Innovative Approaches to Stopping Family Violence

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Edited by Ken McMaster & Arthur Wells

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FOREWORD

Every day in New Zealand the lives of many people are affected by family violence. It is a shocking crime and a pernicious problem that affects us all in some way — by directly impacting on our children, family members, neighbours, friends, and work colleagues, to name a few; or by generating long-lasting social issues and costs which in turn impact on us all. Building a society where families/whānau live free from violence is a goal we can all share. Achieving this goal requires a comprehensive, multifaceted and co-ordinated approach, which is based in prevention, early detection and intervention when abuse has been identified.

Family violence has been part of the fabric of our society for a long time. In talking about intervention for family violence we need to take a long-term focus, using the knowledge of what we know is effective and continuing to develop and extend our strategies. This book is about practice rather than policy. However, good practice informs policy and vice versa. This virtuous cycle is a goal behind Te Rito, the New Zealand Family Violence Prevention Strategy launched in 2002. The strategy was developed by the Family Violence Focus Group, an advisory group made up of government and non-government agencies, with significant input from practitioners, people who know what it takes to make a difference.

Te Rito is an excellent example of the extra value gained by seeking community input and working in partnership with non-government organisations to ensure policy is informed by the expertise of experienced practitioners.

In the same way this book brings together a range of experienced practitioners who in their own individual way have contributed to finding solutions to family violence in New Zealand. The contributors describe innovative approaches in their daily work with victims and/or perpetrators of violence, with a number describing techniques and strategies that form the supportive blanket around safe practice. There is something in this book for everyone interested in the field of family violence.

The strength of this book is that it doesn't just describe what has

been. It takes us a step further and invites us to consider difficult issues that we have been reluctant to acknowledge and face in the field of family violence. It is a brave book and some will find the views expressed challenging, but without robust debate and exploration of new practice approaches we cannot give family/whānau members the hope that they can live in a society free from violence — which is the ultimate challenge of any civil society.

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PREFACE

Family violence has emerged from behind closed doors and is now recognised as a major problem in New Zealand/Aotearoa. Since the 'discovery' of child physical abuse by Henry Kempe in the 1960s, child sexual abuse, violence against women, sexual abuse of boys and girls in institutional care, and abuse of the elderly have become common issues social workers face in their practice.

The speed at which the issue of family violence has emerged is located against a backdrop of significant social changes. These include major changes to family life, with more women employed outside the home, increasing divorce rates, declining birth rates, higher unemployment and significant urbanisation of Māori. In addition, values and beliefs that were part of the fabric of New Zealand society prior to the 1960s changed, leading to greater openness in family life. The second wave of feminism was instrumental in connecting private troubles to public issues and exposing injustices such as violence in the home. This brought, for example, the establishment of rape crisis centres, women's refuges and women's health collectives. The role that these had in influencing women to ask questions about their position in society and acknowledge the silencing of women's stories was clearly on the agenda and has remained so.

While on the one hand women's culture developed rapidly in this period, on the other, the loss of support for the orthodox churches was significant. Many women were finding the patriarchal basis of the dominant religions disempowering; they were male-dominated and the spaces for women to contribute in leadership roles were narrow. The increasing openness about family issues, television drama, documentaries and talk shows began to expose many families for what they were: dangerous places for many women and children. The stage was therefore set for New Zealand to join the international recognition that violence against women and children was a significant social issue.

In New Zealand we now have close to 25 years' experience in developing and delivering programmes to address various aspects of family

violence. In that time significant progress has been made to understand and respond. This book, rather than reviewing what has occurred, takes the next step and describes practices that are both innovative and future-focused. It is about interventions at the tertiary level, where the issues of abuse and violence have been identified as a problem and people are referred to some type of intervention to deal with the issue. Taking this focus in no way seeks to underplay or dismiss interventions at the primary and secondary level, which have a critical place in ridding our society of abusive practices. Ultimately, the contributors of this book are inviting, cajoling and encouraging people to make the most of opportunities to change.

About this book

So where are we in our practice approaches and interventions to stem the tide of family violence in New Zealand? What have we achieved in the past twenty-plus years? What approaches work? This book seeks to answer these questions and provide a timely reminder of the importance of intervention. Although we have come a long way, there is a sense that we still have a long way to go. The book is a timely reflection on the practice of reducing family violence in its many forms. It seeks to build on what we know, to expand and pioneer our work in new areas, and to illustrate some exciting and innovative interventions.

This book is written by practitioners, for practitioners. Each writer has contributed significantly to building practice and understanding in the field. We have invited them to discuss an issue or practice they are passionate about, and in which they are undertaking innovative work. As editors we feel privileged to have supported each of these writers to tell their story. Each in their own way invites us to ponder our own work and reach for new heights of effectiveness. Their writing challenges us to review, reflect and further our conversations about what we do.

Overview

In three parts, the book explores the field of intervention in family violence and dilemmas that confront workers. In the Introduction, Current approaches to working with family violence, Ken McMaster and Daryl Gregory provide a basis for readers to interpret the chapters that follow. The field of intervention has changed in the past twenty years as we incorporate new understanding about effective processes and practices influenced by various theoretical traditions: behavioural (anger

management), cognitive-behavioural, feminist and cultural perspectives and psycho-educational (Duluth). Exploring the strengths and weaknesses of each, McMaster argues that practice is always informed by theory whether implicitly or explicitly. How practitioners draw on different theoretical traditions to inform their work is not without its difficulties, but in essence the challenge is to develop a robust and safe practice. Practice is at an interesting intersection where a range of approaches converge. Readers will see in the remaining chapters how practitioners blend often diverse theoretical approaches into a unified practice.

Part I

Part I explores new areas of practice, including work with women who are violent and abusive, violence in same-sex relationships, programmes for children, and working with women from gang backgrounds.

