit agencies, the shelter system, law enforcement, and the courts (judicial system) to support women fleeing violence. The DAIP was the first to

partner with law enforcement and the first to enact the mandatory arrest policy which forced police to lay criminal charges against anyone they suspected of committing an act of intimate partner violence, and attend group programming mandated by the courts to address abusive behavior and attitudes. The DAIP also created the Duluth Model, which remains the most widely utilized court-mandated group program that is attended by perpetrators who have charges relating to intimate partner violence (IPV). The Duluth Model revolutionized responses to IPV and is known as the first fully developed batterer intervention program (BIP), whose curriculum seeks to 'fix' IPV by re-educating men about their abusive behaviors, attitudes and tactics. Batterer intervention programs are more commonly referred to in Canada as partner assault response programs (PAR), but utilize the same principles, objectives, and curriculum as the Duluth Model. The primary goal of the DAIP was to cultivate a coordinated community response to domestic violence that would allow women who wanted to leave their abusers, to do so safely (Pence, 1997), and move partner assault from a private to public issue. The Duluth Model was the primary response to domestic violence, which, at the time of its conception, involved a 28-week, court mandated, psychoeducational group program for men found guilty of acts of intimate partner violence. The Duluth curriculum "first helps expose men to the behaviors associated with a constellation of abuse and violence tactics in what is referred to as the Power and Control Wheel" (Gondolf, 2007, p. 2). The Power and Control Wheel was developed by feminists in the 1980's as the foundational theoretical framework of the Duluth's curriculum. The Wheel focuses on 8 primary tactics and motivations behind men's propensity to abuse, which are discussed throughout the program (as seen in Image 1 below)

Image 1

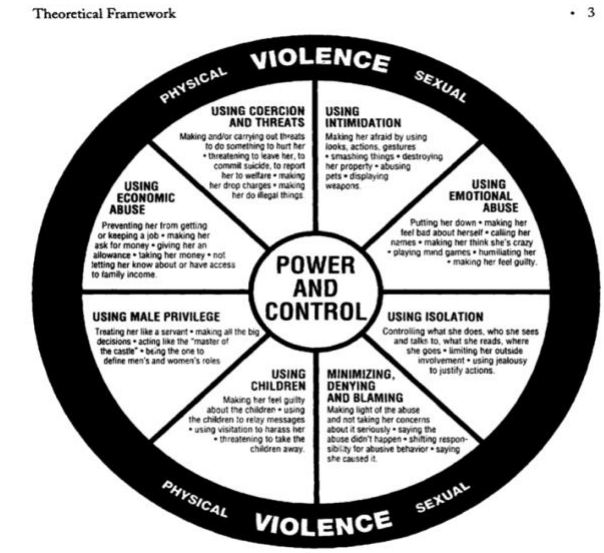

Figure 1.1 Power and Control Wheel.

(Pence & Paymar, 1993).

The goal of the Wheel attempts to challenge men's denial or minimization associated with the abusive behavior, change their beliefs and attitudes about violence, and develop alternative skills and approaches to violence. The courts mandated that men attend batterer intervention/partner assault response programs as part of their criminal conditions. The central objectives, goals, and principles of the DAIP and of the Duluth Model was to re-educate men, and challenge their beliefs about abusive behaviors which centered on their use of maintaining power and control. The two primary goals of the Duluth Model and subsequent BIP/PAR programs were, and continue to be, that of victim safety, and offender accountability.

Over the past 40 years, activists, clinical professionals, researchers, and scholars have "endeavored to study, understand, and prevent intimate partner violence" (Wagers & Radatz, 2020, p. 200). Much of the literature discusses the conception of batterer intervention programs (BIP)/partner assault response programs (PAR), with specific attention around the Duluth Model, and historical and current debates around what constitutes 'best practices' when engaging with

men who abuse. The purpose of my examination of the literature is to gain a better understanding about how feminist theories have contributed to, and underpin, the development of historical and current day approaches to partner assault response programs, examine how effective BIP/PAR programs are at accomplishing their intended goals and objectives, and gain a better understanding of the ways BIP/PAR programs have developed, or failed to develop, since their conception. Through my examination of existing literature, I will look at what researchers and scholars are saying about BIP/PAR programs, with specific focus on The Duluth Model. Through my examination, I will be provided with insights into how and why BIP/PAR programs were created, and if our perceived understanding and assumptions about perpetrators of intimate partner violence have created "philosophical and practical barriers" that "may impede forward movement towards evidence-based practices within treatment of IPV offenders" (Wagers & Radatz, 2020, p. 204).

Overview of themes within the literature

Within the literature, several authors take issue with the "ideologically narrowed view" or "rigid ideology" of the Duluth Model, claiming that it "distorts and limits other approaches to change" (Duttn & Corvo, 2007, p. 461), and has a limited understanding of the characteristics and causes of domestic violence (Cannon et al., 2016), and what constitutes victim safety and offender accountability. Throughout the articles, there is a consistent and specific mention and description of BIP/PAR programs as a "one-size-fits-all" approach, and the need to individualize and diversify their programs to be culturally and contextually relevant. Almost all articles refer to the Duluth model as being the unchallenged choice for IPV offenders and accuse its curriculum of being overly simplistic in the pursuit of 'victim safety' and 'offender accountability'. The articles do mention some of the strengths of the Duluth Model, yet overall,

there is an over-arching negative and pessimistic view of this widely used program. The articles illuminated a couple of additional points worth noting that may warrant more attention. That is, two of the articles make mention that the intended purpose and goal of the Duluth Model was more focused on advocating and creating a coordinated community response to domestic violence, and less on the program curriculum itself. Further, it invites us to examine how we historically, and currently, understand what a 'coordinated community response' looks like. Additionally, the articles discuss discrepancies and confusion around how to describe the Duluth Model. The Duluth Model makes claims that it is not meant to be therapeutic, but instead, is a re-education model for the goal of 'raising men's consciousness'. Broadly speaking, all the articles are in favor of, and discuss, alternative approaches that are being utilized and contributory factors of IPV that move beyond the tenants and "rigid" assumptions of the Duluth Model, but also allude to challenges relating to funding, and societal perceptions, in their implementation. A few of the articles make specific reference to the BIP/PAR programs and law enforcement responses being intended to support white, middle to upper class women, touch upon the negative impact that the involvement of the criminal justice system have on racialized and marginalized communities, and the need for culturally relevant program content. The following section will discuss the six main themes that emerged within the literature: strengths of the Duluth Model, critiques of the Duluth Model, alternative approaches to working with perpetrators of IPV, discrepancies surrounding the modality of the Duluth Model, notions of victim safety and offender accountability, and what is by 'coordinated community responses' to IPV.

Strengths of the Duluth Model

The Duluth Model is informed by a feminist, sociopolitical, power-and-control paradigm**,** based on the idea that domestic violence is a societal problem rooted in systemic gender inequality and power imbalances. Cannon et al (2016) supports the importance of the Duluth Model in raising men's consciousness about IPV and acknowledges the Model's contribution to ending DV. This included educating men on the risk factors associated with IPV.

While the strengths discussed in the literature are limited, a few of the articles do mention the strengths of the Duluth Model and note its important contribution in responding to domestic violence. Authors Barner and Carney (2011) state that "the Duluth Model in the mid 1980's was a unique intersection of the Battered Women's Movement, the network of women's shelters requiring a collaborative apparatus in order to secure needed funding, and that of the criminal justice system" (p. 237). Bennett and Williams (2001) acknowledge that "BIP's play an important practical role in violence prevention when combined with all other aspects of community responsiveness to violence" (Barner & Carney, 2011, p. 240). Authors Cannon et al (2016) acknowledge the importance of BIP/PAR programs in "raising awareness about the problem of partner assault" and "advancing the needs of victims" (p. 228). Wagers & Radatz (2020) state that Domestic Abuse Intervention Program and the Duluth Model "framed solutions for IPV within a legal context" which provided protections to victims and punishment for offenders (p. 204). One of the strengths noted about the Duluth Model is its collaboration with law enforcement and the criminal justice system. The intended purpose of legal involvement was to provide victims with an increased sense of safety, an increased perception of offender accountability, and an acknowledgement by the justice system that IPV is a serious public, widespread issue. Gondolf (2007) supports basic tenants of the Duluth Model by stating that

gender and patriarchal dynamics are a primary cause for intimate partner violence, and not an "ideological exaggeration" (p. 2). He notes that the curriculum of the Duluth Model, specificially, the Power and Control Wheel, "helps expose the behaviors associated with a constellation of abuse and violence", and that it "logically attempts to challenge the denial or minimization associated with abusive behavior" (p. 3). Gondolf (2007) challenges the criticisms of the Duluth Model put forth by authors Dutton and Corvo (2006) and states that "there is evidence that the fundamentals of the Duluth Model have theoretical and research substantiation" (p. 9). Adams (2003) notes a strength of the Duluth Model in that it utilizes a variety of techniques to confront abusive behavior such as group education, various interactive exercises, feedback components, discussion sessions, self-evaluations, role-plays, skill training, and homework (p. 6).

An interesting theme that emerged only in four articles was the way in which they discussed the strengths of the Duluth Model. The articles that commended the DAIP and the Duluth Model spoke about how they revolutionized coordinated community supports and responses to domestic violence, and how their development moved domestic violence from a private to public matter. This pulls the focus to a broader appreciation of the program for bringing stakeholders together to acknowledge the seriousness of IPV. Yet, they remained critical of the curriculum itself. Holmes et al (2015) offers that although the Duluth Model is used to describe a curriculum, "it actually refers to a coordinated community response to end domestic violence, of which group programming for men form only one part" (p. 203). While the strengths of the Duluth Model are acknowledged, there is debate as to in what ways has it hindered or impeded 'progress' when reimagining alternatives.

