

NEW APPROACHES TO VICTIMOLOGY*

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Abstract

The purpose of this paper is to describe domestic violence which is a widespread problem affecting families, law enforcement agencies, and the court system. Studies investigating the effects of arrests on recidivism in domestic violence cases have led to the implementation of pro-arrest policies in many police agencies. The changing policies have lead to an increase in the number of domestic violence cases in the court system with limited prosecution of these cases. Police training in the specific dynamics of domestic violence is believed to provide officers with skills necessary in handling these calls safely and accurately. The Lakeland Police Department has developed a comprehensive community project, the Domestic Abuse Response Team (DART), that is designed to reduce the recidivism of domestic violence in order to serve the victims more efficiently. Examination of components of this program may help to target specific aspects of the training that are useful in reducing recidivism rates. Specific attention is paid to concepts, theories, and models that support the findings that batterers and victims are reacting in a manner they have learned

*The present particle is published without any anything because of not being in touch with the dear author





through their family environment, and as part of a pattern or cycle of violence in which the abuse is expressed.

Keywords: Domestic Violence, Community Policing, Victim, Batterer, DART.

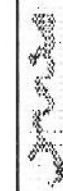
Introduction

Domestic violence has become a prominent social problem that is pervasively experienced. In response to this social problem, domestic violence intervention programs are being developed and implemented in police departments with the hope that officers receiving the additional training will be better equipped to deal with domestic violence calls. The training is believed to increase the safety of the officers, help educate the victims of domestic violence to the many services offered to them through community and legal agencies, and is an attempt to help reduce recidivism.

This paper will address pertinent concepts, theories and models that support the findings that batterers and victims are reacting in a manner which they have learned through their family environment. Additionally, characteristics of batterers.

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and victims, will be presented in order to clarify areas that need further examination when attempting to design interventions to reduce recidivism.



As mandatory arrest laws have been enforced in many police departments across the country, many individuals were concerned that this would lead to an increase in the arrest of victims. An examination in this area revealed that this was not the case. Finally, a review of the limited research in the area of police training in domestic violence intervention revealed that existing research has only examined the effectiveness of programs to provide protection for the police officers (Reiss, 1977; Dutton & Levens, 1997; Buchanan & Perry, 1985; Bandy, Buchanan & Pinto, 1986; Walts, 1995). Although this is an important aspect of intervention training, additional research is needed to evaluate the effectiveness of programs in providing education and support for victims of domestic violence, as well as police officers.

An innovative program, the Domestic Abuse Response Team of Lakeland, Florida, has begun an effort in the areas of linking police and community support to address the needs of the victims in domestic violence (Rahmatian, 1997). The program became nationally recognized as the model for the future in domestic violence training for police agencies.

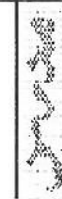
Twenty four years ago, no one recognized domestic violence as a social problem. It was ignored in academic texts and it went unrecorded by police forces. It is now estimated that every six seconds a domestic violence assault is being committed (Lakeland Police Department, 1997). With a national sample of 2,143 respondents from intact families, Straus, Gelles, and Steinmetz (1980) showed that family violence was not specific to any one race, social class, or neighborhood. In about 24 percent of families, one spouse has pushed, grabbed, or shoved the other at some point in the marriage; 10 percent had kicked, bit or



punched their spouses; and 6 percent had beaten up their spouses. Furthermore, 1.7 million Americans had at some time faced their partner wielding a knife or gun. And the problem has not disappeared. In 1996, there were 132,704 domestic violence calls in the State of Florida, with 309 of these calls resulting in death. In 1997, the City of Lakeland reported a total of 995 domestic violence offenses, with two ending in the death of a spouse (Lakeland Police Department Uniform Crime Division, 1997).

Historical Perspective

- (1401) The first written subject on domestic violence was published by a French writer, Christian D. Pizan.
- (1799) Judge William Blackstone's commutary on "Laws of England" urges: "Security from Corporal Insult".
- (1824) The American Courts approved the "Rule of Thumb" Law, that stated that no man may punish his wife with anything larger than his thumb.
- (1853) England passed the first law against "Aggressive Assault" on women and children.
- (1983) The "Thurman vs State of Connecticut Titled the "Thurman Law" was passed due to a woman, Tracy Thurman, who was repeatedly attacked by her husband and begged the court system and local police to insure her safety. After a brutal attack, Tracy Thurman sued the city for denying her right to safety. After the Thurman Law was enacted, police departments all over the country began training their officers on the dynamics of domestic violence, thus each state incorporated the state statute on domestic violence (741.28)



Beginning in late 1980, police departments began implementing Victims Assistance Programs run solely by citizens living in the community. Thus, assuring that the victims needs would be addressed.