Glennis Dennehy and Morrigan Severs in Chapter 1, Working with women who abuse, enter an area where there is little information or provision of community-based programmes. There is much that they challenge us to think about. New Zealand crime statistics tell us that 7-11% of violent offences were committed by women, but self-reporting provides a "startlingly different picture" in which women report partner violence at a similar rate to men. While that male violence inflicts more physical harm and creates more fear, we may underestimate the prevalence of women's partner violence and its impact on children. Dennehy and Severs explore how women's violence may be exercised from a position of powerlessness and yet mirror male tactics of power and control in using violence instrumentally. "These women have learned that violence is power," they write. Women can hide their vulnerability, allay fear and reduce potential threat by using violence themselves. Thus women's violence must be understood in a highly gendered context and in a complex web of inequality and power positioning. In developing a pilot Women's Living Without Violence programme in 1999, Dennehy and Severs drew on their experience in running programmes for men as well as in the women's refuge movement. They report a very positive outcome from their efforts to provide a safe environment for women to explore, understand, reflect and find respectful, non-violent solutions for problems, at the same time as encouraging them to recognise their strengths and understand more about their social contexts.

In Chapter 2, Working with issues of same-sex family violence, Shona McLeod also invites us to extend our thinking about the scope and

nature of family violence, which as a pattern of power and control has been considered a heterosexual phenomenon. McLeod discusses recent research indicating a high incidence of gay and lesbian family violence and raises interesting questions about possible reasons for this. In comparing theories of same-sex violence McLeod shows that to understand the unique pressures on gay and lesbian families we must view their use of differing abusive tactics (such as 'homophobic control') in the context of a homophobic and heterosexist society. Her challenge is not to minimise the seriousness of same-sex family violence and to grasp the subtle societal dynamics that we must appreciate to address it.

In Chapter 3, Working with children affected by violence, Martin Kelly, Julia Anderson and Karen Dawson offer a rich sampling of their ways of working with children. Emphasising what is essential in a programme for violently abused children, they also sharply increase our awareness of how much children are exposed to violence and of its powerful and pervasive influence in children's lives. One cannot read about Kelly, Anderson and Dawson's work without concluding that all children who have been victims of serious abuse and violence should have access to the assistance of a programme such as theirs.

In Chapter 4, Working with women (people) from gangs: Complexity and challenge, Glennis Dennehy further develops the insights from her 2001 book written with Greg Newbold, The Girls in the Gang. Dennehy shows the astonishing extent to which gangs remain a male domain that is profoundly demeaning to women, built on a culture of violence. Women in gangs are extremely vulnerable and will 'get the bash' if they offend against any of 'their' men's shifting rules of status, expectations of services from women and fierce strictures against 'narking'. Paradoxically, women in gangs hope for security amidst the ever-present threat of violence: "You touch me, watch out." Women's disillusionment lies in discovering the fickleness of any protection when violence is normalised. In this chapter Dennehy focuses on the information about gang culture necessary for workers/agencies to form a collaborative relationship with women who dare to undertake the difficult and dangerous disengagement from gang culture.

Part II

Part II addresses intervention with men who are abusive. Exploring ideas around groupwork intervention is the contribution from Ken McMaster in Chapter 5, Groupwork with men who are abusive. He discusses the

need to align programme design with contemporary knowledge about effective intervention and provides a list of key attributes. Also covered in this chapter are questions about men's different pathways into violence. These pathways translate into different needs that men who are abusive bring when they enter group programmes. If it is accepted that different pathways exist, we are faced with the challenge to rethink 'one size fits all,' which has been the dominant position in terms of programme design. The chapter concludes with ideas to inform programme design which account for different pathways and help keep men engaged in the work.

In Chapter 6, Wānanga Whakamana: An intensive marae-based, semi-residential programme for high risk offenders and whānau, Melanie Atkinson outlines an excitingly different programme which is holistic in addressing not only violence but health needs, drug and alcohol issues, educational needs, employment skills, housing needs, whānau dynamics and parenting, counselling and spiritual needs, all within a strong framework of tikanga Māori. A unique strength of this intensive nine-week programme is its use of the wairuatanga of karakia, waiata and the ritual and symbolism associated with the marae. The pōwhiri brings a spiritual sense of accord between groups, affirms the identity of those present and creates a profoundly healing encounter. Another area in which this programme is a pioneering development is in working with partners present.

In Chapter 7, Couple therapy in conjugal violence: Assessing safety and readiness for conjoint treatment, Barry Trute and Marie Connolly revisit a long-held debate on the use of couple therapy in the context of partner violence. They ask whether it is safe to engage in couple therapy and under what conditions is it appropriate. In many abusive situations it is clear that women want to stop the violence, but not at the cost of their intimate relationship or marriage. Trute and Connolly review key assessment issues that have emerged as fundamental in determining whether conjoint therapy is appropriate. They argue that successful conjoint work needs to occur in a context of heightened sensitivity to the gender dynamics of relationships, where the violence is sufficiently restrained and the couple are ready. They suggest that to bring long-lasting violence cessation in relationships, it is important to go beyond gender-specific treatments. They caution us that creating situations of therapeutic safety and freedom of choice to continue or discontinue the relationship is paramount.

In Chapter 8, Working with violent fathers: new perspectives from Affect Theory, Arthur Wells makes a case for returning to substantive psychological theories for new insights to guide our work. Such theories

have been held in suspicion in our enthusiasm for post-modernist developments which deny that there is any such thing as human nature. Wells takes the view that the insights of post-structuralism, to which we owe our understanding about discourses of power, are indispensable to our work. However, this need not prevent us from taking a keen interest in developments in psychology. He outlines the neglected theory of innate affect of Silvan Tomkins and links its insights, especially about the role of shame in generating rage, with his own work on men's violence as parents.

