DOMESTIC VIOLENCE



ON TRIAL

Psychological and Legal Dimensions of Family Violence

Daniel Jay Sonkin, Ph.D. Editor

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Springer Publishing Company, Inc.

536 Broadway

New York, NY 10012

88 89 90 91 / 5 4 3 2 1

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Domestic violence on trial.

Includes bibliographies and index.

1. Family violence—Law and legislation—

United States. 2. Psychology, Forensic. 3. Abused wives—United States—Psychology.

4. Abused children—United States—Psychology.
I. Sonkin, Daniel Jay. [DNLM: 1. Child Abuse.
2. Family. 3. Spouse Abuse. 4. Violence.

HQ 809.3 D668]

KF9320.D66 1986 ISBN 0-8261-5250-3 345.73'025

86-29841

347.30525

Printed in the United States of America

Contributors

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Angela Browne, Ph.D., is a research associate at the Family Violence Research Laboratory at the University of New Hampshire in Durham. She received her doctorate in psychology from Union Graduate School. Her dissertation was a study of domestic violence homicide. Her forthcoming book, When Battered Women Kill, is a study of women who have killed their abusers. She has spoken extensively on the issue of domestic violence and is currently the editor-in-chief for the journal Violence and Victims. This quarterly journal provides a forum for the latest developments in theory, research, policy, clinical practice, and social services in the area of interpersonal violence and victimization.

Mary Ann Douglas, Ph.D., received her doctorate in clinical psychology from the University of Utah. She is currently the chairperson of the Department of Clinical Psychology, Nova University, Ft. Lauderdale, Florida, where she also teaches and is the founder and director of the Family Violence Clinical Research Program. The program provides for clinical training, research, and direct clinical service. Her research interests include woman battering, incest, and power in intimate relationships. Her clinical practice involves the application of feminist principles to work, primarily with women in individual therapy and with couples and families.

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William Fazio, J.D., graduated from the University of San Francisco in 1974. He is currently a deputy district attorney for the San Francisco District Attorney's Office. He served for 4 years as a trial attorney for the sexual assault unit and has been a trial attorney for the homicide division since 1980. Dr. Fazio is a member of the American Board of Criminal Trial Attorneys. He is committed to the aggressive prosecution of offenders of domestic violence and sexual assault.

Marie M. Fortune, M. Div., grew up in North Carolina, where she received her undergraduate degree from Duke University. She received her seminary training at Yale Divinity School and was ordained a minister in the United Church of Christ. She is an educator and minister working in a specialized, community-based ministry. She has served in a local parish and is the founding director of the Center for the Prevention of Sexual and Domestic Violence, a national resource for religious communities located in Seattle, Washington. Rev. Fortune is the author of Sexual Violence: The Unmentionable Sin (1983) and Sexual Abuse Prevention: A Study for Teenagers (1984), and co-author with Denise Hormann of Family Violence: A Workshop Manual for Clergy and Other Service Providers (1980).

Anne L. Ganley, Ph.D., is a staff psychologist at American Lake Veterans Administration Medical Center in Tacoma, Washington. She designed and implemented both the residential (1978) and the nonresidential (1978–present) counseling programs for male batterers and battered women through the Department of Psychology and Psychiatry. In addition to her private practice in Seattle, Dr. Ganley is a consultant and trainer in developing intervention programs for domestic violence in both civilian and military communities throughout the U.S. and Canada. She is the author of numerous publications about domestic violence, including the manual Court Mandated Counseling for Men Who Batter, available from the Center for Women Policy Studies in Washington, D.C. Dr. Ganley is a member of the National Coalition Against Domestic Violence.

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Gail S. Goodman, Ph.D., is assistant professor and director of the Dual Degree Program in Psychology and Law at the University of Denver. Her research interests include children as witnesses and jurors' reactions to children's testimony. She has written extensively on these topics and received an award from the American Bar Association for her work. She frequently serves as a consultant and expert witness in legal cases involving child witnesses. Dr. Goodman received her doctorate from the University of California, Los Angeles, in developmental psychology.

Robert Hirschhorn, J.D., is an attorney-at-law in Houston, Texas. He is a member of the National Association of Criminal Defense Lawyers, the Texas Criminal Defense Lawyers Association, and the First Amendment Lawyers Association. He has been involved in many high-profile cases, such as the *Brilab* case in Texas, and has assisted in many battered women cases. Mr. Hirschhorn has extensive training as a trial lawyer and additionally has focused on the communication elements of a case.

