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Effectiveness of correctional-educational interventions in correctional institutions aimed at perpetrators of domestic violence in the light of their return to prison

Abstract: Family violence is a phenomenon that has been the subject of heated discussions for many years, both in the media, politics, and academia. It is emphasized that this is an increasingly visible and growing phenomenon in the modern world. According to official statistics, every year about 10,000 people are sentenced for abuse of a family member (Article 207 of the Criminal Code), and some of the perpetrators are sentenced to absolute imprisonment – often under conditions of penitentiary recidivism. Offenders in penitentiary isolation are subjected to various types of correctional interventions. This article presents the results of research on the effectiveness of the Duluth correctional-educational program addressed to perpetrators of domestic violence. The results of the conducted analyses are presented in the perspective of returning to prison 5 years after leaving it.

Key words: domestic violence, effectiveness of correctional and educational programs, abuse, recidivism, violent offenders, Duluth.

Introduction

Discussions about domestic violence have been going on for a long time. They are undertaken by representatives of many fields of science. It is emphasized that this is an increasingly visible and growing phenomenon in the modern world (Helios, Jedlecka 2017, p. 15). According to official statistics, the police annually

initiate about 27,000 proceedings under Articles 207(1)-(3) of the Criminal Code, and slightly more than half of them (14,000 – 15,000) are crimes¹. In 2019, the number of “Blue Charter” forms filled out by the police concerned 88032 thousand victims of violence². According to the statistics of the National Criminal Register, in 2018, 10986 people were legally sentenced under Article 207 of the Criminal Code. There were 8358 prison sentences recorded. On average, the ratio of absolute imprisonment to imprisonment with probation is one to three (in 2018, 2797 people were sentenced to absolute imprisonment and 5561 people were put on probation). According to the statistics of the Central Board of Prison Service, as of December 31, 2019, 3448 final judgments under Article 207 of the Criminal Code were executed³.

The statistics presented here do not fully illustrate the scale of the domestic violence phenomenon, they are only a fragment of reality. It is estimated that up to one million women experience violence every year (Gruszczyńska 2007). According to police statistics, 95% of domestic violence perpetrators are men and 91% of victims are women and children⁴. According to research, the typical perpetrator is a male with a primary education, unemployed, and an alcohol abuser (Pilszyk 2007). Attention is also drawn to the problem of alcohol dependence of one or both parents, material conditions, reduced intellectual capacity and emotional problems, and experiencing violence in childhood (Stabryła 2012).

Within the framework of creating systemic solutions, programs and procedures are created, on the one hand to support people experiencing violence (Saltzman 2000; Coker et al. 2002; Chrisler, Ferguson 2006), and on the other to undertake corrective actions towards the perpetrators themselves. In addition to therapeutic interventions, correctional and educational programs are most commonly used. One of the most well-known and widespread is the Duluth program (Bates, Graham-Kewad 2020; Rodgers 2020). It is used in both solitary confinement and detention settings.

This paper presents the results of a study on the effectiveness of the Duluth violent offender program.

Methodology

The main research objective was to show the effectiveness of correctional-educational interventions for persons convicted of domestic violence (Article 207

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¹ <http://statystyka.policja.pl/st/kodeks-karny/przestepstwa-przeciwko-7/63507,Znecanie-sie-art-207.html> (accessed on: March 28, 2020).

² <http://statystyka.policja.pl/st/wybrane-statystyki/przemoc-w-rodzynie/50863,Przemoc-w-rodzynie.html> (accessed on: March 28, 2020).

³ <https://sw.gov.pl/strona/statystyka-roczna> (accessed on: March 28, 2020).

⁴ <https://www.niebieskalinia.pl/edukacja/badania-i-raporty/5514-przemoc-domowa-i-przemoc-wo-bec-kobiet-co-statystyki-mowia-o-sytuacji-w-polsce> (accessed on: March 28, 2020).

of the Criminal Code). Effectiveness was measured by the aspect of recidivism, in this case, re-sentencing and serving an absolute prison sentence. Both the nature of the act for which the subject was convicted and the time elapsed between leaving and re-entering prison were taken into account.