Evolution: Historical analysis of Duluth Model

Out of the 23 articles, 10 of them provide an overview of characteristics of batterer programs, a historical understanding of the Duluth Model, and provide a fairly consistent description about its conception, and 12 articles voice criticisms around the why we struggle to evolve past the Models theoretical framework and perspectives. Three articles acknowledge the importance of second wave feminists and advocates in creating the Duluth Model intervention, and in establishing the first collaborative, coordinated, community response to intimate partner violence which involved the involvement of law enforcement, and the criminal justice system. However, 15 articles discuss how we remain tied to the Duluth Model despite contraindicated evidence, alternatives, perspectives and understandings about the complexity of intimate partner violence. Further, 4 articles briefly (but specifically) mention how second wave feminism was dominated by, and intended to support, the objectives of white, upper-middle class women, but only 2 articles go deeper into discussing how a coordinated community response, and the Duluth curriculum itself, impacts racialized identities.

While the article by Austin & Dankwort (1999) does not specifically mention the Duluth Model, they do open the article by stating that the conception of batterer intervention programs were developed based on "prevailing views of the battered women's movement about the causes of battering" and that interventions "flowed from these assumptions" (p. 153). The assumptions of second wave feminism and the battered women's movement being that domestic violence is "chiefly a manifestation of patriarchy" (p. 153), gender inequality, and a man's need to maintain power and control. This understanding "required intervention to be focused on intentional abuse of power and control over their partners" (p. 153). What the authors state as a concern is "the experiential knowledge of the battered women's movement constitutes the very foundation of all

accumulated information in the field" (Austin & Dankwort, 1999, p. 167). Pender (2012) open their article by providing a description of the Duluth model as being a 28-week long psychoeducational group for men who commit acts of domestic violence, composed of eight core themes based on men's use of power and control known as the iconic Power and Control Wheel, which still dominates the content of BIP/PAR programs in the United States and in Canada today. Adams (2003) states that "the majority of batterer intervention programs subscribe to the so-called 'power and control' model of battering, which is primarily informed by sociological and feminist theories" (p. 6). Wagers and Radatz (2020) discuss the importance of understanding the historical context of IPV policies, as "the BWM [battered women's movement] and feminist scholarship has been instrumental in shaping the goals, philosophy, and current criminal justice interventions and treatment models" for perpetrators of IPV (Eckhardt et al., 2013; p. 205). The authors state that the historical and political context of IPV emerged from the 1970's battered women's movement, which "situated IPV within the unequal power relations between men and women, created by dominate social status and privilege men have over women" (p. 204). And so, naturally, the goals of the battered women's movement of the 1970's share the same goals as the Duluth Model**;** "to keep victims safe and to hold offenders accountable" (p. 204). Thus, laws, policies and IPV interventions that respond to IPV "are based upon the feminist perspective" and "male behavioral within a patriarchal society" (p. 205).

Dutton and Corvo (2006) take a more critical approach to the conception and evolution of the Duluth Model. The article opens by stating how the sole cause of domestic violence, as defined by second wave feminist activists, is patriarchy, and the need for men to dominate women. Dutton and Corvo (2006) ground their article in a historical critique of the Duluth Model, stating how it was built on feminist proponents – ones that "[maintain] the conviction

that patriarchy is the cause of IPV" (p. 465) and discuss the dangers of subscribing solely to this "belief perseverance"; an issue which is constructed on "liberal and radical feminist framing" (Dutton & Corvo, 2006, p. 465). Aaron & Beaulaurier (2017) touch on the history of the Domestic Abuse Intervention Project (DAIP) and the Duluth Model, stating that "battered women advocates were instrumental in the development of the DAIP approach, which reflects *their view* of male attitudes and beliefs towards women as central to the problem" (p. 426). Within the article by Aaron and Beaulaurier, researcher and scholar Graham-Kevan (2007) notes concerns about the second wave feminist influence on batterer intervention programs, stating that the theoretical assumptions of the feminist model, specifically, the Duluth Model, carries with it "superficial logic" (p. 426) that does not continue to apply to the changing contextual climate of this issue. It is worth noting that throughout all the articles, there is a lack of discussion around racialized scholarship about IPV, and how racialized and intersecting identities are affected by a program that was historically built by white women, for white women.

Critiques of The Duluth Model; 1980-2022

The articles discuss several on-going debates, criticisms, issues, and points of contention with respect to BIP/PAR interventions, specifically the Duluth Model, that date back to the program's inception in 1980.

i. Causes of domestic violence: Competing Paradigms

One major theme and debate that is illuminated within the literature is the competing views surrounding the causes of domestic violence, which have been on-going and articulated in the literature since the battered women's movement in the 1970s. From the 23 articles, 10 discuss the on-going debate between two dominant competing paradigms to explain causes of domestic violence, and touch on how these early debates have shaped interventions that respond

to this issue. In the 2015 article by Holmes et al titled, *What do we mean by domestic violence?*, he discusses his professional trajectory running a partner assault response program for male perpetrators of intimate partner violence in Ottawa for 30 years. Holmes recalls that in 1987, he attended a conference in Baltimore USA which was sponsored by a domestic violence women's shelter to discuss how interventions and programs should be responding to IPV. Holmes stated that this environment "provided a backdrop for a debate between two competing paradigms" (p. 197). There were those who favored a therapeutic approach which focused on the "intra-psychic lives of men", and, positioned against this paradigm, was one articulated by Ellen Pence, Michael Paymar and Barbara Hart, the creators of the Duluth Model, who argued that "violence against women was individually willed", "strategic", and required an educational feminist framework that seeks to change the beliefs and attitudes of men (p. 198). Holmes stated that the consensus at the conference was moving forward, interventions with men were to be informed by the latter paradigm; one that went against a therapeutic approach which dismissed contributory factors and theories that stood outside gendered explanations for domestic violence.

The articles repeatedly discuss how pro-feminist organizations and grassroots advocacy groups from the battered women's movement were the leaders in early responses to intimate partner violence such as the Duluth Model, and thus, early understandings about the causes of domestic violence were shaped by these feminist ideologies, explanations and perspectives. The articles touch on how the anti-violence political movements in the 1960's-1970's emanated primarily because of the efforts of radical and liberal feminist activists and grassroots organizations fighting against women's oppression within the domestic sphere. The anti-rape movement in the 1960's gave rise to the 1970's battered women's movement, both of which were "inseparable from the broader radical feminist movement" for social change (Farr, 2019).

Feminist organizations and battered women's groups gained tremendous support during this time, and they began emphasizing and re-framing "the wife beating problem" (Tierney, 1982) as a public and systemic issue rooted in patriarchy, and a man's desire to maintain power and control over his partner. By the end of the 1970's within the United States, efforts of feminists and women's organizations resulted in the development of approximately 250 domestic violence women's shelters; the first of which started in Duluth Minnesota, where the Duluth Model was developed.

Austin & Dankwort (1999) state that during the time when the Duluth model was gaining legitimacy in the 1980's, there were competing views on the causes of battering, which influenced how intimate partner violence was, and remains, conceptualized. Pender (2012) echoes this sentiment in their article, stating that "there appears to be a fundamental difference in the views of why domestic violence exists" (p. 222); those that subscribe to feminist rationalizations of power, control, and patriarchy, and those who believe that causes of IPV encompass a broad range of cultural, situational, physio-social, and economic contributing factors, that go beyond (and even exclude) power and control, which are more likely to influence IPV. As stated in the article by Pender (2012), "the Duluth Model stated that domestic violence is a socialized [and intentional] act in which men are taught to use power and control, rather than from underlying psychological problems, trauma, or intergenerational patterns of violence" (p. 222). The perception and experiences of predominately white radical and liberal feminists were the guiding force behind early understandings of domestic violence; one that pointed to patriarchy and the subjugation of women as the universal cause, one that fell suspectable to essentializing the experiences of all women. This is also mentioned by Austin and Dankwort (1999) in their article, that "feminist perspectives about the causes of domestic violence were

understood "solely as a result of patriarchy, misogyny, and sexist attitudes" (p. 153), motivated by a desire of the abuser to use power to control their victim, and reinforce "male prerogatives" (Dobash & Dobash; Adams, 2003, p. 6). One of the central tenants of radical feminism at this time was to abolish the subjugation of women within a patriarchal society, and thus, the struggle between men and women became the defining feature and theory behind why domestic violence exists (Farr, 2019) and "the core of feminist praxis" (Hall, 2015, p. 67). As stated by Farr (2019), feminist constructions of domestic violence have "resulted in the entire anti-violence movement coming to life" (p. 66) – a political movement meant to serve "predominately white women with socioeconomic status in the upper-to-middle class range" (Bograd, 2007; p. 240), and upheld a "unidirectional, gendered pattern of domestic violence" (p. 241). White and wealthier dominant narratives and assumptions set the tone regarding the causes of domestic violence – narratives that had an indelible impact on the responses to this violence. Assumptions that believe all men are privileged in the same ways, and that all men abuse for the same reasons; that is, men's violence stems from their need to maintain dominance. Barner & Carney (2011) echo the origin of our early understandings of domestic violence and state that the women's shelter movement and the battered women's movement were the catalyst to the development of the historical and current responses to IPV; specifically through the development and implementation of the most widely used intervention framework, The Duluth Model, the criminalization of IPV, and to broader societal coordinated community responses which involved the criminal justice system and law enforcement.