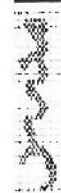
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Definition of Domestic Violence

According to Florida Statute 741.28, domestic violence refers to any assault, battery, aggravated battery, sexual assault, sexual battery, stalking, aggravated stalking, or any criminal offense resulting in physical injury or death of one family or household member by another who is or was residing in the same single-dwelling unit. Florida Statute 741.28 further defines a family or household member as being spouses, persons related by blood or marriage, persons who are presently residing together as if a family or who have resided together in the past as if a family, and persons who have a child in common regardless of whether they have been married or have resided together at any time.

Battering is a pattern of behavior that functions to establish power and control over another person through fear and intimidation. It often includes the threat or use of violence. Battering happens when batterers believe they are entitled to control their partners. They believe that the violence is acceptable and will produce the desired results (Jaffe, Wolfe & Wilson, 1990, Lakeland Police Department, 1997; O'Brien, 1971).

Not all battering is physical. Domestic abuse has been divided into five distinct categories: physical; sexual; psychological; emotional and economic.





Physical abuse involves the infliction or the attempt to inflict physical injury and/or illness, or the withholding of access to resources necessary to maintain health. The threat of physical abuse is often sufficient to keep control of the victims as long as they are convinced that the abusers will beat them to get what the abusers want. Victims soon learn to obey rather than face the escalating violence that inevitably follows if they fight back. Other battered victims do fight back, even though they will be abused even more, perhaps as a way of psychologically defending their sense of self (Walker, 1984). Sexual abuse is defined as the coercion of or attempt to coerce any sexual contact without consent and attempting to undermine the victim's sexuality. Most victims report that abusive partners initiate sexual contact to which the victim must respond positively or face a heightened risk of further physical,

sexual, or psychological abuse. Sexual abuse in battering relationships most often occurs along with physical and psychological abuse, although the physical abuse may not occur simultaneously with the forced sex (Walker, 1984).

Psychological abuse refers to the instilling or the attempt to instill fear and can include isolating or attempting to isolate the victim from friends, family, school and/or work. The psychological terror created by the abuse itself does not always correspond clearly with the particular abuse inflicted at any given time. Once serious abuse has been used on a victim, s/he may respond with similar terror to less serious abuse or even the treat of abuse.

Violence in the home is similar to other forms of interpersonal violence; it has both carry-over and cumulative effects. Emotional abuse involves the undermining of or attempting to undermine the victim's sense of self-worth. It is

not unusual for battered victims to contemplate suicide as a way to escape the physical and psychological pain. They perceive the choice of life or death as the only aspect of their lives that they can still control (Walker, 1984). Finally, economic abuse entails making or attempting to make the victim financially dependent on the abuser (Lakeland Police Department, 1997).

Theoretical Perspective

There have been many attempts to understand and explain the tragedy of family violence. Although the models and theories have different emphases, commonalities involve the concepts of learning cultural gender norms and of behavioral family dynamics. These models and theories encompass the understanding of interpersonal and intrapersonal dynamics of family violence (Gelles, 1980; Gelles & Cornell, 1985; Flowers, 1986; Jaffe, 1990; Goldner, Penn, Sheinberg & Walker, 1990; Walker, 1984, 1989, 1993).

Power and its use and abuse within a family must be considered as integral to an understanding of family violence. Violence is utilized within the family as the basis for power and control (Jaffe, et al., 1990; Lakeland Police Department, 1997; O'Brien, 1971). Where there is the greatest power contrast between persons in a

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family, there is the greatest possibility for abuse to occur. In spousal abuse, women who are less educated and not in the labor market are more likely to be





abused than those who are equally matched with their husbands (Finklehor, Gelles, Hotaling & Straus, 1983; Flowers, 1986; Kalmuss & Straus, 1982).

Gelles (1980) identified three analytical models to explain family violence: 1) the psychiatric model; 2) the social-psychological model; and 3) sociological analysis. The psychiatric approach considers the offender's personality style, which included factors of mental illness, alcohol and/or drug abuse, as well as other intrapsychic phenomena. Although Gelles and Cornell (1985) suggested that this model was too limited, the model continues to have some popularity in the professional field.