Susan Wurtzburg in Chapter 9, Domestic violence and Polynesian families: Providing appropriate interventions, invites us on a journey of exploring family violence from an anthropological perspective. Her chapter provides a framework for understanding abuse from a Polynesian perspective, drawing understanding from migration, language and custom, family structure, religion, and shame. As is the case with all cultures which migrate into situations of dominant cultures, the tension of maintaining culture of origin provides unique challenges. Wurtzburg explores tensions inherent in living with a 'multi-identity' which is an issue for workers who engage with Polynesian people. She makes the point that what generally happens in programmes in New Zealand is that, while ethnic and language differences among clients may be noted, little practical change occurs in either the programme content or the manner of delivery to cater for these differences.

Part III

Part III of this book explores the importance of support for the work. Authors indicate that support occurs at various levels through maintaining passion by being part of a strong team, and through supervision, adequate training, and evaluation to test if we are on the right track.

Although the briefest offering in the volume, Chapter 10, Maintaining our passion and integrity in the work by Trish Kirk is a rich distillation from her experience in the women's refuge movement and from training workers for Stopping Violence programmes. Kirk makes acute observations about the impact of the work on those who do it and how we are deeply challenged and changed by it ourselves. Her research, based on workshops about the needs of facilitators, makes clear the vital importance of building supportive team relationships and of creating organisational processes that allow issues to be dealt with that arise in co-gender facilitation. To quote Trish Kirk: "Any system that gives one group power over another

group dehumanises both." Giving back power, for which there are many opportunities in co-gender working, by the same token humanises all who work together.

Helen Curreen in Chapter 11, Training in the violence sector, outlines the development of a formal qualification, the Diploma in Violence and Trauma Studies which has been offered since 1996 at Auckland University of Technology. This is specifically for people wanting to make a career commitment to work in the family violence sector. Usually students who enrol in social work, psychology and the health services training programmes receive scant education about family violence. The philosophy behind the course and the modules of work and the varied learning methods of the diploma programme are outlined. Interestingly, four out of five students are female. Curreen discusses the importance of workers attending to their own issues. If they fail to do this they may themselves act abusively, experience burnout, replicate client issues with parallel processes, 'rescue' and cause conflict in agencies. This has not led to those teaching the diploma to hold back from taking risks in including students who have been victims of family violence. Curreen observes that the process is very valuable to the students who may come at a later time to work directly in the field and make their contribution.

Mark Tisdall and Kieran O'Donoghue in Chapter 12, A facilitated peer group supervision model for practitioners, outline a successful programme run in the last four years in the Community Probation Service. They produce compelling evidence for the benefits, some of them unforeseen, of introducing a group peer supervision model into a service that was at the time "a low trust culture in the midst of considerable change." Collective team responsibility was promoted. Work with dangerous clients was made safer and freer from the risk of collusion. There was a valuable sharing of wisdom of people who had been working together for up to 20 years without sufficient opportunity to do this. New workers brought valuable knowledge in specific areas they had trained in, such as mental health and addictions. Relationships and teamwork were enhanced. All of our agencies could learn from their model and their experience.

Appropriately, the final chapter is about Measuring effectiveness, by Gabrielle Maxwell. She challenges us to think about the many subtleties and confounding factors which make it difficult to do good research to evaluate the effectiveness of our programmes. Warning us against expecting easy answers, she delivers valuable conclusions which should give us confidence and also point to 'best practice' in our programmes for

children who have been abused, programmes for women who have been victims and programmes for male perpetrators.

Innovative Approaches to Stopping Family Violence has been written to capture interesting ideas around practice. It is for workers, supervisors, managers, students and policymakers. The questions posed will assist ongoing debate in the field — and that is the ultimate purpose of the book.

Ken McMaster & Arthur Wells

2003

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INTRODUCTION

CURRENT APPROACHES
TO WORKING WITH FAMILY VIOLENCE

Ken McMaster & Daryl Gregory

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We are at a turning point in our understanding of family violence. *Complexity* is the word that best describes where we find ourselves at the start of the new millennium. This book starts to challenge some of our previous understandings about family violence. No one theory adequately explains the complexity of the issues involved — we need to lift our game in terms of finding theory that can inform effective work. As any practitioner knows, there are inherent risks in trying to blend multiple theories into practice, due to potential conflicts between the fundamental principles. In reality few theories in their pure form adequately explain how abusive practices operate. All of us use theories in our work, whether these are implicit or explicit. We need to know about the theories we use and how these have the potential to drive our work in certain directions or down certain pathways.

Over the past twenty years a growing body of research has sought to understand the characteristics of those who abuse. The focus has been on three areas: individual, relational and cultural factors. By distinguishing the characteristics of those who are abusive and violent, researchers have attempted to shed light on factors that perpetuate violence. As Tolman and Bennett (1990) note, violence is a complex issue and finding simple causal explanations is unhelpful. They use the example of the high correlation between depression and partner violence, making the point that it is important not to confuse cause with effects and vice versa. They note that men who are violent have a higher level of depression than the general population (Stark & Flitcraft 1988). Does the depression contribute to violence or is it an outcome of being caught up in a violent lifestyle? Methodologically, focusing on the characteristics of individual men who

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are violent may also obscure the similarities in men who are violent and nonviolent and the societal acceptance that tolerates men's violence to their female partners.

This chapter starts with an exploration of the literature about which interventions work. We then turn attention to models of practice that have been used in New Zealand and explore the strengths and limitations of each. This will give readers a starting point for interpreting the material in the remaining chapters.

So what does work?