Eleven of the articles state that this leading paradigm, developed by feminist movements and women's activists, remains the "unchallenged treatment choice" (Babcock, Green & Robie, 2004, p. 1025) in the face of "extensive contradictory evaluation findings" (Dutton & Corvo,

2006). Feminist understandings of violence and The Duluth Model's Power and Control Wheel was, and remains, foundational to how we conceptualize the causes of intimate partner violence. Cannon et al (2016) authors state that "the risk factors most correlated with IPV include low socioeconomic status, poor education, having experienced childhood abuse, current abuse of drugs and alcohol, and having characteristics of an aggressive personality or personality disorders" (p. 230). Further, "research indicating that the need to dominate and control one's partner, widely assumed to be the major driving motive for perpetration of partner assault, is less significant than other motives" (p. 230). The vast majority of the articles share a common concern about the Duluth Model and about our beliefs about why men abuse which is well articulated by Dutton & Corvo (2006). That is, "the assumptions embedded in the Duluth Model have been so often repeated and so widely assumed that they seem to, or have become, true/truth" (p. 465). In their review of the Duluth Model, Bohall, Bautista & Musson (2016) also echo less than desirable opinions about the model, stating that "the Duluth Model exhibits a minimal understanding of violence as well as IPV" (p. 1032).

Importantly, Holmes (2015) raises questions about the efficacy of the power and control model, as many participants who attended the PAR program stated they had no desire to impose power over their partners (p. 199). In his article, Holmes (2015) quotes a passage by Pence (one of the creators of the Duluth Model) and Shepard written in 2000, who echoed Holmes' apprehensions around subscribing to a specific generalization and rationalization of IPV centered on power and control. Pence and Shepard state:

> "He does it for the power, he does it for control, he does it because he can – these were the jingles that, in our opinion, said all there was to say…but, we created a conceptual framework that, in fact, did not fit with the lived experiences of many of the men we were working with…I found that many of the men did not seem to articulate a desire for power over a partner…Eventually, we realized that *we were finding what we had pre-determined to find"* (emphasis added; p. 199).

Men's need to maintain power and control as causal factors for intimate partner violence is certainly not without merit or validity, but this quote by the creators of the Duluth Model themselves does allude to an implicit bias and narrow scope on their part. Further, Holmes noted that during program facilitation, the participants were "not a homogenous group" (p. 199) and argued that it cannot be assumed that that all men engage in acts of domestic violence as a way to assert power and control over their partners, nor can it be assumed that all men experience or have access to power and control in the same ways. In his article titled *Innovations in Interventions to Address Intimate Partner Violence*, Todd Augusta-Scott builds on Holmes' arguments asserting that "while men often desire power and control, many of them also value fairness and justice. Their values are often contradictory" (2017, p. 195). The competing paradigms surrounding the causes of domestic violence is foundational to how we have historically, and continue to, think about this issue, how we frame "solutions", and in how we engage with perpetrators.

ii The Duluth Model. A "one-size-fits-all" program

Throughout the articles, there is a consistent and specific mention and critique of the Duluth Model being a program that subscribes to a "one-size-fits-all" approach. Out of the 20 articles, 9 use the phrase "one-size-fits-all" when referencing and describing the Duluth Model, and 5 use similar words to express these sentiments to the 'one-size-fits-all' criticism. These include a need to "tailor interventions to different batterer types and situations" (Davis & Taylor, 1999), "tailoring their treatments" (Babcock, Green & Robie, 2004), "over-simplified" and "narrow minded" (Dutton & Corvo, 2006), "blind to the variability of needs and contexts of participants" (Cluss & Bodea, 2011), and "limited in scope" (Pender, 2012). These descriptions add specificity into the ways in which the authors see the Duluth Model as reflecting a 'one-size-

fits-all' label, with an "increasing sentiment that a 'one-size-fits-all' approach to batterer treatment fails to recognize the diversity of batterers" (Healey, 1997, p. 71).

The articles illustrate and allude to how our assumptions about the causes of IPV are mirrored in the BIP/PAR program curriculum and within institutional responses. In their article, Cluss & Bodea (2011) state how "theoretical approaches informing BIPs are based less on empirical premises" and more so on "ideological positions" (p. 18). Barner & Carney (2011) echo this sentiment and state that coordinated community responses and the women's movement have "retained certain institutional biases" which reflect feminist intervention paradigms. Wagers & Radatz (2020) also note that by "focusing on and prioritizing the criminal justice system, a pervasive culture exists" – Meaning, one person is seen as a victim deserving of support, and the other is seen as a villain deserving of only punishment (p. 212).

Ten articles suggest several alternative interventions that have been proven to be more effective than the Duluth Model's "one-size-fits-all" approach. Yet, despite efficacy in favor of other approaches, the articles argue for, and are critical of, the need to continue promoting interventions that uphold a feminist, "ideologically narrow view of domestic violence" (Dutton & Corvo, 2006, p. 261). Further, that the "ideologically narrowed view of the Duluth Model distorts and limits other approaches to change" and has also "imbed[ed] its ideological assumptions into law enforcement" (Dutton & Corvo, 2006, p. 461), which has negative impacts and consequences. Austin and Dankwort (1999) describe the Duluth Model as a "pro-feminist developed program" and discuss a few main challenges with a program that is developed based solely on a specific feminist rationalization for IPV. One of these challenges is that a program developed from a 'pro-feminist' lens limits intervention possibilities and does not accurately address other contributory factors beyond power and control that could more effectively support

offenders and victims. Another element of a 'one-size-fits-all' criticism is the 'intended audience' of the Duluth Model. Three of the articles specifically mention the 'audience' or demographic that BIP/PAR programs were initially intended for, which is part of the criticisms embedded in the 'one-size-fits-all' program. In the global North, feminist advocacy for battered women in the 1970s and 1980s was dominated "by white middle- and upper-class women and tended to focus on patriarchy as the root—and often the sole—cause of violence against women" (Hall, 2015, p. 2). Becker et al (2022) state that feminist perspectives have continued to evolve and expanded to include "more nuanced understandings of abuse" (p. 2230), and yet it has been argued that this evolution is minimal with respect to BIP/PAR program curriculums.

Dutton and Corvo (2006) are outward and vocal in their rejection of the Duluth Model, stating that despite contradictory evaluation findings, a "one-size-fits-all approach based on "a contraindicated political model of male domination prevails" (p. 459). Authors Barney & Carney (2011) also make reference to this stance, and state that we should be exploring new approaches that "go beyond a one-size-fits-all approach" (p. 240) to reflect the various causes of battering. Adams (2003) states that batterer programs have been developed based on the "Power and Control mode of battering" founded by the Duluth Model, and yet "there may be additional reasons beyond power and control which contribute to men's propensity to abuse" (p. 6). In the 2020 review of BIP/PAR programs in both a Canadian and US context, Wagers & Radatz (2020) refer to the lack of empirical research in support of the Duluth Model, and that this same research has "shown IPV offenders to be diverse and heterogeneous" (p. 211). Part of the criticism behind the 'one-size-fits-all' of the Duluth Model is that offenders are mandated to attend a program that does not reflect their diversity, different types of 'battering', cultural or racial factors, or individual and/or contextual reasons that may contribute to their use of violence. A central and

issue concern that's discussed within the articles is the idea that "heterogeneity" is being reduced by the "monolithic view[s] maintained by the Duluth Model" (Dutton & Corvo, 2006, p.456). The criticisms and accusations about the Duluth Model being 'one-size-fits-all' program is deeply connected to on-going debates and differing perspectives about the causes of domestic abuse, but also alludes to our societal punitive or punishing approach to perpetrators of IPV. In the article by Barner & Carney (2011), they state that the Duluth Model's Power and Control Wheel ignores a "constellation of cognitive or emotional triggers" (p. 238) and experiences of men, and places emphasis on punitive responses to the actions of perpetrators. Dutton and Corvo (2006) accuse the curriculum of the Duluth Model as viewing every man convicted "as equivalent to the worst man without gradations or nuance" (p. 464). Other scholars' criticisms of the Duluth Model being a 'one-size-fits-all' include those of Carden (1994) and Carney & Buttell (2006) who assert that many factors need to be taken into consideration when choosing a treatment modality. They state that it's "imperative that providers assess individual needs to obtain a clear picture, and understand each individual's history, their potential for violence, and readiness for treatment" (Pender, 2012, p. 221).