The social-psychological model purports that an exploration of the interplay between the person's interpersonal behavior and personality provides an understanding of the abusive behavior. Consideration of the person's behavioral reactions under stress, the possibility of an intergenerational transmission of violence, and family interaction behavior, define the etiology of abuse in this model.

Kratcoski (1984), utilizing a social-psychological model, specifically applied stress and learning theory to family violence. He proposed that violent behavior occurs as a means of coping with stress, especially in a person with inadequate defense mechanisms. Learning theory and its application to early childhood experiences and the transmission to behavior patterns later in life also formed the foundation for intergenerational transmission of violence.

In the sociological analysis model of family violence, inequality in the family's social structure and cultural attitudes about violence and the family relationships are inherent (Gelles, 1980). Where there is not a democratic

decision making process present, power is usually divided unfairly (Glasser & Garvin, 1981). According to Straus, the nature of the American family itself and the problems of the larger society contributed to "at least 90 percent" of the violence in the family (Gelles, 1987, p.13).

Early attempts to explain violence in the home also varied in approach. The first theoretical model used to explain family violence was Goode's resource theory developed in 1971. Goode indicated that a person would be less likely to utilize force or violence if he/she were successful in using other resources at his/her disposal. Consequently, violence was used when all other means of achieving the goal to become the dominant member of the family failed. Straus (1973) applied general systems theory to explain domestic violence as a systemic product of the family, not as an individual pathology. According to the evolution theory proposed by Burgess in 1979, inadequate parenting, a lack of bonding with the child, and decreased parental investment contributed to the possibility of abuse.

The social exchange theory was also considered under the social psychological model approach. Exchange theory dictates that human interaction is guided by pursuit of reward and avoidance of punishment with reciprocity of reward and punishment between members. Violence toward a family member occurred when the cost of being violent did not exceed the reward for not being violent. In addition, the absence of effective police controls in the area of family relations decreased the penalty of being violent to another family member. This idea is supported by sociologist Ivan Nye's findings that violence was more frequent in societies that did not have a normative structure to prevent its





occurrence. There was also less frequent abuse in homes that had extended families than in single parent families (Gelles & Cornell, 1985).

The learned helplessness theory by Seligman (1975) predicted that an individual's helplessness in childhood in preventing his/her own abuse transferred to his/her helplessness in preventing abuse in adulthood. Though Seligman coined the term "learned helplessness", Lenore Walker's (1984) research supported the observation that people's perceptions changed when they were repetitiously exposed to aversive stimuli which they could not escape. Thus, they lost the assurance that their own actions would result in their own safety (Walker, 1993).

A feminist view of violence is the most recent consideration for examining the etiology of family violence. Dobash and Dobash (1979) suggested that history reflects domestic violence as being primarily against women. A patriarchal society,

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which places women in a subordinate role within economic and social forces, also contributes to a continuation of the violence. In comparison to the other models discussed, theirs was the most one-dimensional, suggesting that a patriarchal society alone was the essential ingredient (Gelles, 1980; Gelles & Cornell, 1985).

Some of the theories of violence in the family were compatible with Schechter's (1982) view that if there is a gender hierarchy in existence, men are led to dominate women, thus leaving them vulnerable to violence. Because a

woman typically has the main responsibility of caring for the home and children, and her wages are traditionally lower than her male counterpart, there is a reinforcement of her unequal status.

Whether to be violent and aggressive, or to be passive and submissive, is influenced by gender role models in childhood. The possibility for an adult to be a victim or an abuser is enhanced by abusive family role models (Stets, 1988).

Batterer Characteristics

Although there has been direct examination of the psychological characteristics of abusers, most research describes abuser characteristics garnered only from the abuser's victim or from clinical observations (Bersani, Chen, Pendleton, & Denton, 1992). Batterers are found in all socio-economic levels, as well as in all educational, racial, and age groups. Poor impulse control evidenced by an explosive temper and limited tolerance for frustration characterizes the batterer. They are frequently diagnosed with stress disorders and psychosomatic complaints, are emotionally dependent, and have a limited capacity for delayed reinforcement. Their insatiable ego needs or childlike narcissism lead to the development of low self-esteem, and they may perceive themselves as having poor social skills. They have few friends outside of the family and for many of them, the family is everything and the spouse forms the center of their universe. Individuation or any type of separation is threatening. They attempt to isolate their spouse in the home.