Del Martin is the author of Battered Wives, a book that served as a catalyst for feminist organizing. She is the co-founder of La Casa de las Madres, the refuge for battered women and their children in San Francisco. She served on the Coalition for Justice for Battered Women, which was instrumental in developing the written protocol for the San Francisco criminal justice system that was the basis for a 1984 bill making police training on domestic violence uniform throughout the state of California. Ms. Martin was appointed by Govenor Jerry Brown to the California Commission on Crime Control and Violence Prevention, which was mandated by the legislature to conduct a 3-year study of the root causes of violence in our society. Her interest expanded to violence prevention, as she came to believe that the roots of violence are in the home as the basic unit of patriarchy. She is also the co-author of The Male Batterer: A Treatment Approach and Lesbianl Woman.

Mary McNeill, J.D., is a graduate of Hasting College of Law in San Francisco, California. Her work in the field of domestic violence began as the coordinator of the Victim Services Unit of the Family Violence Project of the San Francisco District Attorney's Office. Following her direct advocacy work on behalf of battering victims, she served as curriculum development specialist for the project, drafting model training courses for use in law enforcement training nationwide. For the past four years she has trained all levels of officers at the San Francisco Police Academy in proper response techniques for domestic violence cases. Ms. McNeill is currently practicing law in San Francisco, and she continues to conduct training on domestic violence intervention for law enforcement and social service personnel.

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New Haven Shelter for Battered Women is a private, nonprofit organization that strives to end domestic violence and free all women and children from the threat or reality of abuse. Serving the Greater New Haven, Connecticut, area, this program offers an emergency shelter for battered women and their children; a 24-hour hotline for support, crisis intervention, information, and referral; group and individual counseling for women and children; advocacy through advice on housing, employment, welfare, parenting, and legal matters; a children's advocacy program working with schools and agencies, teaching mothers and children ways to interact nonviolently, and training in assault prevention and assertiveness; and community education through school workshops, training sessions, and group presentations.

Eva Jefferson Paterson, J.D., is an attorney and assistant director of the San Francisco Lawyer's Committee for Urban Affairs. Dr. Paterson was the lead attorney for *Scott* v. *Hart*. This federal litigation challenged the arrest avoidance policy employed by police in Oakland, California, when responding to calls from battered women. Her work set the stage for other cities negotiating new policies regarding police response to family violence. She was a co-founder of A Safe Place, the first shelter for battered women in Oakland, California, and a founding member of the California Coalition Against Domestic Violence. This coalition helped lobby through the state legislature of California legislative changes that benefit battered women and their children.

Mindy S. Rosenberg, Ph.D., is assistant professor of psychology at Yale University. Her research interests include the study of children's socio-emotional development in violent families and its implications for preventive programming and social policy. She has consulted with staff from shelters for battered women and child protective services about establishing programs for children of violent families. Dr. Rosenberg received her Ph.D. in community–clinical psychology from the University of Virginia.

Lynne Bravo Rosewater, Ph.D., is a licensed psychologist in private practice in Cleveland, Ohio. She focuses on reframing roles for women and men in her work with individuals, couples, families, and groups. Dr. Rosewater is one of the founding members and the current chairperson of the National Feminist Therapy Institute. As a national expert on both domestic violence and the Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory (MMPI) profile for battered women, Dr. Rosewater prepares personality assessments for use in court with battered women who have killed their batterers. She is co-editor of the book *Handbook of Feminist Therapy: Women's Issues in*

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Psychotherapy and author of numerous chapters on feminist therapy and test interpretation.

Esta Soler, M.A., has been the executive director for the San Francisco Family Violence Project since the inception of the project in March of 1980. Under Ms. Soler's administration, the Family Violence Project has received numerous awards from both the public and private sector, including the John R. May award of the San Francisco Foundation and Governor Deukmejian's Victim Services Award for 1984. In March 1984 Ms. Soler testified as an expert at the Presidential Task Force on Family Violence. Ms. Soler chaired the Domestic Committee of the Mayor's Criminal Justice Council (1981–1984), where model criminal justice policies and procedures were adopted and promulgated. Ms. Soler is also vice-chair of the San Francisco Human Rights Commission.

Roberta K. Thyfault, J.D., graduated from the California Western School of Law in 1984. She is currently licensed to practice law in both California and Colorado. Since 1980 Dr. Thyfault has served as a trial consultant to attorneys who represent battered women involved in criminal and civil litigation, with the emphasis on women charged with homicide. She also worked with Dr. Lenore Walker as a research assistant at the Battered Women Research Center from 1979 through 1981.