iii The "effectiveness" of BIP/PAR programs

Given the ambiguous support for BIP/PAR programs outlined in the literature, paired with the fact that they are the most widely used response to domestic violence, one of my goals in analyzing the articles was to gain a better understanding about what researchers are saying regarding the "effectiveness" of these programs. Four articles conducted meta-analysis (or similar types of research), and the rest of the articles reflect a spectrum of evidence that evaluates existing literature and research that has been done regarding the efficacy batterer intervention programs, with specific mention about the Duluth Model. What is interesting to note is a double

critique was a consistent theme within the articles. Firstly, the articles critiqued the 'rigor', accuracy and lack of empirically supported evidence generally within the studies that evaluated BIP/PAR programs. Four of the articles discussed the difference between empirical, quasi and experimental design, with differing opinions as to which option is best suited to study BIP/PAR program outcomes. The articles touch upon several challenges that come with studying BIP/PAR program 'effectiveness', and how prior reviews have noted "difficulties in arriving at clear and unequivocal conclusions" regarding BIP/PAR effectiveness" (Eckhardt et al., 2013, p. 199). As stated by Murphy & Ting (2010) "psychosocial interventions for perpetrators of IPV are widely available, yet it has proven very difficult for researchers to find conclusive evidence regarding the efficacy of these interventions" (p. 2). Some of these difficulties include that different types of research analysis can yield mixed/unreliable results, generalization of findings, participant recidivism and attrition rates, the definition of what constitutes completion of treatment (Murphy & Ting, 2010, p. 31). Further, researchers have noted inconsistencies in definitions and monitoring of the active components of interventions, and "limitations in the breadth of clinical outcomes assessed and the methods used to assess them" (Eckhardt et al., 2013). Despite the lack of confidence in the validity of the research that evaluates BIP/PAR, the second critique discussed in the literature is with respect to weak to moderate evidence to support the wide use of BIP/PAR programs, with specific mention about the Duluth Model. Murphy and Ting (2010) state that "the least favorable conclusion is that IPV interventions have no significant effect in reducing partner violence" (p. 33). However, they go on to state that "reviews and meta-analysis of IPV intervention research to date indicate that these programs have modest efficacy, at best, in reducing partner violence" (p. 40). The articles discuss how batterer intervention programs have been around since the late 1970's, and "the debate as to the effectiveness of interventions with

perpetrators of IPV has continued unabated for two decades" (Barner & Carney, 2011, p. 240). In a 2011 U.S report and critical review of BIP programs conducted by Cluss and Bodea, they state that the "overarching observation" was that "the more rigorous the methodology of evaluation, the less encouraging their findings" with respect to program success (p. 10). Although there is no shortage of studies that have evaluated BIP programs, approximately half the authors have criticized the quality of research being done to make any definitive conclusions. Barner and Carney (2011) state that most literature lacks empirically supported evidence and "inconclusive data on effectiveness of mandated treatment modalities" (p. 242). This is echoed by Pender (2012) who states that "to date, no evidence-based consensus exists regarding the most effective treatment for domestic violence perpetrators (p. 218). Despite criticisms surrounding the reliability and rigor of research methods used to analyze these programs, out of 23 articles, 14 articles express consistently pessimistic and less than desirable views about their impact. I think it's worth questioning what constitutes 'success' or 'effectiveness' with respect to BIP/PAR programs. Ten of the articles discuss how program success rate is often based off high or low recidivism post program completion, and on how many men actually complete the program. The most informative of the articles in my review that discussed the effectiveness of 'batterer interventions' was a meta-analytic review of batterer intervention programs conducted by Babcock, Green, and Robie (2004) who reviewed the findings from 22 studies that evaluated the "treatment efficacy for domestically violent males" in the United States. The findings, which tested the impact of the Duluth Model, cognitive behavioral therapy, and additional types of interventions suggested that "overall…current interventions have a minimal impact of reducing recidivism beyond the effect of being arrested" (p. 1023). Included in their analysis was a particularly noteworthy quote by researchers Levesque and Gelles (1998), who reviewed 17

batterer intervention programs from the time of their conception in 1981 until 1997. Levesque and Gelles concluded that “batterer interventions work a little, probably” (Babcock et al, 2004, p. 1025). However, Babcock et al also concluded that “results showing a small effect of treatment on violence abstinence do not imply we should [completely] abandon our current battering programs” (p. 1048). A 2006 study on BIP program effectiveness by Eckhardt et al stated that “the most widely adopted BIP intervention model has little empirical justification to support this dominance” (p. 369) BIP/PAR programs were designed to "provide an intervention that might actually change perpetrators’ behavior for the long term and prevent future abuse from occurring". The article goes on to say "available data concerning the effectiveness of such programs in actually accomplishing this goal are rather discouraging" (Eckhardt et al., 2006, p. 372). Further, the authors offer a noteworthy point about BIP research. That being, “it is an area where theoretical/ideological concerns have largely outstripped the importance of empirical evidence…state standards governing BIP content appear to have been formulated largely on the basis of loyalty to a particular explanatory model” rather than “on a careful examination of empirical support” (p. 379). A lack of confidence in program effectiveness was also echoed by the study conducted by Lilienfeld (2007) who noted that “BIP’s are in wide usage despite minimal effectiveness research” (p. 199), and the consensus is that BIP/PAR programs for perpetrators show equivocal results. While a few authors note there is some research to suggest that perpetrator programs are “moderately successful in reducing recidivism” (Cannon, Hamel, Buttell & Ferreira, 2016, p. 227), the effects of interventions for IPV perpetrators are “far weaker than we would like” (Murphy & Ting, 2010). In a 2020 article by Wagner & Radatz, they state that “it is generally agreed that incidence rates for IPV have not significantly declined over the

past 40 years" (p. 205), leading us to question the 'effectiveness' or impact of BIP/PAR programs.

The modality of the Duluth Model; Education versus treatment/therapy

An interesting on-going theme that was present throughout the literature was surrounding the language used to describe the intervention of the Duluth Model. Many of articles discuss a lack of clarity around how The Duluth Model intervention is described, as it tends to be referenced in a number of different ways. In the literature, the terms cognitive behavioral therapy and psychoeducation are used interchangeably when describing the Duluth Model, and this interchangeable nature is also a topic of confusion and criticism. As stated by the creators Pence and Paymar (1993), "in 1984, based on group interviews with women attending educational classes offered by the Duluth battered women's shelter, we began developing a framework for describing the behavior of men who physically and emotionally abuse their partners. Challenging the assumptions about why women stay with men who beat them, more than 200 battered women in Duluth who participated in 30 educational sessions sponsored by the shelter designed the Power and Control Wheel which depicts the primary abusive behaviors experienced by women living with men who batter" (p. 2). The Duluth Model is defined as a gender-based, conscious raising, psychoeducational/re-educational group counselling for men who have been charged with domestic related offences, mandated by the courts to attend programming. The literature discusses on-going debates as to whether the Duluth Model defines itself as using educational or therapeutic intervention modalities. This is worth noting, as the way the Duluth Model is described impacts our perceptions of perpetrators of intimate partner violence and impacts our responses to their behaviors.

In an article written by Ellen Pence, one of the creators of the Duluth Model, Pence outwardly states what the Duluth Model is *not*, and goes onto say that "it is not a batterers' treatment program" (p. 19). Pence states that the priority of the Duluth Model is not therapy, it is not meant to be reparative, and that the curriculum is meant to re-educate men to help them change their abusive beliefs and attitudes. The word "conscious-raising" is mentioned in several articles to describe the Model's re-education intervention approach. In their review of the Duluth Model, authors Babcock, Green and Robie (2004) state that the Duluth Model "does not consider itself to be therapy" (p. 1025), and that the intervention is a psychoeducational, 'conscious raising' group program that exposes men's misogynist thoughts and attitudes. Babcock et al (2004) state that "intervention labels are often misleading" (p. 1026), as the Duluth Model utilizes cognitive behavioral therapies (CBT) and notes how CBT and re-educational types of intervention are used interchangeably throughout the literature when describing the model. Barner & Carney (2011) note that "several studies have debated the distinctions between the predominant Duluth psycho-educational model of behavioral intervention and the rise of cognitive-behavioral therapy (CBT) for perpetrators of IPV" (p. 239). Cognitive behavioral therapy helps individuals to "understand their current ways of thinking and behaving by equipping them with the tools to change their maladaptive cognitive and behavioural patterns" (Fenn & Byrne, 2013, p. 578). Further, CBT "explores the links between thoughts, emotions and behaviour" and "aims to "alleviate distress by helping patients to develop more adaptive cognitions and behaviours" (p. 578). The description of CBT and that of the Duluth Model share similar frameworks, goals, and approaches, making it difficult to differentiate between the two. Dutton & Corvo (2009) echo the confusion around how the Duluth Model is described and views itself, stating that "the Duluth Model is, by design, not therapeutic, does not want to be seen as

therapeutic" (p. 240), and yet makes claims to utilize CBT-based interventions. Austin & Dankwort (1999) acknowledge that prevailing views and assumptions about the causes of IPV has informed our responses to it. They state that the Duluth Model describes itself as a psychoeducational model that focuses on re-educating men, as opposed to providing them with therapy, and "restricts other modes of intervention" (p. 153), and yet, is referred to in the literature as "a gender-based, cognitive-behavioral approach to counselling and/or educating men arrested for domestic violence to expose their behaviors" (Gondolf, 2007, p. 4). The Duluth Model uses the language of "batterer accountability strategies" to describe its intervention, and is careful not to use the word treatment. Even more interesting is that the creators of the Model believed that 'treatment' implies there is something 'wrong' with the offender, which opens up the possibility that the act of violence is not the offender's fault. One of the central tenants of the Duluth Model is offender accountability, and if men's violence is in any way, framed as being out of their control, and thus, in need of treatment, this way of thinking about the actions of perpetrators goes against the central goal of the Duluth Model; for men to take accountability for their actions. In a 2012 article written by Pender titled *ASGW Best Practice Guidelines: An Evaluation of the Duluth Model,* they state that the Duluth Model defines itself as a psychoeducational, and this distinction between being psychoeducational is important, as "psychoeducational groups are not intended to be reparative or have treatment orientation" (p. 222). In the article by Eckhardt et al (2013), their study on the effectiveness of batterer intervention programs revealed that the majority of programs that respond to intimate partner violence "presume that violence reduction is best achieved by exposing patriarchal attitudes, and encouraging accountability" (p. 198), but also that most programs tend to be a hybrid of re-education and cognitive behavioral methods. Murphy and colleagues (2022) offered an

interesting way of how we have come to frame the "therapeutic versus psychoeducational dichotomy" to intervention (p. 3391), that is, deciding on a re-educational or psychoeducational intervention approach is "consistent with sociopolitical understandings of IPV" (p. 3391). This way of thinking about BIP/PAR intervention approaches speaks to how they are informed more by philosophical and ideological tenets, than scientific or "intra-psychic lives of men" (Holmes et al., 2015, p. 198). Gondolf (2007) states that the Duluth Model "identifies itself as a cognitive behavioral program" (p. 4), and that "Duluth counselling and CBT are one in the same, or at least substantially overlap" (p. 9). It seems as though there is a widespread discrepancy on the language and terms used to define the Duluth Model. Some scholars use psychoeducation methods and cognitive behavioral therapy interchangeably, and some are pointed in the distinction of intervention modalities.