In 2014, in the selected penitentiary institutions, the selected prisoners who were convicted for abuse of a family member (Article 207 of the Criminal Code) and who were currently in the penitentiary institution were drawn on the basis of the sampling frame prepared by the Central Board of Prison Service.

Two study groups (experimental and control) were randomly selected. Participants enrolled in the experimental group participated in a correctional-education program designed for perpetrators of domestic violence in the Duluth model. Study participants assigned to the control group did not participate in a similar program. A total of 120 subjects were drawn for the Duluth program for the experimental group, and 82 for the control group.

Before and after the program, study participants completed a set of psychological questionnaires to measure aggression and these were: A.H. Buss's and M. Perry's Aggression Questionnaire (AQBP) – AQBP'07 version (Buss-Perry Aggression Questionnaire Scale – 1992) – translated and adapted by Lucyna Kirwill (2015) with permission from A.H. Buss, and the Polish adaptation of the STAXI-2 Self-Assessment Questionnaire for the study of state, trait, expression and control of anger (Bąk 2016).

As part of the research, we collected and analyzed the products of the activities conducted during the programs, such as: reports and logbooks of the trainers, materials developed by the participants, so-called homework, safety plans, questionnaires on the history of violence, etc.

Five years after the last study participant left prison, further analyses were conducted. A recidivism rate was calculated based on the information contained in the prison records and on analysis of the prison stay data.

The starting point of the project was the hypothesis that people who participated in the correctional-educational program for perpetrators of violence in the Duluth model will commit less frequently crimes related to domestic violence after leaving prison, and thus will be less likely to return to penitentiary institutions.

Results of the analyses

As already mentioned, the empirical material collected allowed for the development of a recidivism rate based on data on stays in penitentiary facilities. However, the data contains information on the date of conviction for the crime committed, but no specific information on when the crime was committed. In addition, the data includes recidivism in correctional facilities, which means only

being sentenced to an absolute term of imprisonment and, as a result, being incarcerated for the act committed.

A crucial and at the same time extremely important finding of the conducted research is the rate of recidivism, which indicates that convicts who participated in the correctional-educational program for perpetrators of violence, were less likely to return to penitentiary institutions. This percentage amounted to around 16% in the experimental group and 28% in the control group, almost twice as high (cf. Table 1). Statistical analyses indicate that the observed differences are statistically significant, which means that people who completed the program for perpetrators of violence were less frequently sentenced to absolute imprisonment again than those who did not participate in such a program ($\chi^2_{(N=183, df=1)} = 4.348, p=0.037; \Phi=0.154, p=0.037$).

Table 1. Return to prison

Group	Return	Number	Percent
Experimental	yes	16	15.7
	no	86	84.3
	total	102	100.0
Control group	yes	23	28.4
	no	58	71.6
	total	81*	100.0

* For one participant, the return to prison could not be determined.

Analysis of the data on the types of acts for which study participants reentered prison indicated no statistically significant differences between the type of act committed and the correctional-educational program completed or not ($\chi^2_{(N=39, df=1)} = 0.083, p=0.773$). In the experimental group, those re-sentenced and serving a prison sentence for abuse (Article 207 of the Criminal Code) amounted to about 44% and in the control community 39%. 56% and 61%, respectively, were convictions for other acts (mostly against property). It was supposed that people who completed the program addressed to the perpetrators of domestic violence in penitentiary, after leaving the penitentiary institution, would use violence against their closest persons less frequently. As mentioned above, this hypothesis was not confirmed, and in fact, it was observed that there was a slightly higher percentage of those who went to prison again among those who had been through the Duluth program. Interestingly, those who did not go through the program were more likely to have convictions for several different crimes after leaving prison (39%). Acts against property were most frequent, but there were also acts against life and health and the administration of justice. For comparison, in the experimental group, this percentage was 19%.