Recidivism in the rates of offending (of which family violence is included), can be reduced by 10% and up to 50% through offence-specific programmes that meet particular criteria (Andrews 1999). This is significant when we consider the impact family violence has in terms of harm to others (see Snively 1994). All of us would agree that the purpose of intervention is to reduce the possibility of further abusive practices taking place. From the 'what works' literature, several principles have emerged that underpin the reducing re-offending framework (Andrews 1995; McGuire 1996):

Classify risk: It is clear from the literature on working with perpetrators of abuse that targeting higher-risk perpetrators is more effective than more generalised programmes (McGuire 1996). By the time a person (man, woman or child) accesses programmes, whether as an abuser or a victim, there has generally been a long history of abuse. This is supported by Morris's research (1996) which indicates that by the time women seek formal intervention for violence in the family they have exhausted the social supports of family and friends. By the time people access our services we are often dealing with either entrenched patterns of abuse or the effects of these patterns. This has implications for programme design and delivery. A challenge for programme development is how we classify risk and ensure that we are working with the most series and abusive clients.

Meet criminogenic needs: It is now commonly agreed that targeting criminogenic need or crime-producing factors (Andrews & Bonata 1998) will ensure the best outcome. Criminogenic need refers to the factors that directly cause or produce the condition for abusive practices to take place, for example, alcohol and drug problems, impulsivity, beliefs and thinking processes, mood regulation factors, cultural disconnectedness, to name a few. The thinking behind this concept is that if we can reduce or manage

the influence of these criminogenic needs, we will see a reduction in further abusive behaviour. This is clearly an argument against more generalised programmes. Many early programmes could loosely be described as 'scatter gun' approaches that were based on the idea that if we put a lot of potential ideas or strategies in front of a person, then they will somehow pick something up and change their behaviour. This has not proven to be the most effective form of intervention.

Match learning styles: Effective programmes should meet the needs of those attending, so consideration must be given to active and participatory learning techniques. Programme design should also try to match the learning styles of participants. Standardised risk and need assessments and interventions should be applied in an individualised way to the participant.

Increase motivation: Lack of motivation can be a criminogenic need and should be the target of intervention rather than used to exclude potential participants from programmes. A real challenge for programming is the level to which engagement and motivation issues are dealt with at the front-end of programmes. Many referrals to programmes are mandated and according to Dale (1997) fall into the pre-contemplative or contemplative categories of the stage model of change developed by Prochaska & DiClemente (1984). Front-end engagement is therefore critical for successful programme entry, retention and completion. Some tentative results indicate that where programme participants drop out during the intervention, the rates of recidivism increase markedly (Leon Bakker, per commun.)

Emphasise community: Programmes based in the community are more effective because new skills learned can be immediately applied. However, prison-based programmes can also work well if adequate reintegration into the community occurs.

Use effective treatment methods: The most effective programmes address a variety of problem areas (multi-modal methods), are skills-oriented (teach coping skills) and use cognitive-behavioural methods (address thoughts, feelings and behaviour). A clear challenge in running programmes is trying to meet the diversity of issues that participants present.

Encourage responsibility taking: At the end of the day the best outcome for programming is the intertwining of responsibility and accountability for behaviour. Responsibility for learning about and managing individual behaviour can be seen as relating to the individual domain, whereas being

accountable to others is viewed as part of being pro-social. Both need to be in place to ensure confidence, and are a goal of any intervention. Included also is increased awareness of the impact of abusive behaviour on those victimised.

Use sound methodology: Over the past twenty years of intervention we are getting a better understanding of what is likely to be effective. Evidence-based practice refers to learning from the data about what works. The more interesting question is not whether programmes work, but what works, and with what type of participant. Evaluation and follow-up is therefore an important aspect of effective intervention (see Maxwell this book).

Maintain programme integrity: A challenge with programmes is to maintain the integrity of what is being delivered. 'Construct drift' is the term used to describe the tendency over time for programmes to move away from the core principles or ideas that they were based on. Programme monitoring and regular evaluation is one method of ensuring integrity is maintained.

Approaches used in the field

In having explored the literature around what works, we now turn attention to the range of practices approaches that have currency in the field. The field of programme intervention in New Zealand is relatively new. We have a history of formal intervention with perpetration of abusive behaviours for just over two decades. Intervention with those victimised is slightly longer. The main body of local literature relates to men who have abused their partners and this section has bias in that area. We have not attempted to be exhaustive in describing all the possible interventions used but to cover the main approaches that we are aware of.

Anger management

When people think of intervention in the area of abusive behaviour the term that comes to mind is 'anger management' (Sonkin & Durphy 1982). This is one model to emerge from the field of cognitive behavioural approaches that focus on anger as the impetus for violence (Gottlieb 1999). Anger management approaches have tended to focus on early warning signs which can be a combination of thinking, feeling states, body signs and changes in behaviour. Once participants learn about these signs they are in a position to interrupt the tension building and replace these with more appropriate behaviours. Time out is probably the most commonly

used intervention, where the person signals a time out when anger cues become evident and leaves for a period of time to calm down.

Anger management in its purest form is attractive because it teaches specific techniques to manage mood state arousal and can be taught simply and quickly. Anger management has some potential shortcomings and is not without its critics (see Gondolf 2002). Unless a full understanding of the dynamics exists, there can be an implication that the victim provokes the anger and precipitates the abuse. It can also fail to take account of the issue of potential planning in the abuse (active, passive and opportunistic). Anger management has often been presented as a quick fix, but those victimised continue to be unsafe. It does little to deal with the core beliefs and thinking patterns that perpetuate abusive behaviour. Lastly, anger management does not specifically address the social reinforcements for violence against women that reside in wider community attitudes, practices and beliefs.

The idea that anger is the main pathway into abusive behaviour has been challenged in the literature. A recent study by Loza and Loza-Fanous (1999) of incarcerated offenders who had committed violent crimes (n=252) reported that anger was not associated with their past violence or risk for future violence. There has been clear agreement in the field that although anger management techniques are useful in terms of intervention (most programmes still use these ideas), they are in themselves insufficient to deal with the complexity of what drives abusive behaviour.

Cognitive-behavioural approaches

Cognitive behavioural approaches have widely influenced most family violence intervention approaches. Cognitive behavioural theories cover a wide diversity of ideas and there is no single theory or method (for a fuller explanation readers should see McGuire 1996).