Murphy et al (2022) states how "early practice was surrounded by many controversies", including "whether programs should be educational or therapeutic; delivered by grassroots activists, or mental health professionals" (p. 3388). This statement by Murphy and colleagues clearly articulates not only how this debate informs our most common method of intervention but is also connected to larger dominant narratives that inform what we believe to be the causes of IPV. Meaning, utilizing a psycho-educational, conscious raising model of intervention leaves us suspectable to a limited, over-simplified, and potentially harmful feminist understanding of IPV. Subscribing to a therapeutic modality or understanding of IPV may imply that we are excusing men's abusive behaviors, and see these acts as being outside of one's control.

Murphy and colleagues also bring up an interesting thought about how to define the intervention of Duluth Model. They state that the model is "more of a philosophy or belief system rather than a curriculum" (2022, p. 3399). This is another way in which the Duluth Model is conceptualized

by scholars that doesn't tie itself to either therapeutic or educational approaches, but, as the writers state, a belief system. Authors have noted that the Duluth Model is more than a program that responds to perpetrators of IPV, but that it was designed to stand for a broader systemic response to domestic violence, and a "way of doing legal advocacy" (Pence, 1993, p. 19). This description takes the focus off the Duluth curriculum and invites us to consider how else we could conceptualize a "broader systemic response" to domestic violence. Since cognitive behavioral therapy (CBT) is a psychological intervention and form a therapy, it raises some interesting conflicting and contradictory information and interpretations about the how the model is understood, and the concerns around the implications of ascribing certain labels.

Alternative approaches

Half of the articles discuss various alternatives to 'traditional', feminist, psychoeducational forms of intervention that have been proven to be more, or at least as 'effective' as the Duluth Model. While not a comprehensive list, the articles mention several alternative approaches such as emotional focused therapies, psychodynamic treatment for attachment disorders, diversified programming for batterer types, motivational techniques addressing readiness to change, specialized counselling for racialized men, culturally sensitive modalities, and couples counselling to address mutual/bi-lateral violence for couples who wish to stay together (Gondolf, 2011). The literature suggests that alternative approaches should take into consideration "neurological, psychological, interpersonal, situational, socio-economic, and cultural influences" (Dutton & Corvo, 2006). Dutton and Golant (1997) found that perpetrators of domestic violence present with an array of personality profiles that warrant multidimensional treatment rather than the traditional modality of group intervention" (Pender, 2012), some of this includes understanding the individual history, trauma, and readiness for 'treatment'. Other

directions that have shown promise in the research for improving treatment efficacy include "targeting treatments to specific subsamples, such as different ethnic minority groups, batterers who are chemically dependent, those at different motivational stages" (Cluss & Bodea, 2011). There is repeated reference to addressing different "types" of batterers, also referred to as a "batterer typology" which posits that interventions and treatment approaches should be tailored to different batterer types, and/or to accommodate "sociocultural differences such as poverty [and/or] ethnicity" (Davis & Taylor, 1999, p. 71). In 1995, scholar Michael Johnson stated that "we need to distinguish among different types of DV perpetrators and tailor our interventions". Scholars Aaron & Beaulaurier (2017) echo the need to tailor interventions stating that a "typology of violence is required", as domestic violence is not a "unitary phenomenon" (p. 428). Other approaches that are advocated for are the use of individual therapy that focuses on attachment, understanding childhood experiences and trauma, and exploring the link between rejection, shame and abuse, and exploring bidirectional violence through couples counselling (p. 429). The articles discuss how scholars and researchers have questioned whether feminist 'traditional' approaches "sufficiently address the concerns of individuals with marginalized and disenfranchised social identities (Murphy, Rosenbaum, Hamberger, 2022; Aymer 2011; Waller 2016). Interventions that are dominated by the idea that gender is the main source of IPV are short-sighted and "insensitive to the lived experience of men who themselves face discrimination, social inequality, and race-related stress" (p. 3408/3388). Gondolf and Williams (2001) support culturally focused counseling, which includes "a curriculum that identifies specific cultural topics, counselors that [can] respond to emergent cultural issues (Murphy, Rosenbaum, Hamberger, 2022; p. 283). Six of the articles mention how race and culture can uniquely impact a man's "sense of manhood, their relationships with women, views of women,

experiences of violence, prejudice, and discrimination" (Murphy, Rosenbaum, Hamberger, 2022, p. 3408), and advocate for cultural and racial sensitivities to program curriculum. This involves going beyond simply translating a program in multiple languages, which can be seen as a tokenistic way of acknowledging these differences and their implications.

An important mention in the literature is a funding barrier to utilizing alternative approaches. Wagers & Radatz (2020) state that "some state standards require programs to adhere to a particular philosophical approach (such as Duluth), and/or prohibit alternative treatment options (such as couples or family-based approaches), despite empirical evidence to suggest other approaches may yield greater success" (p. 212). Cannon and colleagues acknowledge that "current programs are somewhat less likely to endorse a feminist or Duluth model" (Cannon et al., 2016, p. 230), yet the "feminist Duluth-type model remains the unchallenged choice" for most approaches to intervention (Babcock, Green & Robie, 2004, p. 1025). It may be worth further investigation to explore this barrier of funding in impeding program change/evolution, and why monetary support continues to be reserved for agencies that support a Duluth Model framework.

Victim safety and offender accountability

Another theme that emerged from the literature are the concepts of victim safety and offender accountability as being the fundamental goals and objectives of the Duluth Model, and of all BIP/PAR programs broadly. What I find interesting and worthy of more attention, is how we continue to characterize and understand these two core objectives, and the criticisms put forth by the articles which accuse the Duluth Model as being overly simplistic in its pursuit of victim safety and offender accountability.

The concept of accountability

Touched on within 10 of the articles is that understandings of victim safety and offender accountability are rooted in a feminist paradigm. In his review of the historical development of BIP programs, Adams (2003) states that "all BIP programs share dual goals of victim safety/protection of victims and perpetrator accountability" (p. 2), and that "a primary focus of pro-feminist approaches is on men's accountability" (Murphy, Rosenbaum & Hamberger, 2022, p. 3399). The Duluth Model was created by feminists and advocates of the battered women's movement, and thus, the Duluth Model curriculum argues that the central focus of interventions must require men to take accountability for their intentional use of battering as a way of maintaining power and control. As stated by Murphy et al (2022) feminist frameworks and paradigms of understanding accountability express "deep concerns about traditional psychological or mental health explanations which imply that battering is a symptom of other underlying problems" (Murphy, Rosenbaum & Hamberger, 2022, p. 3399). An interesting point to consider about the concept of accountability is illuminated by Dutton & Corvo (2006) who state the language used within the Duluth Model and the majority of interventions stand by "batterer accountability strategies instead of treatment", and "what this language does is it changes the lens by which we see, and respond to, intimate partner violence" (p. 458). This way of thinking about accountability is also deeply connected to how we understand the causes of IPV, which remain tied to feminist ideological positions that center on power and control. To echo the thoughts put forward by Muphy et al., "as feminist perspectives continue to evolve, future research should explore their evolution" (Murphy, Rosenbaum & Hamberger, 2022, p. 2347), and how this evolution could positively re-define what accountability and victim safety look like.

Dutton & Corvo (2006) express additional concerns about feminist understandings of accountability, in that program funding within the United States and Canada is only available to programs "that conform to policies that abide by [feminist] batterer accountability strategies" (p. 459). Twelve authors touch on how the use of the criminal justice system and mandatory arrest policies are also a fundamental extension of accountability, and express concerns about its effects. Wagers & Radatz (2022) state how "the assumption made was that mandatory arrest would increase victim safety [and increase offender accountability] by deterring future violence" (p. 209) by laying criminal charges. It was noted by Coker & Macquoid (2015) however, that "understanding IPV primarily as a criminal justice problem…deflects attention from the importance of policies that create and deepen structural inequalities that help to create and maintain IPV" (p. 170). Further, that criminalization as an extension of accountability grew from second wave feminist movement "reflecting the experiences [and interests] of white, middle-class, heterosexual women often in positions of power within the second wave of the feminist movement" (Becker, Kafonek, Manzer, Tinny, Wagers, Langhinrichsen-Rohling, Hamberger, Rosenbaum, Vaughan-Eden, Vieth, Geffner & White, 2022, p. 2334). Within the current context however, this criminalization as a key element in the goal of accountability disproportionately effects racialized and marginalized individuals and families who are impacted by poverty and discrimination. If we are to acknowledge the structural inequalities and the constellation of other factors that maintain IPV, utilizing a system and program curriculum based on punitive ideologies and narrow framed rationalizations of IPV may be short-sighted in achieving accountability. In his article "*Preparing Men to Help the Women They Abused Achieve Just Outcomes*", author Todd Augusta-Scott discusses the concept of men taking responsibility for the harm they caused. He offers an interesting perspective, that is, "the process of men stopping

their violence and repairing the harms they created needs to men to self-respect rather than self-defeat. If the process leads to self-defeat, men are much less likely to engage in the journey of taking responsibility" (p. 196). Meaning, men need to believe change is possible, and that their identities "are not reduced to and conflated with the abuse" (p. 196) in order to get to a place of being able to be accountable.

