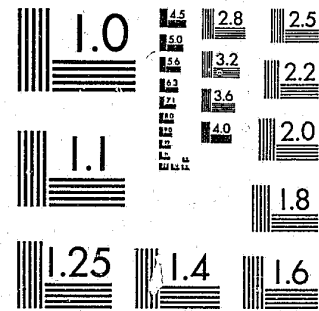


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THE URSA INSTITUTE

NATIONAL EVALUATION OF THE LEAA FAMILY VIOLENCE DEMONSTRATION PROGRAM

FIRST INTERIM REPORT: HISTORY AND DEVELOPMENT

By

Jeffrey Fagan, PhD
Virginia S. Lewis
Gail Kaplan
Jeri Mersky
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November 1979

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ACQUISITION

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Chapter 1. Overview: The National Family Violence Program and the Evaluation

In 1978 the Office of Criminal Justice Programs of the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration awarded funds to six Victim Witness Program grantees to serve victims of family violence. Following the development of a special program initiative to address family violence, OJJDP awarded FY 1979 grants totalling \$2.1 million to 16 projects providing comprehensive services to victims of domestic violence and child sexual assault. The intermediary and ultimate goals of the Family Violence Demonstration Program sought to develop community-wide approaches, involving both the criminal justice and social services systems, to intervening in and reducing serious incidents of intra-family violence. The approaches being tested in the program thus display a broad array of services, implementing agencies, organizational models, service-delivery and coordination methods, and points of intervention in the justice system and the family.

To evaluate the efficacy of this range of approaches, assess project goal attainment, and develop knowledge about the nature and impact of family violence, the National Institute for Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention has supported a national study by the URSA Institute. The evaluation effort will include an analysis of the history and development of the projects; a process evaluation to generate service-provision and management information; a quantitative and descriptive process study of project structural and service features; and an impact study that will focus on the justice and social service systems, the communities, and victims and families served by the projects.

The product of the first of these analyses, this report documents project emergence to provide implementation information useful in future program-initiation efforts and to provide an analytic framework for findings from subsequent parts of the evaluation. The history and development study involved interviews with federal program initiators and key actors across-sites, intensive case study of five projects, and analysis of criminal justice documents. The data thus collected are used here to describe and analyze events leading to the development of the national program, to document project start-up, to identify and analyze the short-term effects of project start-up, and to make recommendations based on these initial findings.

Chapter 2. Federal Contributions: Policy Development, Program Support and National Goals

The Family Violence Program can be viewed as an outgrowth of LEAA's Citizen's Initiative Program (begun in FY 1975), designed to enable citizens to assist the criminal justice system in reducing crime, and its successor, the Victim Witness Program (begun in FY 1977), which incorporated the additional objective of improving treatment of witnesses and victims. Some of the family violence project components are similar to those of earlier Victim Witness projects, and five of the latter projects were incorporated into the new family violence program

initiative. However, while rooted in the earlier programs, the initiative also represents a break with the original rationale for establishing services for victims (to increase citizen cooperation). Contact with the victim witness projects generated a concern among federal program officers for victims of "sensitive crimes," including child sexual abuse and battered women. Based on subsequent information-gathering on such crimes, the manager of the earlier program developed a proposal that resulted initially in the funding of two special victim witness projects emphasizing improved services to victims. As additional projects were funded and eventually, a set of national goals developed, federal initiators incorporated their concerns for interagency coordination, criminal justice involvement, into a multifaceted approach. A Background Paper prepared for OCJP by the Center for Women Policy Studies formally stated the context and purposes of the Family Violence Demonstration Program: to test a variety of approaches for improving criminal justice system intervention in domestic violence and for promoting comprehensive community-wide responses from medical, legal, and social service agencies. LEAA included this paper, along with a set of program goals, in its guidelines to potential grantees. After funding 16 projects representing such approaches, OCJP provided for various types of technical assistance to the projects and developed a national clearinghouse and newsletter on domestic violence.