The obtained result may be explained by the fact that in the group of convicts who completed the program for perpetrators of violence, every third person obtained conditional early release, while in the control group there such cases were fewer (cf. chart 1). Conditional early release from prison very often involves probation supervision to which the released prisoner is subjected. Such a situation, on the one hand, promotes the social readaptation of the convict (Świerczek 2013) and, on the other hand, any transgression of the law may result in the resumption of the prison sentence and return to the penitentiary institution (Stańdo-Kawecka 2014). Most of the prisoners participating in the study left prison due to the completion of their absolute prison terms.

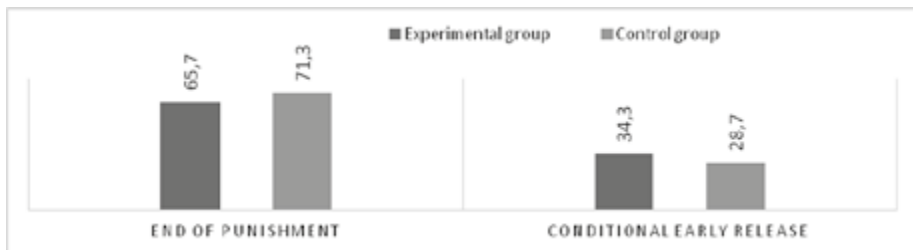


Chart 1. How the imprisonment ended:

In addition, the time elapsed between when the study participants left the correctional facility and their re-incarceration was analyzed. For this purpose, ranges covering a time interval of one year were created. Interesting, because the highest rate of return to prison in the experimental group was recorded in the first year after leaving prison. From the second year, an increase in return was observed in the control group. Curiously enough, in the experimental group, the fastest recidivism (up to 12 months after leaving prison) was characteristic of acts under Article 207 of the Penal Code, while other crimes occurred most often 2–3 years after leaving prison ($\chi^2_{(N=16, df=2)} = 6.180, p=0.046$).

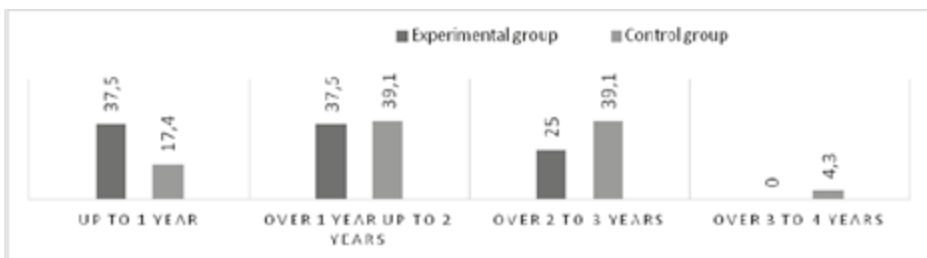


Chart 2. Time between test subjects being repeatedly sentenced and when they leave prison

In order to better understand the phenomenon of recidivism, the data contained in the penitentiary documentation in the so-called personal identification files were analyzed. The collected information concerning, inter alia, the personal situation of the convict (e.g. family relations, housing situation, professional situation, addictions) as well as the manner of functioning in the prison (e.g. rewards, punishments, relations with the staff of the institution and with fellow inmates, taking up employment, etc.) was aimed at extracting factors of importance for the convict from the perspective of recidivism. The way in which a prisoner functions after leaving prison is influenced not only by the influence they have received in the correctional process, but also by appropriate preparation for functioning after leaving the penitentiary institution.

Therefore, the recidivism data collected was analyzed taking into account both information about the correctional program in prison, how the inmate functioned in the institution, and environmental factors of particular importance outside prison.

Analyzing the data from the Duluth program in the experimental group, it should be indicated that inmates who completed the program for violent offenders and whose participation in the program was assessed as “high engagement” were significantly less likely to return to the correctional facility for another criminal act. Participant engagement was measured by the amount of works developed during classes such as: history of violence, change plan, safety plan, belief work sheet, and an engagement assessment by the facilitators.