While 15 of the articles acknowledge that the goals of BIP programs, specifically the Duluth Model, are victim safety and offender accountability, the majority do not unpack how we conceptualize or should look to conceptualize/achieve these large and important goals. Two of the articles briefly mention (but do not expand on) an interesting point about offender accountability. That is, how a "persistent tension exists between the objectives of rehabilitation and accountability" (Aaron & Beaulaurier, 2016, p. 426; Gondolph, 2012, p. 13). This distinction between rehabilitation versus accountability as two competing concepts is thought provoking and worth further consideration. Is the main apprehension of reconceptualizing interventions that respond to perpetrators based on the fear that, if we are to utilize any other modality beyond the original feminist understanding of IPV, does it look or seem as though we excusing the behavior of violent men? And any other rationalization, and thus, 'treatment' or intervention, is dismissed on this basis? Augusta-Scott (2006) shares his struggle with this sentiment which is articulated in the following quote:

> "[There were] concerns about focusing on the effects men's violence had on themselves. We were concerned that by acknowledging their experiences…we would position them as 'victims' and this would reduce their sense of responsibility. In hindsight, this was constructing people's lives in dichotomous ways: [men] were either a perpetrator or a victim, either responsible for not… now I am interested in moving beyond these dichotomies" (p. 24)

Augusta-Scott (2006) invites us to think about concepts that relate to intimate partner violence and our engagement with 'offenders', such as masculinity, accountability, punitive approaches,

through a poststructuralist framework. Meaning, to deconstruct traditional and binary discourses and explanations, and focus on how discourses shape our understanding of IPV, including our engagement with victims and perpetrators.

The concept of victim safety

The concept of victim safety is brought up in several of the articles as a fundamental goal of the Duluth Model. These same articles discuss the potential harms the involvement of the criminal justice system has on upholding the safety of victims. Wagers & Radatz (2020) state that the purpose of involving law enforcement and criminal justice system in the 1980's with respect to mandatory arrest policies aligned with feminist objectives that "[brought] IPV into the social realm and [sent] an unspoken message that the state does not tolerate IPV" (p. 209). The authors go on to say that, presently, mandatory arrest policies have become a controversial common practice, "as empirical studies have provided limited support for mandatory arrest policies' effectiveness" p. 209). Barner and Carney (2011) describe victim safety as being demonstrated through a "perpetrator-centric criminal justice paradigm" which is characterized by "no-drop policies, increased prosecutions, and mandatory arrests for IPV" (p. 236). Author Neidig (1984) makes an interesting point about what constitutes victim safety which is centered on "rescue" and "separation". Meaning, victims being rescued from their partners through forced separation, and views this as "highly politicized, and based on only half of the relationship" (p. 465). Hanna (1996) voices concerns around what constitutes victim safety, and states that "mandatory arrest and prosecution potentially has the unintended effect of punishing or 'revictimizing' the victim for the actions of the abuser by forcing the victim into a process over which she has no control" (p. 1865). Hall (2015) echoes apprehensions around juridical responses to the protection of women, as the criminal justice system can reproduce the structural

inequalities and violence that enable violence against women. While the importance of these services for the immediate wellbeing and safety of many women must not be ignored, neither must their gaps, exclusions, and inadequacies" (p. 8). Authors Coker & Macquoid (2015) state how feminists that supported and advocated for criminal justice involvement did so as means to ensure that police would respond to calls for help. However, legal interventions have become "another tool of state control of poor men and women" (p. 170) resulting in mass incarceration and the breakdown of families. Barner and Carney (2011) offer that "it is not clear without further empirical and evaluative study how to gauge the potential negative impacts criminal justice interventions may have on victims of IPV" (p. 239).

What is only discussed in two of the articles is how achieving victim safety through the over-reliance on the criminal justice system disproportionately affects racialized and marginalized communities. I also think the assumed idea of separation being the solution to what constitutes victim safety is over-simplified and potentially equally as harmful as the abusive situation. To echo the thoughts of Murphy & Ting (2010), "no matter how one looks at the picture, it is clear that new intervention approaches with the potential to enhance victim safety and violence reduction warrant careful investigation" (p. 34).

Coordinated community response

The last theme emerging through the critical literature review is the overwhelming consensus within the literature that the Duluth Model, should no longer be the standard by which BIP/PAR programs are governed. Although the original intention of the Duluth Model was to create "an ever-evolving way of thinking about how a community works together to end domestic violence" (Pence & Paymar, 1993), the literature reveals the problems with the way the Duluth model has been taken up to promote a narrow definition of 'community'. The

Duluth Model was ground-breaking with indelible impacts on instigating coordinated community responses to intimate partner violence at the time of its conception, however the program curriculum was intended to serve the interests of middle-upper class white women and sought to 'fix' the problem by criminalizing perpetrators, and by re-educating them about their use of power and control. Again, I reiterate the value and impact of such initiatives, but the literature raises important questions about the intentions vs. the outcomes of the Duluth Model including: have we adequately allowed and invited this evolution to modernize and re-contextualize notions of 'coordinated community response' in today's socio-political and economic climate? Have we allowed for an evolution that more appropriately and effectively supports the central goals and tenants of offender accountability and victim safety? While the Duluth Model is not without merit and importance, the opinions and criticisms of the model made by the authors are certainly worth considering; An aspect of this includes how to re-conceptualize and understand a 'coordinated community response' to IPV within the present context, aligned with the goal of evolution. Further, one that explores alternatives to the content/curriculum of BIP/PAR programs that allow men space and time to work through contributory factors that may have contributed to acts of violence that fall outside power and control. How we have historically, and how we continue to understand the goal and intention of a coordinated community response (CCR), is to improve and provide services, supports and resources to female victims of IPV. When we think about the purpose of CCR, it is to serve the needs of women fleeing violence. Researchers Foa, Cascardi, Zoellner and Feeny (2000) discuss how a coordinated community response incorporates an ecological framework, in that it aims to "investigate IPV from the viewpoint of the victim" and acknowledge that "there are many interrelated and diverse factors that influence women's decision-making processes", and their subsequent needs (Shorey, Tirone, Stuart, 2014,

p. 369). What is not discussed in the literature, but that I think is worth exploring, is the unilateral way in which we conceptualize coordinated community efforts. Meaning, that coordinated community responses respond to men using punitive and carceral approaches. A coordinated community response does not offer the same ecological perspective in its engagement with perpetrators, and this notion remains one-sided.

Based on the literature, it is clear that there is a lack of 'state' support in exploring changes that may encroach on the historical central frameworks that continue to uphold the majority of BIP/PAR programs. Areas worth further analysis include examining the logistical and ideological barriers impeding 'evolution'; aspects of this evolution include re-imagining what constitutes victim safety, offender accountability, effective BIP/PAR program content, and the ideological shifts that are necessary to accompany this kind of reimagining.

Chapter 6: Discussion and Conclusions

This thesis sought to explore how feminist perspectives have contributed to and underpinned the development of batterer intervention/partner assault response programs (BIP/PAR). Inquiring into the historical and current approaches to BIP/PAR also enabled me to consider how effective are these programs are in accomplishing their intended goals, and the degree to which BIP/PAR programs have evolved to effectively meet their goals since their conception? Emerging through my critical literature review are two important points worth further consideration for discussion; alternative approaches to engaging with perpetrators of IPV with specific focus how this could be achieved through an anti-carceral and intersectional feminist lens.