Fitch and Papantonio (1983) conducted face-to-face interviews with 188 men convicted of domestic violence, providing information in five major correlates: violence between the batterer's parents; abuse of the batterer during childhood; alcohol abuse; drug abuse; and employment status. Nearly three-quarters of the abusers saw violence between their parents, while almost one-half of them were also abused as children. Although not conclusive in itself, these findings lend support to the notion that some domestic violence may be a learned behavior. Over one-half abused alcohol, more than one-third abused drugs, and nearly one-quarter were unemployed.

Because the personality characteristics of men who abuse their spouses had not been examined using an objective personality measure, Hale, Duckworth, Zimostad, and Nicholas (1988), using the Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory (MMPI), conducted a study of 67 men who had been or were currently in relationships in which they physically abused their partner on at least one occasion. Code types reflecting significant elevations on specific indices of psychopathology were utilized to examine the nature of psychological dysfunction among batterers. The most common 2-point code type was the 24/42, reflecting significant degrees of both depression and anger, and accounting for 13 of 67 or 19% of the group. Other 2-point codes included 48/84, anger and psychosis (12%), 49/94, anger and mania (9%), and 34/43, histrionic attitudes and anger (7%). By including all of the profiles in which the Psychopathic Deviate (Pd) scale (4) was featured as one of the two highest scores, 56% (36 of 67) of the MMPI profiles had the Pd scale featured as part of the 2-point code type. The 24/42, 2-point code type on the MMPI is consistent

with the batterer's tendency to minimize and externalize blame for their violent behavior, to feel inadequate and dissatisfied with themselves, to have low ego strength, to be overly dependent on their spouse, and to have strong tendencies toward various additions (Catalano, 1997; Dutton, 1994; Walker, 1994).

Bersani, Chen, Pendleton, and Denton (1992), also conducted a study to determine whether meaningful personality profiles of convicted male abusers could

be constructed using self-perceptions rather than the perceptions of significant others. Using the Taylor-Johnson Temperament Analysis (T-JTA) instrument, they conducted interviews with 75 court-mandated male batterers with the following results. The sample of men when compared to the general population was more

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nervous, indifferent, and impulsive. They also had a slight tendency to be more depressive, subjective, dominant, and hostile. However, the abusers did not differ from the general population in terms of expressive-responsive or active-social traits. The subjective combination of this profile paints a picture of a group of men who are highly social, but lack the internal dynamics or balance to achieve positive social interactions. Given this profile, these men will have a tendency for greater exposure to social situations, but will possess styles of interactions that are negative.

In the study examining the mechanisms in the batterer's cycle of violence, Dodge, Bates, and Pettit (1990), found that children who became batterers had





been physically harmed in early life and became more aggressive toward peers in childhood than did those who has not been harmed. They further found that these physically harmed children who became batterers developed different processing styles than non-harmed children did. Harmed children were less attentive to relevant social cues, more biased toward attributing hostile intent, and less likely to generate competent solutions to interpersonal problems. These findings were similar for girls and boys. The path between early physical harm and later child aggression appeared to relate to these cognitive processing patterns. The findings are consistent with the hypothesis that the experience of physical harm leads a child to conceptualize the world in deviant ways that later perpetuate the cycle of violence of a batterer.

Thus, personality variables resulting from interpersonal experiences during childhood and adulthood appear to influence the batterer's world view. Specifically, batterers appear to be vulnerable to engaging in negative social interactions that have the potential for violence.

Victim Characteristics

Like batterers, victims are found in all socio-economic levels, and in all educational, racial, and age groups. The victims can be characterized as experiencing a high percentage of violence in their families of origin, and are often victims of abuse as children. Walker (1994) found that almost two thirds of the battered women whom she studied had either witnessed their fathers batter their mothers or experienced battering as a child. They may marry young in an effort to escape the violent home. Due to their low self-esteem, they question

their right to have any better life than the violent one in which they presently live. They underestimate their abilities and feel hopeless and immobilized. Depression, suicide, substance abuse, and psychosomatic illnesses are all coping systems for the victim who is assuming the blame for the physical and emotional pain experienced. Chronic apprehension about the ability to make routine decisions increases the stress level in the victim's life, which leads to an inability to relax. Tension may disturb the sleeping pattern of the victim because of a felt need to always be on guard due to violent outbreaks, children's needs, nightmares caused from past abuse, and from sleeping fully dressed or with a weapon for protection. The victim often feels guilty because the abuse disturbs the neighbors. There is also often a feeling of responsibility for the abuser's actions (Catalano, 1997),

Most battered women who seek therapy appear to be suffering from a set of psychological symptoms, called battered women syndrome (BWS); that is, a general pattern of reaction to physical and psychological abuse inflicted on a woman by her spouse (Walker, 1984, 1989, 1991, 1994). The battered spouse syndrome meets the diagnostic criteria for posttraumatic stress disorder (PTSD) as listed in the American Psychiatric Association's (1994) Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders, forth edition, (DSM-IV). Symptoms of the syndrome include intrusive flashbacks, recurrent memories or dreams, panic attacks, a heightened startle response, and other signs of high arousal, as well as a range of dissociative symptoms, including numbing of responsiveness, constriction of affect, detachment, and withdrawal.