The strong influences under the rubric of cognitive behavioural approaches are such individuals as George Kelly, who developed personal construct theory, Albert Ellis, founder of rational-emotive therapy and Aaron Beck, whose development of cognitive therapy, has had a far reaching impact on the field.

In a cognitive behavioural model interest is placed on the inter-dependence of thoughts, feelings and behaviour. Simply put, what we think about a situation (our perception) influences our mood state (feelings) and together these dictate our behavioural response.

Thoughts include the concept of information processing in the brain

and the role of automatic and controlled processing of information. The bulk of what we do each day is the product of automatic processing of information. This is where problems lie in relation to abusive behaviours. Automatic thoughts are underpinned by core beliefs or schema which develop early in life and self-regulatory systems to measure one's own behaviour.

A schema is an extremely stable enduring pattern that develops in childhood and is elaborated throughout an individual's life. We view the world through our schema; it is our 'lens'. Schemas are important beliefs and feelings about oneself and the environment which the individual accepts without question. They are self-perpetuating and very resistant to change. Overwhelming success in people's lives is often still not enough to change the schema. The schema fights for its own survival, usually quite successfully.

Even though schemas persist, once they are formed we are not always aware of them. Usually they speak in subtle ways, out of our awareness. However, when a schema erupts or is triggered by events it dominates our thoughts and feelings. At these moments people tend to experience extreme negative emotions and have dysfunctional thoughts. Schemas can be hard to challenge because they are so global and feel so 'right', they fit with our experiences.

Programmes have drawn on cognitive behavioural theory in several ways. Firstly, utilising the work of Albert Ellis on the unhelpful thinking patterns — labelling, mind reading, awfulising, shoulding and musting, and so forth. Secondly, close links are made in terms of assisting those who are abusive to track their cognitive processes in situations of risk. Thirdly, work is undertaken to explore the core beliefs or schema that underpin perceptions of various events.

Working with cognitive distortions is central to the work with abusive behaviours. Increasingly interventions are moving to explore the habitual nature of abusive behaviours.

Feminist theories

Central to debates in the violence field has been the notion of gender. Violence has been constructed as the ultimate expression of male identity and is seen as a natural extension of traditional gender prescriptions (Jenkins 1990). Wife assault is seen to be a systematic domination and control of women by men. According to Bograd (1988), all men — as a group — benefit from other men's violence. The saying *one man's*

violence to one woman is a message to all women and affects all men epitomises this position. Violence by men towards their female partners occurs in a socio-political-historical dimension, according to Dobash and Dobash (1979:24), who state:

> Men who assault their wives are actually living up to cultural prescriptions that are cherished in Western society — aggressiveness, male dominance and female subordination — and they are using physical force as a means to reinforce that dominance.

Dutton (1994), who has been a critic of feminist theory, does not rule out the impact gender socialisation has on influencing men to be violent to their female partners, but sees the issues as much more complex. He argues that men with severe identity problems and intense dependency needs may look for justifications in the wider culture. Cultures that teach men and women that responsibility for relationship outcomes rests with women provide a situation that is ripe for borderline personality men to blame intimate partners when they perceive them not meeting relationship responsibility needs.

Dutton (1995), building on his earlier work, has developed the ideas of the impact of shame at the ontological (intrapersonal) and microsystem level. He was interested in the group of men who exhibited intimacy rage in their interpersonal relationships. He found that such men scored high on the following factors: rejection by their fathers, anger, domination/isolation, emotional abuse, trauma experiences and fear of attachments. From the perspective of risk, guilt-prone men who were violent towards their female partners had lower levels of severity for their violence than those who were shame-based. The shame-based partner abusers were angrier and tended to externalise blame. Given their background of being humiliated in public by their parents, any perceived challenge from their partners was likely to be construed and felt as an attack on their global self, rather than a challenge to their violent behaviour. This suggests that there remains a place for some of the traditional models of dealing with anger, rejection, trauma, and attachment issues as part of intervention.

Duluth psycho-educational approach

The Duluth model (Pence & Paymar 1993) has been hugely influential in the New Zealand context. The significant aspect of the model is inter-agency co-ordination and collaboration between victim services, men's programmes, criminal justice systems and child protection systems.

Piloted in Hamilton as the Hamilton Abuse Intervention Pilot Programme (HAIPP), it helped blend cognitive-behavioural ideas with feminist theory. Its strong emphasis in terms of men's programmes is on interrupting violence and then educating men about the various aspects of abusive behaviour such as:

- Intimidation, which includes looks and gestures meant to frighten, smashing property and displaying weapons
- Emotional abuse, which includes verbal put-downs, attacks on self-esteem, playing mind games, and making the other person feel guilty
- Isolation, which includes controlling who the person sees and talks to, what she/he reads and using jealousy to justify actions
- Minimising, denying and blaming — making light of abuse and not taking concerns seriously, denying the abuse happened and shifting responsibility to the other person for the abuse
- Using children to make the person feel guilty, harassing during access times and threatening to take the children away
- In particular reference to men, male privilege refers to the use of male entitlements and treating the woman as a servant. It also refers to defining the nature of the roles to be undertaken in the relationship.
- Economic abuse — controlling money, expecting the other person to ask for money and making decisions about financial matters without discussion
- Threats and coercion, which include threatening to leave, kill or commit suicide, to report the person to the Department of Child, Youth and Family, and coercion to withdraw protection orders or back off from legal proceedings.

The Duluth model is based on the feminist assumption that men abuse women primarily to maintain power and control over them. The approach is based on the idea that men are taught — through the media, other men, sports, and their own fathers — to expect and exert this power and control. Some men take this exaggerated sense of entitlement to the extreme of being violent toward women.