Alternative approaches to working with perpetrators of violence

The themes of competing paradigms, a 'one-size-fits-all' critique, and discrepancies surrounding the modality of the Duluth Model that emerged within the literature invites us to consider the benefits of exploring alternative approaches to engaging with perpetrators of IPV. Importantly, the findings suggest the need to move beyond the Duluth Model and tailor treatments to "individual characteristics, backgrounds and co-occurring needs" (Butters et al., 2021, p. 399). The Duluth Model, also referred to as an education model, "distanced itself from a traditional therapeutic approach and incorporated a political agenda of identifying the safety and equality of women as the basis of re-educating male domestic violence offenders" (Augusta-Scott & Dankworth, 2002, p. 786). The majority of BIP/PAR programs utilize and promote the use of "feminist-derived psychoeducational groups (i.e., Duluth)" in spite of the fact that these programs "produce modest effects at *best* in reducing IPV behaviors" (Butters et al., 2021, p. 392). Broadly speaking, an over-arching need expressed within the literature, and one that reflects my own personal position, is that mandated court program curriculums that engage with perpetrators of IPV need to reflect a more nuanced and thoughtful understanding of the complexity of this issue, and the multitude of contributory factors that exacerbate this problem. These include "psychological, interpersonal, situational, socio-economic, and cultural influences" (Dutton & Corvo, 2006), childhood victimization and abuse, intergeneration trauma, and male socialization. Not only should the array of contributory factors be considered when thinking about alternative approaches to engaging with perpetrators of IPV, but also how alternative approaches can assist in re-imagining how to achieve the central goals of offender accountability and victim safety, which continue to be foundational to the identity of BIP/PAR programs. The re-imagining of alternative approaches requires both ideological/theoretical and

practical components to shift in tandem – as one deeply informs the other. A thoughtful reason there is a need to explore alternative approaches to working with perpetrators of IPV is expressed by Scholars Augusta-Scott and Dankwort (2002). They posit that "mainstream feminist treatment programs, or education groups" such as a Duluth Model, "[presumes] a level of dishonesty on the abusive men's part" and, as such, "that any disclosures that are at odds with the grand narrative of power and control are dismissed or challenged" (Edwards & Sharpe, 2004, p. 6). These scholars offer that narrative therapy, and more relational and restorative approaches, may be more effective when engaging with perpetrators of IPV. Augusta-Scott and Dankwort (2002) write:

> "Highly confrontational interventions often preclude empathic and respectful listening and may reinforce the client's view that relationships are inevitably grounded in coercion and control, rather than in understanding, trust, and support" (p. 800), and that the education group approach of "breaking down denial" would be viewed through a narrative lens as "coercive and in itself abusive" (p. 791; Edwards & Sharpe, 2004).

The Duluth Model, and many subsequent BIP/PAR programs, "discourage facilitators from discussing or demonstrating empathy concerning men's own experiences of injustice from poverty, childhood violence, and so forth" (Augusta-Scott & Dankwort, 2002, p. 792). This absence of empathy and compassion for men's experiences is arguably counter-productive in achieving accountability, and in preventing future acts of violence. Edwards and Sharpe (2004) also urges us to think about alternative approaches to engaging with perpetrators. That is, that a rigid "ideological devotion to the mainstream feminist worldview" may in fact "foster untruths about the realities of abuse which hinders the advancement of effective legal and support strategies" (Edwards & Sharpe, 2004, p. 7). Stover (2013) offers criticisms about the limited scope of BIP/PAR program content drawing attention to another layer, in that these programs "rarely acknowledge the status of men as fathers in the conceptualization and delivery of

interventions" (para 1). I find this point interesting, as it alludes to how BIP/PAR programs reduce men's identities to 'batterer' or 'abuser', negating any redeeming qualities. Stover goes onto say that there is a need for "integrated treatment programs to address the intergeneration issues faced by families impacted by IPV", and the option to have the inclusion of partners or families in court-mandated programs (para 9). While Stover acknowledges that the inclusion of partners should not be considered in extreme cases, there is a growing body of evidence discussed within that literature that supports the use of bi-directional violence within intimate relationships, and yet there continues to be a "lack of assessment of the family system and inclusion of partners" which "can hinder progress" (para 9). In his paper titled "*Thinking Under Fire: Mentalization-based couple therapy for high conflict and domestically abusive couples"*, Damian McCann (2022) discusses the need to shift simply from focusing on the individual IPV perpetrator, to "situating the therapeutic nexus within the couple itself where both partners present for treatment" (Yakeley, 2022, p. 11). Conjoint counselling approaches are also discussed within the literature as being an effective option, as this approach moves beyond the assumed benefit of separatism and invites a re-building and shared understanding. In their work titled *Beyond Traditional Treatment Approaches for Intimate Partner Violence,* Rodriguez, Armenti, Babcock, Ireland, and Birch (2019) also echo the benefits of integrating a dyadic perspective within programming. The authors state that our current conceptualization of violence assumes that IPV is perpetrated exclusively by men against women, which, according to the authors, "is inconsistent with evidence suggesting that partner abuse involves perpetrators by both partners in as many as 50% of couples" (p. 374). There are very few dyadic treatment options in existence for couples who experience situational violence who want to remain together and improve the quality of their relationship by addressing maladaptive communication

patterns. While this is not suited for couples where violence is unilateral and severe in nature, it is one example of how literature supports the need to expand interventions and alternatives to support the complex etiology of domestic violence.

An interesting point that is peppered throughout the literature, and one that is of personal interest, is the resistance to implementing alternative approaches. Butters et al (2021) echo this frustration in an articulate way, and state that:

> "The glacial pace of movement away from blanket approaches (that an increasing volume of literature suggests are ineffectual in reducing re-assault) highlights the entrenchment of Duluth/ feminist models in the IPV perpetrator treatment field. While our literature review suggests a need to tailor treatment to individual needs, the slow pace of change in practice will likely continue given these dominant models are codified as the required treatment approach" (p. 398).

An area worth further consideration is that the implementation of new approaches may be more of a barrier than the re-conception of the alternatives themselves, as our ideological assumptions and understanding about IPV are intimately linked to how we shape and construct responses to this social problem. Meaning, alternatives that insinuate that victims hold any responsibility for the violence are dissuaded from implementation, despite their potential benefits.

Intersectional and Anti-Carceral Feminist Alternatives

The second focus for discussion that emerged from the critical literature review is the need to challenge 'traditional' pro-feminist frameworks that dominate responses that violence against women. Alternative feminist perspectives invite us to move beyond carceral and white, liberal feminist ways of thinking. The critical literature review substantiates the claim that the ways in which we continue to approach and respond to perpetrators of intimate partner violence are failing both the perpetrators and victims/survivors of domestic violence. Since 1984, author, scholar, and intersectional feminist bell hooks has encouraged feminists to "think bigger and

better in their struggles against make violence" (hooks, 2004; Hall, 2015, p. 2). Hooks illuminated some poignant thoughts about masculinity in its connection to IPV and was critical of the assumptions and exclusions that lay at the core of feminists' movements which has, and continues to, inform much of our responses to domestic violence. In her book, *the will to change – men, masculinity and love* (2004), hooks states that she, "like many visionary radical feminists" (p. 25), challenged the misguided notion put forth by other feminists that men were "the enemy" (p. 25), and takes issue with 'traditional' feminist rhetoric that deem men unworthy of "rescue from patriarchal exploitation and oppression" (p. 39). Hooks posits that what is required is "visionary feminism", also referred to as a kind of "feminist masculinity" which "offers men a way to reconnect with selfhood, uncovering the essential goodness of maleness" (p. 124). This gracious and insightful statement by forth by hooks echoes my own epistemological positioning and invites us to think about the need to engage relationally, instead of punitively, with perpetrators. And while I recognize the simplicity within that statement, it is worth considering how we might insert such sentiments into court-mandated program curriculum.

Feminist perspectives account for multiple experiences, identities, and social problems relating to IPV (Becker et al., 2022, p. 2328), and yet, BIP/PAR programs do not consider the multiple experiences, identities and social problems of the men attending these programs, and remain tied to white, liberal, and radical understandings of IPV that began in the 1970's. Coined by legal scholar and civil rights advocate Kimberlé Crenshaw in the late 1980's, intersectionality was a defining feature of third wave feminism, rooted in black feminist thought. It has come to be known as a framework for understanding how different aspects of a person's identity — such as race, gender, class, sexuality, ability, and age, intersect and interact to shape

their experiences. Intersectionality was meant to "amplify the unique oppressive experiences of women of color who disproportionately experience violence" (p. 2339). While this term was meant to highlight how one's identity shapes their experiences in relation to systems of power, privilege and oppression, there is an assumption within BIP/PAR programs that all men are privileged in the same ways, and that they do not, or perhaps they are not allowed to, feel oppressed and/or powerless. And yet, feminist perspectives are said to be reflective of a wide range of ideologies and strategies which continuously evolve. As stated by Becker et al (2022), "feminist perspectives, like feminist social movements, have expanded to include more nuanced understandings of abuse" (Becker, Kafonek, Manzer, p. 2022, p. 2330), and encompass "a variety of frameworks for explaining such abuse" (p. 2331). Based on my own theoretical positioning and the criticisms voiced in the literature about the Duluth Model, it is worth considering how anti-carceral and intersectional feminist frameworks can expand our relationship with BIP/PAR program content, and how we conceptualize coordinated community responses to intimate partner violence. I offer that this new approach merges modern understandings of radical, intersectional and anti-carceral feminist thought, with those of clinical and even ecological theories, and consider the internal, external, systemic, situational, psychological and socio-political factors that contribute to acts of domestic violence.

In their article titled *Feminist Perspectives of Intimate Partner Violence and Abuse,* Becker, Kafonek and Manzer (2022) state "some feminist theorists, especially within the burgeoning fourth wave of feminism, argue that the very existence of a male/female label, especially one that reinforces traditional masculine and feminine roles attached to those labels, may help explain why IPV persists" (p. 2340). This aligns with the above perspective put forth by bell hooks who urges us to a cultivate a "visionary feminism" framework that loosens its grip

on the gender dichotomy and challenges traditional patriarchy beliefs as the root cause of IPV. An intersectional lens with respect to BIP/PAR program curriculum invites us to be expansive in considering, not only the intersections between genders, but those of "race, socio-economic status, national origin, sexuality, age and ability" (Becker et al., 2022, p. 233). Further, while BIP/PAR programs are said to be culturally relevant, part of utilizing an intersectional framework requires further research to be conducted to examine in what ways (beyond program translation to other languages) are BIP/PAR programs claiming to be 'culturally relevant'/what makes these programs cultural relevant? And are these programs any more effective than the current standardized model?