As already mentioned, the influence of the external environment is also an important element in the correctional process. On the one hand, it can play a supporting role, but on the other hand, when it is a carrier of values contrary to the norms in force, it can hinder the process of readaptation of people leaving social rehabilitation institutions. Those convicted of crimes of abuse of a family member, due to the sentence they were serving, had limited opportunities for violence due to them staying in the facility. It should be emphasized, however, that most of them maintained contact with the “outside world” through regular sightings, phone calls, correspondence, or through pass-out meetings. The skills learned during the program could have been transferred to actual interactions with the family. Only a few percent of the subjects had no contact with people outside the facility – 2% for the experimental group and 6% in the control group, respectively.

As presented earlier, subjects in the experimental group were significantly more likely to establish or maintain contact with people outside the prison than were subjects in the control group. The most common were parents (47%) and siblings (41% and 42%, respectively). For both the experimental and control groups, these percentages were similar. The situation was similar with regard to extended family – every fifth convict maintained such contacts. The greatest differences between the compared groups were observed with respect to maintained relationships with

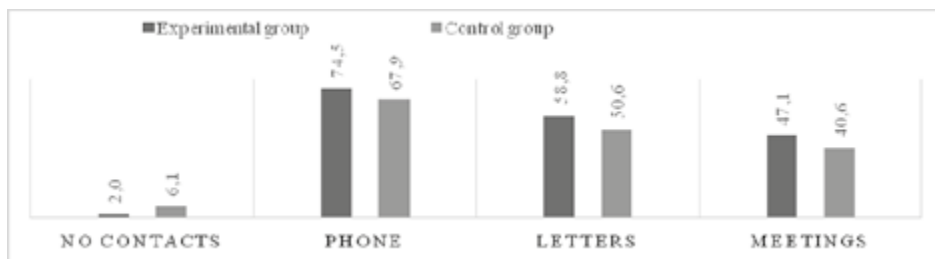


Chart 3. Type of contact prisoners have with people outside prison

children (28% and 17% for the experimental and control groups, respectively) and partners (contact with wife, common-law wife, girlfriend), 34% and 26%, respectively. This result is not surprising, as most of the respondents were in prison because of a crime they committed, which involved abuse of their partner and children.

Those in the experimental group were more likely to be in formalized relationships (one in three in the experimental group and one in five in the control group, respectively). They were also almost twice as likely to be divorced (27% for the experimental group and 16% for the control group, respectively). As already mentioned, the vast majority of cases involved abuse of a partner, but not only, the victims were also parents and siblings. It is worth noting here that some of the convicted persons lived in a common household with the victims, including those who were formally separated or divorced. In addition, it is worth noting that these convicts most often indicated the place of residence prior to their stay in prison, and thus often together with the victim, as the place of their planned residence after leaving the penitentiary institution.

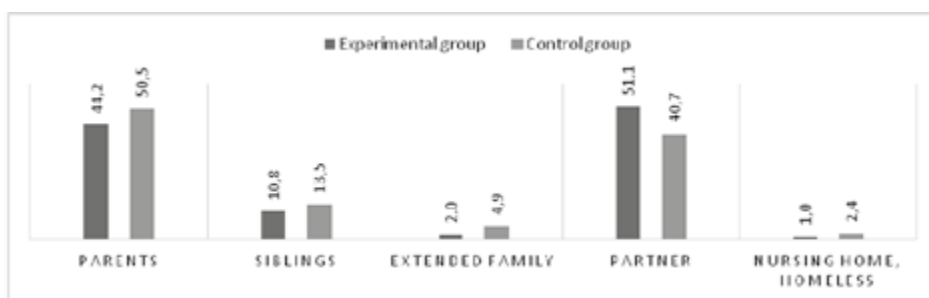


Chart 4. People with whom the respondents lived

An important element both in the estimation of risk factors for the emergence of criminal behavior and in the evaluation of the effectiveness of the applied interventions are factors related to the process of socialization of the convict. The literature particularly highlights the relationship between family functioning

and the influence of those in the immediate environment (Rode 2010). The importance of parents' addictions, the presence of personality disorders and mental illnesses in the family, and parental delinquency, among others, are highlighted (Barczykowska 2015).