Lenore E. Auerbach Walker, Ed. D., A.B.P.P., is a licensed psychologist in independent practice at Walker & Associates in Denver, Colorado. She does psychological assessments and provides psychotherapy in a general practice with a specialization in women and children who have been victims of men's violent behavior. She often testifies in courts around the country, documenting psychological injury and speaking on behalf of battered women who kill their abusers. Dr. Walker previously authored *The Battered Woman* (1979) and *The Battered Woman Syndrome* (1984), co-authored *The Male Batterer: A Treatment Approach* (1985), edited *Women and Mental Health Policy* (1984), and co-edited the *Handbook of Feminist Therapy* (1985). She is a frequent contributor of book chapters and professional journal articles and speaks nationally to groups who work with women victims/survivors of violence. She is presently working on two books, an edited volume on child sexual abuse and one tentatively titled *Getting It All: Women in the Eighties*.

Foreword

Eva Jefferson Paterson

ACT I: THE CRIME

Time: 2 A.M., early Sunday morning, 1975

Place: The home of Manywomen

Participants: Manywomen, Manymen, two police officers

P.O. 1: Calm down, calm down, tell us what happened.

MANYWOMEN: We got into a fight and he beat me. Arrest him!

MANYMEN: I only slapped her.

P.O. 2: Look, this is a civil matter, we can't help you. You'll have to

get a lawyer.

MANYWOMEN: But he hit me, I'm bleeding!

MANYMEN: Look, officers, we were arguing about her spending too much

money. It got out of hand but everything is under control

now.

P.O. 1 (to partner): Look, we got several calls backed up. Let's go. There's

nothing we can do here.

MANYWOMEN: Can't I make a citizen's arrest?

P.O. 2: If you do that he will just be released in a few hours. You two

are just going have to get along better. Maybe you can go to

marriage counseling.

P.O. 1: If we have to come back here again, we will arrest you both.

We have to go.

In 1975 I was a legal services attorney in East Oakland, California. As a child of the 1960s who had just graduated from law school, I was eager to use my legal skills as an attorney through the use of class action litigation aimed at effecting social, political, and economic change for previously under-

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represented individuals. From literally the first day I began to see clients, I encountered the type of situation described above, whereby women who had been battered by their husbands, former husbands, boyfriends, or former boyfriends were not receiving adequate police assistance. Since all of my clients were black, my initial reaction was that the Oakland Police Department was failing to protect my clients because of their race. I assumed that if my clients were white women they would be protected. I later discovered that the police failed to protect all women, no matter what their race.

This failure to protect seemed to be a clear violation of the constitutionally guaranteed right to equal protection of the laws. Legal research into the possibility of bringing a class action suit on behalf of a class of black women began.

ACT II: THE RESPONSE

At the time the only people interested in such a suit were women law students. Many of those consulted about the litigation were sympathetic to the problem but felt that such an action to ameliorate the failure to protect women would be impossible. I was urged to pursue other litigation. As a black woman who was still awaiting the results of the bar examination and as an affirmative action admittee to Boalt Hall, the School of Law at the University of California–Berkeley, my confidence level was not high and I often had second thoughts about the wisdom of pursuing the lawsuit. Fortunately, as is often the case when one is on to something that is essentially the right course of action, assistance and support were forthcoming from the many dedicated feminist women who were concerned about battered women. This lawsuit coincided with the rebirth of the modern day battered women's movement.

The lawsuit ultimately resulted in a negotiated settlement that committed the Oakland Police Department to treating domestic violence as a crime and required officers to make arrests when probable cause to make such an arrest existed. Although the lawsuit was an exhausting experience, it resulted in the greater solidarity of women advocating for victims of family violence.

This lawsuit taught us much about this issue. Fortunately, what we learned is exactly what this book is all about. Many of the concepts you are about to read about were extremely helpful in convincing the judge and the Oakland Police Department that change was necessary. Many of the contributors to the book encouraged the litigation team to fight on, submitted declarations to the court that helped us win a critical victory, helped us develop the 10 principles that ultimately were our opening proposals to the Oakland Police Department, and helped us monitor the enforcement of the terms of the settlement.