Anti-carceral feminist alternative

Anti-carceral feminism challenges the over-use of the criminal justice system to tackle the issue of violence against women and looks at its broader harmful impacts and implications. When I speak about approaching this issue from an anti-carceral feminist position, I invite "continuum thinking" – one that embodies "nuance and complexity" (McGlynn, 2022, p. 1), by acknowledging the strengths, limitations, harms/impacts of carceral feminist thought. I offer that a carceral approach may no longer be serving the needs of the victims, as the identity of 'victim' is no longer reflective of the 'wealthy white woman' which the criminal justice system and law enforcement was originally intended to serve. Those who are weary of a carceral approach may examine who truly benefits from this "penal toughness" (McGlynn, 2022, p. 2) and ask if criminalization and carceral deterrents are hiding behind "a benevolent feminist guise" (p. 2) to uphold structural agendas and entrench systemic inequity. When I speak of an anti-carceral approach, I define it broadly as "a flexible set of politics and practices committed to collective and community-based mobilization", nonpunitive practices of accountability, and "a theory and

practice of violence prevention and intervention that addresses the context of historic and systemic oppression" (Kim, 2020, p. 319). An anti-carceral position invites us not only to consider transformative justice approaches, but asks us to re-consider how we can approach BIP/PAR programs in ways that foster a less punitive and more effective program curriculum. Kim (2020) states that transformative justice "finds its contemporary lineage in anti-carceral social movements" (p. 315) which were largely initiated by people of color, and Indigenous communities. Those who saw the harm within a strict carceral approach sought to "explore intervention responses that expressly turn away from law enforcement and embrace the more collective community-based responses embodied by community accountability and transformative justice" (Kim, 2020, p. 315). Further, that interventions are heavily reliant upon an "adversarial female-defined survivor and male-defined perpetrator binary with the latter subject to interventions firmly rooted in law enforcement" (Kim, 2020, p. 315). Within this expansive mindset also sits a re-imagining of community responses to intimate partner violence - moving from traditional carceral responses towards more holistic and community-driven approaches. Part of this includes re-framing safety as a collective responsibility, acknowledging the harms and limitations of carceral systems, centering survivor autonomy and choice, addressing the root causes of intimate partner violence, and supporting accountability without punishment.

Implications for Social Work Practice

There is a contradictory nature within BIP/PAR programs – one that sees all men homogenously, relays the message that the men attending these programs are all bad and incapable of change, and one that demands them to change, with little acknowledgment or recognition of the complexity of past trauma, and the multitude of experiences and contributory

factors that lie outside power and control. Current approaches and responses to perpetrators of IPV remain highly governed by the central tenants and feminist ideologies of the Duluth Model, which were constructed and informed by carceral and liberal/radical feminist frameworks of the 1970's. As noted by Hall (2015), antiviolence strategies "emanating from both radical and liberal feminists in the global North in the 1970's and 1980's focused on demanding state support services and juridical responses to violence against women" (p. 8). The goal of radical and liberal feminists at this time was to bring awareness about a private issue into the public light and create a movement that criminalized intimate partner violence. The coordinated response to IPV was meant to serve the needs of white, upper-middle class women, and the intention behind criminalization and the creation of the Duluth Model was that of separatism, and of re-education. Meaning, to separate men from women, and to raise the consciousness of men so that they may act and think in ways counter to those that upheld patriarchy. One area of liberal and radical feminist thought at this time was that of gender equality, and a fight against the domination and subjugation of women. Feminists were successful in this goal. Yet, as Hall states "these demands were enormously successful on paper", but "have not succeeded in significantly reducing violence against women" (p. 8). The importance of these services in the protection of women should not be ignored, but neither should "their gaps, exclusions, and inadequacies" (p. 9). What was once an accurate portrayal of the causation of intimate partner violence, as depicted by the Power and Control Wheel on which the Duluth Model curriculum is centered, is now seen as being a narrow, rigid, 'one-sized' and even an untrue understanding about the causes of domestic violence.

My research project provides social workers with some knowledge about what researchers and scholars have said about batterer intervention and partner assault programs

throughout time, with specific focus on the Duluth Model, and highlighted a few key noteworthy themes that can help inform future direction with respect to BIP/PAR programs and invites us to think more critically about how institutions continue to respond to this issue. This project sought to explore what has been said about the effectiveness of BIP/PAR programs and discussed the impact early liberal and radical feminist thought had in shaping the goals, objectives, and central tenants of these widely used programs. This project offers critical questions for further consideration and invites us to consider the benefits in re-structuring BIP/PAR program curriculum using 'evolved' understandings of radical, anti-carceral and intersectional feminist frameworks. Further, this project discusses the need to, and benefit of, exploring program alternatives, and offered areas for further consideration in how to achieve offender accountability and what constitutes victim safety. This paper also invites us to consider what the evolution of a coordinated community response to IPV could look like and reflect on the ideological and logistical challenges and barriers that continue to impede change. Additionally, this project encourages further investigation about the ways in which the criminal justice system causes harm to victims, and can be seen as an extension of systemic racist practices. There is a need to explore in greater depth the contributory factors for IPV, outside of power and control, and to expose the institutional barriers and fears that have impeded the type of evolution I argue is needed, within this area. Although the articles reviewed for this critical literature review were predominately U.S based, the agencies in Canada that offer partner assault response programs remain tied to a power and control framework. While progress has been made to acknowledge the need for substance misuse programs and an acknowledgement of the effects mental health disorders can have on men who perpetrate domestic violence, the court mandated program curriculum is in need, not of more funding, but of a reconfiguration to support the arguments

made in the literature. I argue that forward movement, or 'evolution' needs to be rooted in practical applications of intersectional and anti-carceral feminist concepts and approaches discussed within this paper. Pulling from scholars Kim (2020) and hooks (2004), part of this requires thoughtful, relational, and compassionate engagement with perpetrators, working towards community-centered alternatives and processes to address violence, and rethinking accountability, safety, and healing. Further, rejecting a 'one-size-fits-all' response to harm**,** resisting reliance on policing, prisons, or punitive systems that often reinforce racial, gendered, and class-based oppression, and exacerbate the very violence we are seeking to combat.

Strengths and Limitations

Upon reflection, I was able to provide some insights into how BIP/PAR programs have been talked about in the literature since their conception and identify and discuss a few notable over-arching themes as they related to my research questions. However, given the scope of this paper, the number of articles I was able to analyze was limited compared to the number of articles published that discuss these programs. This topic requires a much more extensive and thorough exploration of additional literature to gain deeper insights and perspectives into the themes that were discussed, and those themes not addressed, due to the length limitations of this project. Specifically, exploring themes relating to the content of 'culturally relevant' programs, the impact and 'effectiveness' of these programs, and the effects the criminal justice system has on racialized and marginalized communities. Most of the literature reviewed in this project was based on batterer programs in the United States. And while partner assault programs in Canada utilize the curriculum of the Duluth Model, a specific analysis of PAR programs solely within Canada could provide a more tailored assessment and examination of program effectiveness, and

areas of improvement. My initial idea was to conduct primary research by interviewing men who have taken PAR programs to enrich my data with their own experiences and opinions, but due to personal commitments and barriers outside of this paper, I was unable to do so. In conducting my literature review, I was presented with many challenges, including deciding which themes to present that would best support my research questions, and which themes were valuable, but not aligned with the focus of my paper. Working within a condensed time period with a deadline completion date, some aspects of this process felt rushed. With the support of my thesis advisor, we agreed that this topic is broad and dense, and in order to make this project manageable, to focus on the themes that most aligned with my research questions. The purpose of this project was to till the soil, as it were, to gain some preliminary insights into what has been said in the literature about BIP/PAR programs, with specific focus on the Duluth Model. A large and important theme that was not flushed out within this project was the 'white-washed' nature of BIP/PAR programs, and what has been done to create culturally relevant programs. Specifically, in what ways are these programs reflective of cultural competency and are they proving to be successful. Further, the analyzing of the literature is limited to my own subjectivity as the researcher, and I recognize the shortcomings in my objectivity as a result of my personal feelings and experiences working with agencies who facilitate PAR programs. My social location and positionality as a white, able-bodied, cisgendered woman, who has not experienced physical acts of intimate partner violence, also influenced my prioritization of themes and insights. Moreover, this paper was written in an effort to advocate for better supports for men, in an effort to support the well-being of women. My research was more exploratory in nature, describing themes and opinions/perceptions of predominately white scholars and researchers who also come with their own theoretical positioning.

Conclusion

This project highlighted four key themes based on a review of 23 articles to explore how feminist theories contributed to and underpinned the development of historical and current approaches to batterer intervention/partner assault response programs, how effective are these programs in accomplishing their intended goals, and in what ways have BIP/PAR programs developed, or failed to develop, since their conception? This paper has challenged me in significant ways, both as a mature student, and as a professional in the field. It has invited more questions with respect to what an evolution and re-conceptualization of BIP/PAR programs could look like, and how we could improve our engagement with perpetrators of IPV to be more effective. As someone with lived experience working with 'victims' and 'perpetrators' in a variety of contexts, I am aware of the complexity of this pervasive issue, and aware that BIP/PAR programs cannot alone, be the single 'solution' to intimate partner violence. However, I hope this paper has provided some preliminarily investigation, opened questions for further consideration and ignited a curiosity about new possibilities on how we can provide better support for both perpetrators and victims of intimate partner violence.

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