In analyzing data on recidivism and the associated effectiveness of the Duluth correctional and educational program, attention was paid to certain characteristics of inmates' families, wondering whether they had an impact, and possibly what impact, on the persistence of the effects of correctional interventions. The family environment in which the respondents were raised was a carrier of beliefs, values and norms, very often contradictory to those presented during correctional activities. In addition, families acted as a carrier for maladaptive coping patterns through, for example, alcohol and violence.

In the study population, every third participant from the experimental group and every fourth participant from the control group grew up in a family with an alcohol problem (addiction of one of the parents). One in six, in turn, grew up in a family with a criminal history. A small percentage (about 2%) of families were affected by mental illness. In the experimental group more prisoners (7%) grew up in violent families compared to those in the control group (4%).

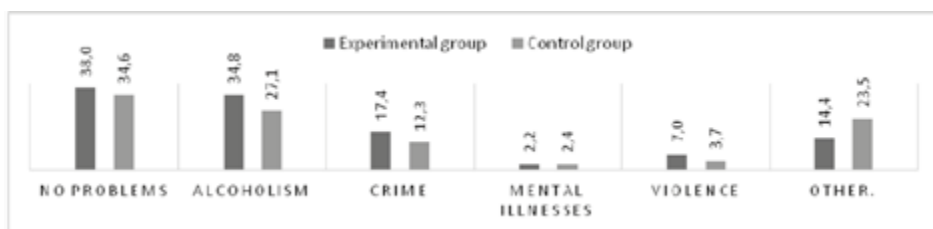


Chart 5. Situation of the convict's family

An important aspect in estimating the effectiveness of the program, especially among perpetrators of domestic violence, is dependence on alcohol or other psychoactive substances. As emphasized in the literature, in many cases it is alcohol that plays a triggering role in aggressive and violent behavior by lowering the obstacles associated with emotional and behavioral control (Serafin et al. 2012; Różyńska 2013).

When analyzing recidivism rates in the correctional facility, it is worth noting that about 80% of the respondents were addicted to alcohol or other psychoactive substances. These percentages were similar for the experimental and control groups.

According to the empirical data, the vast majority of acts were committed by the perpetrators under the influence of alcohol, in the experimental group it was 89% of the acts, and 83% in the control group. Therefore, when comparing the percentages of convicted addicts and the proportion of acts committed under the

influence of alcohol, one can see their co-occurrence. As far as the effectiveness of correctional and educational programs is concerned, it is worth to emphasize not only the need to continue the correctional activities for perpetrators of violence outside prison, but also the need to treat addiction during the stay in the penitentiary facility, as well as after leaving it. One might even venture to say that without substance abuse treatment and abstinence, the likelihood of the effects of a program for violent offenders being sustained outside prison is slim.

One of the indicators of the subsequent effectiveness of correctional and educational interventions may be the offender's attitude towards the committed act. It seems that in the studied population of convicts this may be significant, as in the experimental group, 1/3 of the subjects showed a critical attitude towards the committed act, while in the control group it was 1/4. The criticism that emerged may have been related to the areas of the offense committed that have been worked through during the Duluth program. The measurement of aggression using the A.H. Buss's and M. Perry's Aggression Questionnaire (AQBP) before and after the program showed statistically significant differences in the level of one dimension of the aggression structure, anger. It turned out that the men who participated in the program for perpetrators of domestic violence felt less anger after the program ($t(91)=2.185$; $p=0.031$; *Cohen's d* = 0.228) – $m=18.02$ and $M=16.88$, respectively. Similar results were obtained by measuring with the STAXI-2 Self-Assessment Questionnaire to study the condition, trait, expression and control of anger. Men who completed the Duluth program had lower post-training scores on both the perceived spite and inward-directed anger scales ($Z=2.269$; $p=0.023$; $r=0.168$). These results suggest that people who have completed the program are more able to control their aggressive behaviors, both those directed outward, toward other people or objects, and those directed inward, involving the internal experience of anger. With regard to the other dimensions of aggression: physical, verbal, and hostility, on the basis of the analysis of averages, a slight decrease could be observed, but these differences were not statistically significant.