Foreword

In 1979 a number of the women who were involved with the litigation and others working with the battered women's movement formed the Coalition for Justice for Battered Women. After meeting with the newly elected mayor of San Francisco and the Police Chief, the group began negotiations with the San Francisco Police Department on St. Valentine's Day of 1980. Eight months later the department agreed to change its policy. The group then began to pressure the San Francisco District Attorney's Office for a more aggressive response to domestic violence cases. Through these efforts changes in policy have been effected and today more women are able to find relief through the courts.

Neither I nor the other contributors will be satisfied if you merely view this book as an explanation of the phenomenon of domestic violence. Those working on this issue have learned that society in general is to a large extent responsible for allowing women to be beaten. For as long as we continue to look the other way and to tolerate the type of violence that results in a woman being beaten once every 18 seconds, women will be maimed and critically injured both physically and psychologically. Therefore, we implore you to become actively involved in combating this problem. Your professional expertise and personal compassion are urgently needed if we are to eliminate domestic violence.

Domestic Violence on Trial describes the connection between mental health and the courts. We now know that an aggressive criminal justice response to family violence is a necessary step to solving this problem. The courts have not been effective in protecting battered women in the past because the criminal justice system is totally reflective of society's attitudes as to what constitutes a crime. If society at large does not believe that domestic violence is criminal activity and if we as a group believe that such conduct is private and does not require the intervention of the state, then the criminal justice system will reflect this attitude. Police officers will not arrest: district attorneys will not prosecute; juries will not convict; judges will not sentence batterers. Although I initially believed that the police were the villains, I soon changed that narrow view and have came to the conclusion that when society changes the entire criminal justice system will also change. This view has been reinforced by the enormous changes that I have witnessed over the past 10 years—changes that are in large part a product of the work of the battered women's movement.

Shelters for battered women and counseling for victims, children, and perpetrators are also critical to solving the problem. One way to helping battered women is through empowerment. The battered women's movement and the litigation have empowered women and given them a sense that they can struggle constructively and win. This is a critical aspect of full recovery from victimization. One way of helping perpetrators stop their violence is through accountability. When an individual is unable or chooses not to control his own behavior, the courts can intervene and hold that perpetrator

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of violence accountable for his actions. This process is further facilitated through mental health service providers working closely with the system and offering effective treatment and education services to men who batter.

We have learned much in the past 5 years about how violence is transmitted from generation to generation. Boys who watch their fathers batter their mothers are more likely to grow up to batter their partners. Girls who grow up in violent families may grow up with a distorted idea of what it is to be a woman, low self-esteem, or a tendency to become a victim of woman battering. In this way children hold a critical key to the solution of this problem. If we can teach them how to solve problems constructively and nonviolently, they are more prepared to permanently break the cycle of family violence.

Domestic violence is a complex phenomenon that requires equally complex solutions. The authors in this book offer both concrete and theoretical perspectives on these solutions. It is our collective hope that these ideas will help you professionally and personally in dealing with the myriad of issues that constitute domestic violence. While the problem has not been solved, we have made great progress.

ACT THREE: A SUCCESS STORY

Time: 2 A.M., early Sunday morning, 1985

Place: The home of Manywomen

Participants: Manywomen, Manymen, two police officers

P.O. 1: Sir, you are under arrest for assault and battery. We were here last week and gave you a warning. You are under arrest. We are taking you to jail.

P.O. 2: Manywomen, here is a resource card that lists counseling services, legal assistance, and the name of several shelters where you can go with your children.

MANYWOMEN: Thank you so much. You have been very helpful.

The beginning of a much needed change in society.

Acknowledgments

I would like to thank all of the contributors to this book, without whose dedicated efforts to ending violence in the family such a volume would not have been possible. I would also like to acknowledge the work of the San Francisco Family Violence Project for its exemplary work in this field. Through my work with this and the many domestic violence programs in the San Francisco Bay Area, I have developed a better understanding of both my personal and professional relationships to this issue. It was my work with the San Francisco Family Violence Project and Lenore Walker in particular that inspired me to edit this volume.

I would like to take this opportunity to thank Barbara Watkins and Ursula Springer of Springer Publishing Company for their commitment to this important social issue. They have maintained a high standard in their publications on this issue.

I would like to thank all the men and women who have sought my help in ending the violence in their lives. I have developed a better understanding of myself through my work with them. With each client I have learned to better appreciate that each person has a unique and special positive quality that, when nurtured, allows dreams, hopes, and aspirations to be realized. I have grown to realize that the human spirit can be both strong and fragile and, as such, must be treated with respect and caring.