The syndrome evolved out of discoveries that battered women and adult survivors of childhood sexual abuse exhibited many of the same stress responses as those found in Vietnam vets returning home from war. Inadequately treated victims of childhood sexual abuse become adult survivors who feel helpless and betrayed.

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These findings are translated into a pathological dependence in which the ability to trust oneself is lacking (Rew, 1990; Walker, 1991; Leonard, 1996). Summit (1983) presented a medical model of this affect referred to as the child sexual abuse accommodation syndrome (CSAAS).

Dutton and Painter (1993) examined the concept of a battered woman syndrome by assessing 50 battered women and 25 emotionally abused women who had recently left their relationships. Both samples of women experienced three aspects of the battered woman syndrome; high rate of trauma symptoms, lowered self-esteem, and heightened paradoxical attachment to the batterer. These effects were all slightly inter-correlated, forming a syndrome, or complex, that persisted for six months. The effects were also significantly related to the intermittence of positive-negative treatment, to power differentials in the former relationship, and to the extremity of the battering. The trauma symptoms experienced by the women in the sample included heightened anxiety, dissociation, depression, and sleep disturbance.

Graham and Rawlings (1991) discussed the Stockholm syndrome in battered women, a syndrome that involves identification with the aggressor as a survival



strategy. The women adapt to a world in which they lack real power individually and therefore learn to obtain their power from their male captors. These women were found to be identified by the fact that in response to the abuse, they sometimes fight back, become abusive toward their children or aged parents, or are the aggressors in the relationship.

Lakeland Police Department Domestic Abuse Response Team (DART) Program

In response to the growing need for domestic violence training, the Lakeland Police Department designed an intervention program that addresses the training needs of the officers, as well as encourages community involvement to help educate and empower the victims of domestic violence. The comprehensive community project of the Lakeland Police Department hopes to reduce and prevent domestic violence (Rahmatian, 1997).

The project serves to coordinate, monitor, and educate law enforcement officers, the criminal justice system, and social agencies about issues related to domestic violence. It is believed that a community approach to domestic violence, along with sufficient police training and pro-arrest policy, will be a key factor in insuring that pro-arrest policies are working effectively for victims of domestic violence. Lakeland's DART team, originating in 1991, has a national reputation for providing quality information, referral and follow up services to the victims of domestic violence in their community. Sworn DART officers and

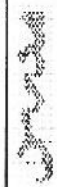




civilian DART volunteers work in cooperation with each other and with human service providers in the community.

Sworn officers who volunteer to serve in the DART Program as DART officers must apply to the department in order to perform this specialized assignment. Once selected, the officer will attend 40 hours of domestic violence intervention and 40 hours of crisis intervention training classes. The crisis intervention training is designed to introduce the participant to crisis identification and to procedures for prevention and resolution. Course topics include: legal aspects of crisis intervention; crisis theory; safety; assessment; crisis diffusion techniques; decision point; referrals; abnormal behavior and suicide; alcohol and drug abuse; and hostage situations.

The DART volunteer team consists of citizens who must apply to the department. All applications are screened, and eligible applicants must satisfactorily complete a background check and a thorough interview with a board consisting of sworn DART officers and volunteers. Once selected, volunteers are required to participate in 16 hours of training on domestic violence, crisis intervention, basic listening and counseling skills, prior to being placed on the "on-call" schedule. Many of these volunteers choose to complete the same 80 hours of training that the sworn officers undergo. This training involves learning how to diffuse situations, and understand how they, as a volunteer, complement the officer's response. Volunteers also must attend an in-service meeting at the Police Department once a month for on-going training. The volunteers give a minimum of



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one 12-hour shift on call each month. The department is covered by these volunteers 24 hours a day throughout the year to respond to a victim in need.