According to the latest criminological prognoses available in the penitentiary files, developed by the prison staff, for about 42% of the convicts in the experimental group the prognosis was positive, in the control community this was the case for every third convict. In 15% and 10% of the experimental and control group, respectively, the prognosis was uncertain, and both negative and positive factors were mentioned. Interestingly, a negative prognosis was developed for 43% of the prisoners in the experimental group and more than half (56%) of the prisoners in the control group. It should be emphasized that the actual rate of return to prison was 16% and 28% for the groups analyzed. The concordance between the prognosis and the actual return rate was within 40%.

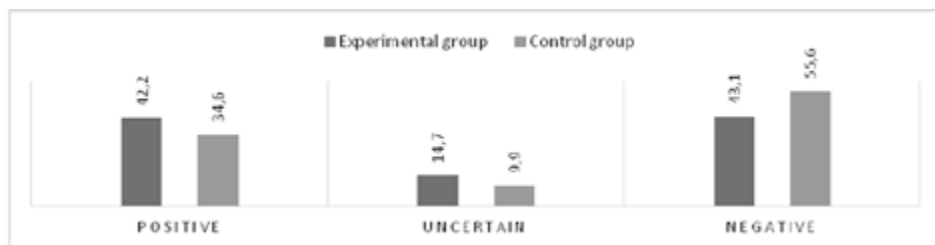


Chart 6. Criminological prognosis from prison (from last opinion)

Among the factors that portend positively in criminological opinions, the most frequently mentioned were:

- Positive behavior in prison, no disciplinary action;
- Participation in a correctional and educational program for perpetrators of violence;
- Participation in other correctional, therapeutic programs;
- Having family support, keeping in touch with family;
- Positively assessed progress in rehabilitation;
- Work during the stay in prison;
- Criticism of the act committed;
- Having a permanent place of residence.

The following negative prognostic factors were most often cited:

- Aggressive behavior while in prison, conflicts with fellow inmates and with facility staff;
- Lack of criticism of the act committed;
- Lack of motivation to participate in corrective and therapeutic interventions;
- Multiple recidivism,
- Alcohol addiction, no therapy undertaken;
- Conflict with the family they will live with after leaving prison;

As mentioned earlier, there were questionable criminological opinions in the penitentiary files, which meant that there were a number of positive and negative predictive factors for the same prisoner. The following are some examples:

- Negative prognostic factor: no plans related to work outside prison, little involvement in the rehabilitation process. Positive prognostic factor: deceased sister who was abused by the convict;
- Negative prognostic factor: recidivism. Positive prognostic factor: critical attitude toward crime, participation in rehabilitation programs, and good behavior in prison;
- Negative prognostic factor: the rehabilitation process is going well but is not complete yet. The convict, despite completing the Duluth program, does not fully realize the harm of their crime.
- Negative prognostic factor: no guarantee that they will not commit a crime. Positive prognostic factor: there is progress in rehabilitation, the convict has

participated in therapy related to alcohol treatment, has completed the Duluth program, changes in thinking are evident, has a job, is functioning well in prison.

It is worth noting that the factors extracted in criminological prognoses are correlated with the effectiveness of correctional programs and return by convicts to correctional institutions. The greater the accumulation of risk factors, in the absence of supportive factors, the greater the likelihood that the readaptation process will fail.

The analysis of the data on the functioning of the convicts in prison indicates that those in the experimental group definitely functioned better in penitentiary institutions, in the case of only 16% there was information about conflicts between fellow inmates or staff. In the control community, the percentage was 31%.