I would like to thank my family and friends for their unending faith and support in who I am as a person; their belief in me has helped me believe in myself. And finally, my thanks to my partner, Mindy Rosenberg, whose love, support, and caring is felt and appreciated always. Our relationship is a daily reminder that men and women can live together in peace and harmony.

Daniel Jay Sonkin, Ph.D. Sausalito, California

Introduction

When I first entitled this volume *Domestic Violence on Trial* (an idea I borrowed from Thyfault, 1984), I thought, "Surely, this issue is not really on trial." Since that time my optimism has been tempered by reality. Our society has yet to take the plight of battered women seriously. However, it is not only battered women who are victim and witness to this societal neglect. Women who are raped (Brownmiller, 1975; Bochnak, 1981), women who seek divorce or custody of their children (Walker, this volume), children who are physically or sexually abused (Butler, 1978; Russell, 1984), and women who find themselves defendants in criminal trials (Jones, 1980) are likewise unprotected by the laws that are theoretically there to protect every man, woman and child equally.

What is it about society that is on trial? It is the prevailing sexist attitudes that prevent individuals and institutions from effectively responding to battered women and their children (Martin, 1981, 1982). These attitudes include the belief that women's perceptions of their situations are inaccurate or inferior and that women provoke men's anger and their subsequent violence; women who are violent or assertive in other ways (e.g., seeking a divorce and custody) are labeled vindictive and evil. Traditionally defined standards (by men) of male and female "normal" and "abnormal" behaviors (Chesler, 1972) have contributed to the biased treatment women have received in the mental health practitioner's office (Masson, 1984) and in the courtroom (Armstrong, 1982).

Women who have fought back in self-defense have historically been considered "unwomanly" or "malelike." In the past a woman was not given the opportunity to claim self-defense if she killed her abuser. Women were found guilty of more serious offenses as compared to men who killed. Even when a woman was found guilty of the same offense as a man, she was and still is in many jurisdictions given a harsher jail sentence. Articles that describe women as "getting away with murder," with such titles as "Thirteen Ways to Leave Your Lover" (New Times, Feb. 6, 1978) or "A

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Killing Excuse" (*Time*, Nov. 28, 1977) suggest that men have a difficult time accepting that some women are venturing outside their traditional passive roles (Schneider & Jordan, 1981).

Has there been change? Yes, Since 1976 over 500 shelters for battered women have opened their doors to women and children needing protection from their assailants (Martin, 1981). The National Coalition for Battered Women, formed in 1978, has provided technical assistance. legislative lobbying, and networking for the hundreds of programs across the country addressing this issue. Federal legislation appropriated \$65 million over 3 years to assist states in preventing family violence (Melling, 1984). State legislation has been developed on the response to family violence by criminal and civil courts and the police (Lerman, 1983). As a result family violence is now being addressed by law enforcement agencies as criminal behavior (San Francisco Family Violence Project, 1982) rather than "family disputes." The general public is more aware of the problem as a result of newspaper articles and television programming such as the films The Burning Bed and A Right to Kill. The increased response by the criminal justice system has also contributed to the proliferation of treatment programs for male batterers (Sonkin, Martin, & Walker, 1985). Likewise, the organizing of men against violence against women has increased the awareness of this issue among men (Adams 1984).

These changes have all been the direct result of the battered women's movement. Male-dominated institutions, such as the criminal justice system, have been slow to change their attitudes. It has taken lawsuits and legislation to change the prevailing belief that woman victims of violence somehow cause or deserve their abuse. Although testimony regarding battered woman syndrome has been admitted as evidence in homicide and assault trials in at least 22 states, several states have not allowed such testimony (Kinsports, Bersoff, & Ennis, 1983). Laws regarding self-defense do not take sex differences into account (Walker, 1984), and as a result women are often tried on male standards of behavior. Differences in perception, strength, and decision making can significantly mitigate intent in domestic violence homicide cases (Browne, Thyfault, & Walker, this volume; Thyfault, Bennett, & Hischhorn, this volume). Domestic Violence on Trial raises these and other issues regarding the battered woman's or child's experience in the court.

Who should read this book? This edited volume is primarily directed toward mental health and legal professionals and paraprofessionals advocating for battered women and their children—advocating in the sense that the protection and safety of women and children from further victimization is the foremost goal in their efforts to conduct their particular business, whether it is law enforcement, psychotherapy, or legal assistance. This book is also for anyone who has contact with battered women and children or male batterers.

