

PART THREE

Perpetrators of Violence against Women

Early research on violence against women often focused on how battered women or rape victims were different from other women. Many of these early studies were rightfully criticized for their tendency to blame victims of violence for their difference rather than examining the role of perpetrators in assaults. Other early papers on domestic violence and sexual assault portrayed the perpetrators as mentally ill men at the margins of society. The papers presented in this section were some of the first and most important to challenge these assumptions by examining perpetrator behavior and suggesting that communities have a responsibility to intervene to stop the violence.

Diana Scully and Joseph Marolla's "Riding the Bull at Gilley's" is one of the earliest research studies to confront the myth that rape was the product of mentally ill men. Their paper clearly showed, in rapists' own words, how men purposefully used sexual assaults to dominate and control women. Diana Scully's reflection on her paper is also a powerful statement on how the personal and professional interact. Her personal experiences as a rape victim led her directly to this study. Consequently, the act of conducting the study again changed her life.

The next two papers in this section turn our attention to interventions with men who batter. What is the best way to intervene? What are the intended and unintended results of our interventions? Lawrence Sherman and Richard Berk's *The Specific Deterrent Effects of Arrest for Domestic Violence* spawned an entire generation of research and nationwide changes in laws, policies, and practices regarding police actions when responding to domestic assaults. The results of their experimental study of police responses in Minneapolis suggested that arresting a batterer was more effective than other actions commonly undertaken by police. The National Institute of Justice (NIJ) replicated this study in a number of cities. Richard Berk reflects on the original study, the NIJ replications, and how research findings are translated successfully and unsuccessfully into public policy and practice.

A surprise choice for inclusion in this book was Ed Gondolf's *The Effect of Batterer Counseling on Shelter Outcome*. Looking back, Gondolf felt that other works were perhaps more important. Our advisory board felt, however, that there was no avoiding the fact that

one particular finding—that a batterer’s involvement in treatment was a key reason for women to leave a shelter and return to him—created extensive discussion about the effectiveness of batterer intervention programs and women’s reliance on men’s involvement with these programs for their safety. Gondolf’s reflection puts this finding in context and updates it with more recent findings from a multi-site study he is conducting.

Finally, no collection of classic papers would be complete without the inclusion of the “Duluth Model.” Ellen Pence and her colleagues in Duluth, Minnesota, were some of the first to act on the notion that violence is a community problem and must be solved at a community level. Pence has written many papers on the topic and some slightly earlier than the chapter we included here. But this chapter seemed a particularly good and concise overview of the Duluth Model in its earliest stages. As Pence’s reflection indicates, the Model has been replicated and adapted around the world.

Together, these four papers represent the beginnings of efforts to shift away from blaming victims for their situation to a clearer understanding of men’s motivations for committing violence and of how communities can best intervene to decrease or stop it.