One major criticism of the Duluth model is that it may be too confrontational in its approach (Gondolf 2002). Ultimately all programmes that confront abusive behaviours need to confront errors in thinking. Motivational interviewing techniques can be and are used effectively

and nonconfrontationally to engage men into the possibility of change. The other criticism is the way the power and control wheel is used in the programme. The model compartmentalises abusive behaviour, but when men are being abusive they tend to combine several controlling tactics. Offence mapping (see McMaster this book) appears to overcome this problem by giving men a personalised visual representation that has internal meaning and consistency.

Cultural perspectives

In New Zealand a range of dedicated Māori programmes have developed to deal with abusive practices. In a Māori worldview effectiveness means engaging the whānau of the men who present. Culturally, it is not appropriate for men to be standing alone on this issue. Also, there needs to be a greater sense of accountability to the victims of the abuse and the wider whānau.

Tikanga is the framework for applying a cognitive-behavioural approach, which focuses on identifying and modifying the attitudes or thinking habits associated with violence and abuse. The analysis of power and control (Duluth model: Pence & Paymar 1993) is articulated in Māori conceptual frameworks. For example, manaaki (caring) is explored as an opposing concept for power and control. The waka (canoe) and the whare (house) are the key images to focus participants' thinking and allow them to reflect on their actions and beliefs. 'Come aboard the waka' is an invitation to take on the challenge of setting a new life course, supported by others, to go in new directions.

Tikanga-based programmes continually challenge men to be accountable for their actions of violence and abuse. The promotion of tikanga (correct processes), te reo (language) and acknowledgement of te taha wairua (spiritual dimension) as a means of addressing violent behaviour is grounded in an acknowledgement of the mana (dignity) and tapu (sacredness) of each person. In a Māori world view the waiora (wellbeing) of the individual is dependent on the strength of 'Te Whare Tapa Wha', or the cornerstones of wellbeing: te taha wairua (spiritual wellbeing), te taha hinengaro (mental wellbeing), te taha tinana (physical wellbeing) and te taha whānau (family wellbeing). To enhance the waiora of a perpetrator of violence is not to deny the impact of the violence on others, or to deny the accountability of perpetrators of violence. Each of these areas is important when working with Māori men.

The image of waka figures strongly in some organisations (for example He Waka Tapu Trust, Christchurch). Men are engaged to come on a journey of exploration, to discover new pathways and to reach for horizons that had only been a far-off dream. The wero (challenge) laid before men and their whānau is to consider what their tūpuna had to do in preparing to cross the vast ocean, Te Moana Nui a Kiwa, and reach Aotearoa safely, equipped to begin a new life.

He Waka Tapu literally means a sacred vessel. It invites men to consider that the waka that will carry them and their tamariki (children) into the future is the whānau (family). To ensure that they will reach that far-off horizon, to ensure that the dreams and visions of our tūpuna (ancestors) for their mokopuna (grandchildren) are realised, men must ensure their waka is seaworthy enough to face the challenges of Tangaroa and Tāwhirimatea. If it isn't, then perhaps they should not even be contemplating making the journey with their tamariki, ngā taonga i tuku iho. If they are going to take that journey, it is suggested they must ask who is going with them and what skills they have to ensure success. Do they know how to get there? What navigation instruments or knowledge do they possess? This is an invitation to men and their whānau to consider what it means to begin the most important journey of their lives, establishing a whānau; and to consider what their tūpuna must have gone through when they left the comfort of what they knew (their tūrangawaewae on Papatūānuku). Abandoning themselves to the ever-changing currents of Tangaroa, exposed to the power of Tāwhirimatea, they sat embraced in the folds of Tānemahuta, trusting that Ranginui would provide the heavenly signs in the ara whetū needed to journey along a pathway where all is fluid, or where no pathway exists.

This is the wero (challenge) laid down before men who come to the service. If they are ready to pick it up, the karanga (call) to come on board our waka can begin. Programmes do this by ensuring that sufficient time is given to whakawhanaungatanga (relationship building). Building good relationships, talking through what is involved and exploring the motivational levels of participants, is vital to ensure all are ready to embark on a challenging journey.

For instance, He Waka Tapu workers put a lot of energy into a thorough assessment process. A whānau worker (wahine) makes contact with the partners of men and their whānau to invite them to be a part of this process. She encourages them to take time to consider all their options

carefully, so that they will be safe if they decide to make this journey, knowing that they will not be alone but that there are many other waka on this journey as well. These could be other agencies and extended whānau, hapū or iwi who support the process.

He Waka Tapu believes that to be truly effective in helping people work through what are very difficult issues, agency workers need to confidently facilitate a process that motivates people to want to reach their 'Taumata Whakakitenga' (the term we use to encapsulate our kaupapa), to help them go after and realise their dreams. Tapu is a concept that we use throughout the process as it affects all things. Karakia opens the way for wairua to function and enables the process to go with the way Tāwhirimatea blows, threshing and shifting, at times, the kōrerorero. It also ensures that the mana of each person will be maintained.

Māori-based interventions do not necessarily use a set programme for facilitators to deliver each time the group come together but that they need to be able to move in the aspect of wairua. They need to have the knowledge and skills to go with the current, steering the kaupapa in the right direction whilst ensuring that others do the work. They need also to maintain the manawa kapakapa, the heartbeat, or rhythm of the group, which makes for an exciting journey.

The art is to make the programme come alive, to take people on a journey of discovery that they won't want to stop, to light a flame that will pass from one to the other, to give hope and vision to people who have felt as if they are drowning, to tautoko them through a process that is both challenging and supportive. It is a process that ensures that all our mokopuna will travel in a waka tapu.

Programme participants at He Waka Tapu are encouraged to look at their dreams, aspirations and beliefs for and about whānau and to acknowledge that violent behaviour blocks them and their whānau from achieving their goals. It establishes a need to understand their behaviour and to learn new behaviour.

Restraint theory

There is little doubt of the importance and influence of Adelaide therapist Alan Jenkins on intervention in New Zealand. His work has been heavily influenced by early Narrative ideas and can be classed as restraint-based practice (Jenkins 1990).