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Given the prevalence of family violence (Straus, Gelles, & Steinmetz, 1980), any persons who have contact with the public through their particular professions would greatly benefit from reading this text.

The book is divided into four sections. Each section focuses on a particular aspect of this issue. The foreword and the prologue provide an overview and context for the following chapters. Eva Jefferson Paterson, an attorney and assistant director of the San Francisco Lawyer's Committee for Urban Affairs, was the lead attorney for *Scott v. Hart.* This federal titigation challenged the arrest avoidance policy employed by police in Oakland, California, when responding to calls from battered women. Her work set the stage for other cities to negotiate new policies regarding police response to family violence. She sets the frame for this book in her foreword by discussing this case and its impact on the battered women's movement and the criminal justice system.

The story of Catherine is a personal account by a victim of domestic violence. Her story describes her subsequent victimization by the criminal justice system. Although her particular story ends in success, her struggles reflect those of many women who attempt to receive a just response from the criminal justice system.

In Part One, Del Martin, who is considered the founder of the modern-day battered women's movement, discusses the historical roots of domestic violence. She explains that battering is not a recent phenomenon, but has its roots in the patriarchal system. Martin discusses this view within the context of women's experiences and vis-à-vis relationships to psychoanalytic fantasy theories as well as civil and criminal law. It is very crucial to a comprehensive understanding of family violence that professionals realize that woman battering is a social problem, not just a personal aberration inherent in a particular couple's relationship.

The San Francisco Family Violence Project has been one of the most successful programs in the country to address the problems of the criminal justice system in responding to battered women. Esta Soler, the project's executive director since its inception in 1980, writes on the elements of its success. She describes in detail how the project addressed inherent problems within the system. In addition to providing an overview of their police training and victim services unit within the district attorney's office, Soler discusses how community agencies can become involved in addressing the needed policy changes within the governmental agencies charged with the responsibility of protecting battered women and their children.

Part Two specifically addresses the battered woman. Mary Ann Douglas writes about the battered woman syndrome. Referring to this syndrome may appear to be clinicalizing the battered women, that is, making her appear to be inherently weak or disturbed. But the syndrome is intended to be a way of describing what happens to a woman who is repeatedly physically, sexually, or psychologically abused by her partner. The response or the characteristics

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of the syndrome would occur with anyone experiencing such abuse. Thus it is the batterer's behavior that is unusual, not the response of the victim. Women can and do recover once they separate from the abuser and/or he is forced to change his behavior via the courts.

Roberta Thyfault, Cathy Bennett, and Robert Hirschhorn discuss the admissibility of the battered woman syndrome in court and its relationship to the choosing and perceptions of jurors. Biases inherent in the criminal justice process prevent women from receiving equal treatment with men. Attorneys and expert witnesses must address these biases in order to educate effectively jurors and the bench, so that informed decisions can be rendered.

Three women who have done much for battered women accused of murder are Roberta Thyfault, Angela Browne, and Lenore Walker. Their contribution represents a productive collaboration that began long before this book was conceived. The chapter discusses specific issues the expert witness must address in cases where battered women have killed or assaulted their abuser. Also included are issues that need to be addressed by the attorney, evaluation procedures, and testimony issues and techniques. Walker's extensive experience as an expert witness, Browne's experience as a researcher in the area of domestic violence homicide, and Thyfault's experience as an attorney evaluating battered women who have killed their abusers complement each other so that the final product can offer valuable information to persons of various disciplines.

Lynne Bravo Rosewater has written extensively on the feminist interpretation of traditional psychological tests. Her study of the Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory profile and battered women has greatly assisted individuals working with battered women in legal and mental health settings. Her chapter articulates the manner in which professionals may interpret a standard psychological test, such as the MMPI, in ways that help to clarify the battered woman's perception and experience of her situation. Although her evaluations are most frequently utilized by expert witnesses involved in evaluating women who have killed, all mental health professionals may benefit from utilizing such a test to enhance their ability to help the women recover from and appropriately respond to such abuse.

Part Three addresses the issues of children. Gail Goodman and Mindy Rosenberg discuss child witnesses to violence from both a psychological and legal point of view. Children are often the forgotten victims of family violence. Rosenberg, who has researched the effects on children of witnessing violence, proposes that through understanding how children perceive and incorporate their experience we can develop a better understanding of the transmission of violent behaviors. Goodman has studied children's memory regarding their witnessing or being victims of violence. Likewise, her work sheds light on the transmission of violence. Because children are often called upon to testify in criminal or civil cases involving family violence, she