Interesting results were obtained by comparing the number of rewards and punishments received. The average number of awards per prisoner in the experimental group was 11; the control group had only one. With respect to the penalties used, the groups differed somewhat less. On average, there were 2.5 disciplinary punishments per prisoner in the experimental group. Respondents in the control group were punished twice as often.

As emphasized in the literature, work may also be one of the effective re-socialization interventions (Konopczyński 2006). Not only does it ensure a constructive use of time while in prison, but it also allows to accumulate needed funds for current expenses or those that can be used after leaving the facility. For organizational reasons, not all prisoners have the opportunity to take up employment. It should also be emphasized that not all inmates are interested in this opportunity. In both study groups, the majority of inmates took up employment during their stay in the penitentiary (63% and 56% for the experimental and control group, respectively).

A significant number of inmates were able to take up employment within the prison, while some were able to take up employment outside the prison. In the experimental group, 86% of the recruits worked in the facility and 14% worked outside of it. In the control population, the percentage of inmates working inside the correctional facility was 78%, and for those working outside it was 22%.



Chart 7. Employment of the convict during their imprisonment

As previously mentioned, inmates who were employed while incarcerated could have been paid for their work. However, the employment offered to inmates was not always of a paid nature. It can be noted that within the penitentiary institutions, unpaid forms of work predominated, outside the penitentiary they were more often of a paid nature.



Chart 8. Payment for work undertaken by convicts

The facility views the possession of financial resources by inmates as a factor that increases the positive prognosis upon release. Most of the convicts in the experimental group (54%) had some sort of financial resources that they had accumulated while in prison (earned wages from work, money sent by relatives or friends). In the control community, the percentage was lower and amounted to 46%.

Among the factors that are measures of an inmate’s functioning, their emotional coping, and stress, are acts of self-aggression that may occur while incarcerated. Overall, self-aggressive acts (suicide attempts and self-injury) occurred for approximately 7% of the prisoners participating in the study and 12% of the control group. One supposes that individuals who are better able to cope with frustration and emotional strain in prison will be better able to cope with difficulties outside prison. Going through a correctional and educational program will give them the tools to effectively control their behavior.

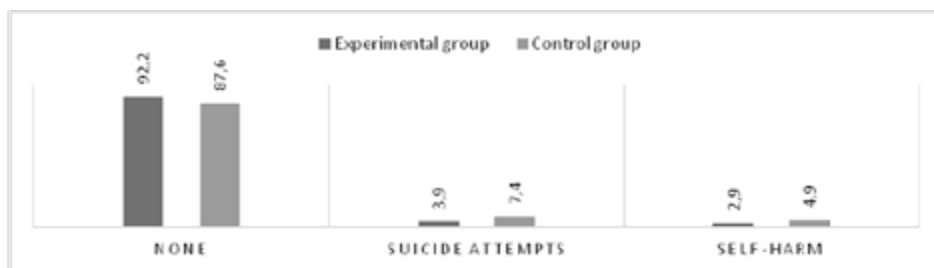


Chart 9. Acts of self-aggression by convicts while in prison

Undoubtedly an important area in the process of readaptation of persons deprived of liberty is the family and local environment, to which they usually return

after leaving the penitentiary institution. One in ten convicts in the experimental group was found to have had a connection with the criminal environment outside prison, for those in the control group it was one in four.

Moreover, it should be emphasized that every fourth respondent (regardless of the group) leaving the penitentiary returned to an environment which was also characterized by negative factors such as: addictions or crime.

Therefore, it is worth emphasizing that the type and number of interventions that prisoners are subjected to is extremely important, but also that a number of co-occurring factors have a huge impact on recidivism and whether the program will be considered effective. The above analyses were intended to give an idea of the background of the whole phenomenon.

Discussing the results

As outlined earlier, violence is a pervasive phenomenon. We observe it in the media and broadly defined culture, it affects many aspects of human life. It is therefore particularly important to work across disciplines to prevent and address different forms of violence.