What stops someone changing always interests workers who intervene in the lives of others. Key questions from a restraints perspective are:

- What stops this person being more thoughtful, respectful and in control?
- What is stopping this person from taking more responsibility?

The idea of working with restraints is based on the assumption that people will act in appropriate ways unless they are restrained in some way. Restraints can be beliefs, traditions, or habits which influence the way someone lives their life. Alan Jenkins identifies four levels of restraint:

— Social-cultural restraints

These are beliefs in the wider society that people draw on, particularly about ideas of hierarchy and individualism rather than co-operation and inter-dependence. This blueprint promotes ideas of ownership and superiors/subordinates (see McMaster 1992:98-99). Family situations have incorporated many restraints related to hierarchy and privilege of males over females. Violence and sexual abuse are examples of entitlement to act in certain ways with family members.

Gender restraints include traditions, habits and behaviours which prescribe males to expect an exaggerated sense of entitlement and status over women and children. Also, according to Jenkins, men often avoid social-emotional responsibilities in the private domain of family life. The last gender restraint is a reliance on others (especially females) to meet social-emotional responsibilities. These restraints operate to influence expectation and translate into daily living. Abusive practices are a natural outcome of a man operating from these restraints.

— Developmental restraints

These can be problematic for people who, according to Jenkins (1990), either occupy a position of developmental 'underload' or 'overload.' Developmental overload occurs in families where caregivers are either insensitive or unresponsive to children's emotional requirements. The conditions that bring about an overload situation developmentally include: physical or sexual abuse, exposure to parental neglect or incompetence, being deprived of sensitive, respectful and nurturing caregivers, especially male modelling, and exposure to abusive and disrespectful behaviour in the caregivers' relationships with each other.

Children who are exposed to developmental underload are expected to 'grow themselves up' and in doing so are often attracted to anti-social activities and hypermasculine traditions such as those of gangs. These early life experiences form developmental patterns that are taken into adult life

and played out in the context of adult relationships. Pervasive anti-social people are characterised to include early onset of conduct disorder, school problems including truancy, the likelihood of ADHD and other learning disorders, and a history of childhood abuse.

Developmental underloads may also arise in a family context of caregivers that appear to be over-sensitive and over-responsive to the child's social and emotional requirements. Young people grow up with an excessive reliance on caregivers (generally mothers) to face what may be normal age/stage developmental challenges. Caregivers, according to Jenkins (1990:47):

> find themselves increasingly pre-occupied with and concerned about their son's development and working harder in their attempts to remind, direct, cajole, advise and influence him to take more responsibility, think more before acting, be more considerate, less selfish and control his temper.

This translates into adult behaviour where the more others take responsibility for the person's behaviour, the less responsible they need to be. This develops a sense of self-centredness and entitlement that far exceeds the responsibility for the welfare of others.

— Interactional restraints

Patterns of reliance based on imbalances of power are played out in family relationships through interaction. Drawing support from the social-cultural restraints, where people engage in abusive practices, they are operating in what Jenkins describes as 'highly restraining' patterns of interaction. In such relationships, a man may act as a domineering patriarch, whereas other family members will have learned to defer to and protect this position. Abusive practices occur most often at times when there is a real or perceived threat to this position.

— Individual restraints

Social-cultural restraints are translated into the individual context in terms of individual behaviour. This can be seen in individual patterns of thinking and behaviour such as social-emotional immaturity, low self-esteem, self-intoxicating ideas and beliefs, and misguided attempts to control.

Jenkin's work has been very influential in New Zealand practice. His style is based on conversation and the need to invite men to address their restraints and pioneer a mission of responsibility.

Strengths-based — solution theory

Solution or strengths-based approaches have become more popular in the field (Metcalf 1998). Many traditionally run groups that have emerged in human service settings have used a psycho-educational approach (see Duluth). Group members are encouraged to reveal issues, express emotion about what is occurring, search for insight and are often given the answers to resolving issues. While clients find these groups supportive, they can emerge from these groups with little in the way of concrete strategies that they can use in their own lives. In essence they have spent too long focusing on what is wrong rather than focusing on what is right and building from that position. In the language of White and Epston (1990), they have become problem saturated.

Solution-based groups build on the idea that the role of the facilitator is to help group members construct new discourses and strategies while at the same time deliberately resisting the temptation to add to pathological discourses. The key style within a strengths/solution-based approach to groupwork is as a guide rather than as a leader. The facilitator has to put in place processes that allow group members to build on and extend competencies that they already have. The role of the facilitator is also to allow group members to learn from each other through exercises and activities that allow for the sharing of strategies others have found to be effective.

In a solution-oriented approach it is recognised that client problems do not occur constantly and that there are times without problems. These are called exceptions and the role of the facilitator is to identify the specific interactions, thoughts and behaviours that occur at these times and to use these in constructing a solution. In the words of de Shazer, (1982, 1985) the challenge is to look at what has been working in order to identify and amplify these solution sequences. For clients this is profound in that they begin to view themselves as competent rather than incompetent, thereby building a greater sense of agency.

A number of key ideas underpin solution-based approaches to social change work. The following material is based on the work of O'Hanlon and Weiner-Davis (1989:34-50) who identify a variety of strategies for the solution-based practice:

1. Keep the group non-pathological by redescribing problems to open up possibilities. Groups can often become 'problem saturated,' which lowers energy and can worsen group members' behaviour. Keeping the

group non-pathological requires the skill of reframing from problems to solutions. For example, if a group member describes the hassle of getting to the programme, then a simple reframe can be to ask the group member how they managed to get to the session, despite the effort required. This is likely to generate a consideration of agency or an ability to have control in one's life.

2. Focus on the exceptions to the problems discussed in group interactions. In other words, group members may describe behaviours or thinking that are in direct opposition to the abusive behaviour described.