Officers contact the civilian volunteers as part of every domestic violence investigation. The on-call volunteer usually speaks to the victim via the telephone. In some cases, volunteers meet with victims at the hospital emergency room or any other safe location, such as the Lakeland Police Department. The contact with a friendly voice helps to reduce the intimidation a victim may feel at the sight of a uniformed officer. The DART volunteer offers information, support, and educates the victim of other available resources. Their primary role is to act as a facilitator for information exchange. The volunteer takes an active interest in all victims, making sure that she/he is provided with appropriate information as their needs change over time.

Because of the specialized approach and individual attention given to each domestic violence call, the Lakeland Police Department has an exceptionally high clearance rate for these cases. Of 686 domestic violence calls received between January 9, 1995 and October 15, 1995, 637 were cleared via an arrest or a complaint affidavit. These figures reflect a 93% clearance rate and a 40-50% arrest rate. When comparing these rates with national and local rates of 5-10% for arrests in departments that do not have pro-arrest policies, and 30% where a more activist police force is involved (Buzawa & Austin, 1993), the program's positive impact is evident. In 1996, the total number of domestic violence calls for Lakeland was 995 cases. Within the 995 cases, charges ranging from simple



battery to two criminal homicides (Lakeland Police Department Uniform Crime Division, 1996).

Since February 1992, the DART program has maintained approximately 42 volunteers who have provided over 400,000 hours of on-call services for the Lakeland Police Department response to domestic violence calls. Current volunteers have also accumulated over 4,000 hours of training. The program continues to demonstrate its interests in the areas of domestic prevention through on-going program development in the areas of the effects of domestic violence on children, dating violence with youth and the impact of domestic violence on the elderly population. The program has also expressed an interest in the area of research through a comprehensive program evaluation that would include the participation of the court system.

Conclusion

Preliminary findings suggest comprehensive intervention is most effective. The combined effort of the police and the community would appear to be an important component of effective pro-arrest policies and effective distribution of available resources to victims of domestic violence. However, more research is needed to learn how this training interacts to affect the victims of domestic violence.

Since the Lakeland Police Department's DART program is the model for many community police departments across the country and abroad, an on-going comprehensive evaluation of the program's impact of domestic violence would seem appropriate as suggested by Bandy et al. (1986). As seen throughout this

review, the area of police involvement in domestic violence prevention is drastically under-examined. Several aspect of this intervention warrant further investigation.

For example, intervention strategies that maximize the use of informal social controls, such as reinforcing the importance of the batterer's marriage, employment, religious affiliation, and others may positively impact recidivism rates of domestic violence. Additionally, extending the domestic violence training beyond the police force to include litigates and judges may enhance the efficacy of their work with this client population, through an increased awareness of the etiology of the batterers' syndrome. Such training will emphasize the importance of strict measures that could include immediate incarceration combined with direct participation in treatment.

Measures taken to assess public attitudes towards specialized police intervention of domestic violence cases may increase public support for mandatory arrest policies for these crimes, creating a social milieu conducive to pro-arrest policy. Finally, police training that emphasizes an advocacy approach towards both batterers and victims may heighten the effectiveness with which arrests are handled, thereby increasing the cooperation of both parties.

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One means by which additional training in these areas may be addressed could involve the comparison of trained and untrained officers' attitudes and values pertaining to domestic violence intervention. Specific attention should be paid to the individual's perception of domestic violence calls in the areas of the



attribution of blame for the violence and the need of police involvement. Officers who attribute blame to the victim may be likely to induce further stigmatization of the victim, rather than intervening within the cycle of abuse. These victims may then be less likely to use services offered and subsequently be less cooperative in the investigation process.

A second area to examine is the victim's use of referral information given by the officers and advocates. By examining the number of victims that utilize such services as injunctions for protection and shelters, information gained may improve the future referral rate. An increased understanding of the significant factors related to the decision process may increase our understanding of the specific attributes influencing the victims' choice to respond to referral information. In addition, by utilizing community resources, the victims impact the recidivism rate in their firm stance of intolerance regarding the violence.

With the interest and cooperation of programs like DART, the court system, and the community, greater knowledge can be gained to further understand how victims, batterers, and society can address the problem of domestic violence. The training of police concerning the management of domestic violence incidents has proven to be most effective in altering police practice elsewhere (Elk et al., 1989). It is hoped that the conclusions of this review will (1) alert researchers to the possibility of a positive impact on police effectiveness when dealing with domestic violence cases and (2) to stimulate further research on the impact of specific factors of this training to further improve its effectiveness.

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