This paper presents analyses on the effectiveness of one of the key programs targeting perpetrators of domestic violence. The Duluth Program, also known as the Duluth Model, is generally directed at perpetrators of intimate partner violence, but has seen many modifications and is widely used in both correctional and non-custodial settings.

The results obtained show statistically significant differences in return to crime (prison) depending on whether the convict participated in a program for violent offenders or not. Among the convicts in the experimental group, i.e. those who completed the program, return to crime amounted to 15%, in the control group it was 28% – i.e. among those who did not complete the program the percentage was significantly greater. As mentioned above, these differences were statistically significant.

At the same time, no significant differences were observed between the groups in terms of the act for which the respondent was re-imprisoned. It was supposed that people who completed the program addressed to the perpetrators of domestic violence in penitentiary, after leaving the penitentiary institution, would use violence against their closest persons less frequently. As mentioned above, this hypothesis was not confirmed, and in fact, it was observed that there was a slightly higher percentage of those who went to prison again among those who had been through the Duluth program.

The obtained result may be explained by the fact that in the group of convicts who completed the program for perpetrators of violence, every third person obtained conditional early release, while in the control group there such

cases were much less frequent. Conditional early release from prison very often involves probation supervision to which the released prisoner is subjected. Such a situation, on the one hand, promotes the social readaptation of the convict and, on the other hand, any transgression of the law may result in the resumption of the prison sentence and return to the penitentiary institution.

Another interesting result of the research conducted was to determine the length of time that characterizes the rate of return to prison. Interesting, because the highest rate of return to prison in the experimental group was recorded in the first year after leaving prison. From the second year, an increase in return was observed in the control group. Curiously enough, in the experimental group, the fastest recidivism (up to 12 months after leaving prison) was characteristic of acts under Article 207 of the Penal Code, while other crimes occurred most often 2–3 years after leaving prison.

This result may be explained in a way by the fact that the convicts from the experimental group were much more likely to answer for single acts if convicted, while those under probation supervision were quicker to return to the institution. The procedures associated with resumption of the sentence were shorter than the pending new proceedings.

It is worth noting here that some of the convicted persons lived in a common household with the victims, including those who were formally separated or divorced. In addition, it is worth noting that these convicts most often indicated the place of residence prior to their stay in prison, and thus often together with the victim, often in conflict with the perpetrator, as the place of their planned residence after leaving the penitentiary institution.

When analyzing recidivism rates and the associated effectiveness of the Duluth program, it is worth noting that approximately 80% of the study participants (regardless of group) were addicted to alcohol or other psychoactive substances. According to empirical data, the vast majority of acts were committed under the influence of alcohol. Therefore, when comparing the percentages of convicted addicts and the proportion of acts committed under the influence of alcohol, one can see their co-occurrence.

As far as the effectiveness of correctional and educational programs is concerned, it is worth to emphasize not only the need to continue the correctional activities for perpetrators of violence outside prison, but also the need to treat addiction during the stay in the penitentiary facility, as well as after leaving it. One might even venture to say that without substance abuse treatment and abstinence, the likelihood of the effects of a program for violent offenders being sustained outside prison is slim. Especially if we relate this data to the situation of the convict returning to a violent environment.

Analysis of data from the Duluth program reveals a fairly positive picture of interventions. Inmates who completed the program for violent offenders and whose participation in the program was assessed as “high engagement” were

significantly less likely to return to the correctional facilities for another criminal act. Also, measuring aggression before and after the program showed that men who participated in the domestic violence perpetrator program felt less anger and rage after the program. These results suggest that people who have completed the program are more able to control their aggressive behaviors, both those directed outward, toward other people or objects, and those directed inward, involving the internal experience of anger.

Therefore, it is worth emphasizing that the type and number of interventions that prisoners are subjected to is extremely important, but also that a number of co-occurring factors have a huge impact on recidivism and whether the program will be considered effective. The above analyses were intended to provide an approximation not only of the numerical results associated with recidivism but also to show the characteristics of the factors that strengthen or weaken this impact.

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