3. When competency of a group member is noticed, it is commented on and other group members are invited to offer their thoughts on the discovery. This means noticing small changes. For example, if a group member is talking differently about a situation or problem, it is interesting to explore what has changed and how they have managed to make that change.

4. Avoid any tendency to promote insight and instead focus on the client's ability to survive the problem situation. Solution-based approaches are clearly targeted at changes in behaviour, so the person should always be able to leave the group session with something to try out or do differently.

5. Attempt to see group members as people with complaints about their lives, not as people with symptoms. Linked to this is the challenge to help group members view their problem as external to themselves. This will help them see the problem as a separate entity that influences but does not always control their lives.

6. Remember that complex problems do not necessarily require complex solutions. This is a time to help your group clients think in simpler ways. Solution-based practice often uses the following ideas: 'If it ain't broke don't fix it', 'Once you know what works, do more of it', and 'If it doesn't work, don't do it again; do something different.'

7. Adopt the client's worldview to lessen resistance and then work to discover less dangerous and interfering options with the person. This is a fine line and the skill of the facilitator is not to collude in disrespectful behaviour towards others. For example, if a client is in conflict with others in the group, then this can be viewed as useful because it will help the group discover ways to manage and work with conflict in a constructive way.

8. Focus only on what is changeable. Assist group members in thinking

more specifically and less emotionally when setting goals for change.

9. Go slowly and encourage members to ease into change. Help clients see each strategy as an experiment, not as a technique that guarantees success.

Some of the criticism of solution-based approaches is that they operate in the current context and do not attempt to change the nature of the construction of abusive practices. Solution-based ideas are grounded in the idea that people have agency (the ability to act) and that the purpose is to change behaviour and thereby reinforce alternatives. The criticism is that they do little to educate around the construction of abusive behaviour and the impact on women and children of living with abuse. They also do little to assist in the understanding of patterns of abusive behaviour that men find themselves caught up in.

Couple counselling

Couple counselling has not traditionally been viewed with favour as an intervention in abusive behaviours. However, if we were to ask any number of counsellors, we would find on their caseloads a significant number of clients who are either experiencing or perpetrating abuse in one form or another. An argument in favour of working with couples is that change can be undertaken through supervision with one's partner. Couple counselling also directly informs the woman about what her male partner is or is not learning. A drawback of group or individual methods is that men can inaccurately report what they are learning during interventions.

There are some obvious ethical and practical objections to this approach. Clearly the most important aspect of working with abusive practices is safety. Couple counselling, unless carefully managed, has the potential to increase rather than decrease risk, in that counselling is likely to expose in graphic detail what is occurring in the privacy of the relationship. Feminist family therapists writing in the mid-1980s identified concerns about dealing with abusive practices through the using couple counselling (Bograd 1988). The main concerns expressed were:

*   Many women are reluctant to confront the man being abusive for fear of reprisals. A man with a history of abuse is likely to attack his partner if she raises sensitive issues or contradicts him in a counselling session.

- There is the risk of responsibility being shared between the parties if abuse is constructed as a relationship issue. Clearly the task is for the person being abusive to take responsibility for the abusive behaviour, while at the same time being accountable.
- The courts have the authority to 'sentence' the violent perpetrator, but not the victim, to counselling. In most cases, the woman must be convinced to take part on her own initiative. There is a fine line between voluntary and pressured participation given the fact that the woman may have a significant investment in the relationship continuing as an entity.

On the practical side, it is difficult to get women who are victimised to voluntarily take part in any form of support or counselling. Maxwell, Anderson & Olsen (2001), in a study on attendance of group programmes for protected persons, state that about a third reported they did not feel ready to attend a programme, a quarter said they did not know that they could attend and another quarter that they felt safe and did not require a programme. We could assume that the same might be the case for individual counselling.

There are several concerns about the use of couple counselling as the primary intervention in addressing abuse in families. The worry has been that family violence is viewed as a two-way interaction and that blame is shifted onto the person victimised or a difficulty in communication between the two parties.

There may however be times when couple counselling is appropriate (see Connolly and Trute Chapter 7 this book). This is supported by two studies (Dunford 2000; O'Leary, Heyman, & Neidig 1999) which were careful in their screening and offered couples group and couple counselling where the couples were more likely to be living together, be employed, have higher education, and have children living with them than couples appearing in urban courts. In sum, couple counselling may be suitable for some couples on a voluntary basis and after careful screening for threats and coercion, but it does not appear to be particularly practical or suitable for most court-referred cases.

Conclusion

As we reflect on the range of practice traditions that those in the field have drawn on, it is apparent that despite diversity there is also convergence around some fundamentals:

1. The need to engage the abusive person to take the mission of change seriously. This can be a combination of assessing the restraints to change and the factors that would motivate a person to change.
2. Challenging normalising factors around violence and understanding what supports the continuation of abuse.
3. Addressing from a cognitive-behavioural approach the thinking processes, rationalisations, excuses and justifications that reinforce abuse and violence. Robertson (1999) concludes that a blend of cognitive and behavioural techniques is seen as integral to effective intervention with men who are abusive. Programmes are more likely to be effective when they have a social skills component which provides men with the opportunity to rehearse non-abusive ways of responding to conflict.
4. Addressing additional factors that may be risk factors for abusive behaviour. This may include dealing with emotional and psychological scars from childhood, trauma and sexual abuse.

The challenge in any intervention is how to integrate these aspects into a progressive curriculum so the objective of stopping abusive practices is promptly achieved. It is interesting that, despite the diverse areas of practice (intervening with men, same-sex violence, addressing the needs of those victimised), the above influences are strongly represented. How these approaches are drawn into the now widely diversifying practice of intervening with abusive behaviours is the idea behind the remainder of this book. The following chapters provide examples from practitioners who use the wide range of the models discussed in this chapter, with varied emphasis, in their work across many areas of intervention with abusive practices or in supporting those who have been abused.