This policy development process resulted in a large number of ambitious and broadly formulated program goals. For each of these goals, barriers to attainment by the projects, and difficulties in evaluating attainment in some instances, have been identified:

- Reduce community acceptance of intra-family violence. Obstacles to attainment of this goal include the competition of other pressing problems for community attention and project resources limitations that constrain direct efforts to impact community attitudes. Measurement difficulties are presented by the short period of the evaluation, the problem of defining the complex phenomenon of "community," and the impossibility of separating out project impacts from the many other forces that affect community attitudes.
- Increase reporting and documentation of incidents. Barriers to attainment of this goal include conflicting priorities in social service agencies, the lack of (and inadvisability of using) sanctions to force compliance, and local law enforcement commitment to a national reporting procedure that does not facilitate documentation of domestic violence. Use of the UCR also impedes measurement of criminal justice reporting trends.
- Demonstrate an effective mechanism for interagency coordination. Projects have encountered four salient barriers to developing coordination: turf disputes arising from fears of service overlap and competition for clients and available funds; ideological differences about domestic violence, sex roles, and family integrity; internal project conflicts over priorities given limited financial resources; and project credibility problems resulting from the impact of normal implementation problems.
- Documentation of family needs and development of methods to address needs. Attainment of this goal is impeded primarily by project's limited access to all family members as well as by resource constraints and the strategy of referrals to other agencies, particularly those with service priorities and eligibility requirements that operate to exclude domestic violence clients.

- Improve medical and social service collection and transmission of evidence. Barriers to attainment of this goal by hospitals include the overloaded status and crisis orientation of emergency rooms that inhibit identification of victims, the battered woman's reluctance to self-identify, the absence of evidence-gathering protocols, and low project priority for hospital training since medical as compared to other services are not a critical need for their clients. In social service agencies, exclusive eligibility requirements preclude victim identification, and more pressing priorities for planning services impede the development of protocols and gathering of evidence not germane to their mission.
- Reduce repeat calls to police on family disturbances. Difficulties in measuring data related to attainment of this goal include the time limitations of the evaluation period, the lack of properly organized and accessible records on domestic violence calls, and the questionable validity of available data at some sites. Where these difficulties can be overcome, it will be impossible to attribute the reduction in repeat calls to actual reductions in domestic violence or those reductions, in turn, to project efforts. Goal attainment may itself be adversely affected by project efforts to increase reporting to police in general.
- Increase prosecutions of repeat violence. Obstacles to developing an effective prosecutorial response include administrative control outside the project by justice system agents with different priorities and philosophies, statutory and procedural problems that constrain prosecutor motivation and witness cooperation; inadequate support or conflicting actions from key system agents (police, prosecutors, judges); and the resources limitations on prosecutorial agencies.
- Establish diversion program for offenders. This goal conflicts in principal with the goal of increased prosecution. Major obstacles to successful diversion programs include inadequate support or conflicting actions from key justice system agents (police, district attorneys, judges) and (in the case of pre-arrest voluntary diversion) offender noncooperation.
- Reduce intra-family homicides and serious assaults. Barriers to attainment of this goal include inadequate resources, both in the projects and community service agencies, to effect significant impacts; the lack of successful treatment programs for batterers; and the impact of social, economic, and other stress factors outside project control. Measurement difficulties will be presented by the short duration of the evaluation and the probability that increased reporting and documentation efforts will result in increased reports of serious assaults.

Chapter 3. History and Development of the Projects

The emergence of domestic violence as a national issue began largely as a grass-roots feminist movement, which "discovered" the phenomenon of battering, created services for victims, and pushed for changes in legislation and institutional responses. Concurrently, the criminal justice system took steps to impact on the problem, including the LEAA-sponsored Victim Witness Program and special police training, diversion programs, and individual initiatives by local district attorneys and judges. In response to pressure from feminists and attorneys, a number of

states enacted legislative changes to protect victims of domestic violence. The process culminated with the provision of federal funds for domestic violence projects, many of which trace their roots to the foregoing feminist, justice system, and legislative initiatives.

This confluence of trends is reflected in the institutional bases and services approaches of the LEAA-funded projects. Project services with a criminal justice system focus include prosecution, post-arrest diversion to compulsory counseling, pre-arrest diversion to voluntary mediation, and advocacy for victims in pursuing civil remedies. Of the projects with this service focus, those based in the system itself (a district or state attorney's office) enjoyed a greater ease in implementing services and establishing critical system linkages for referrals; externally based projects experienced difficulties impacting on such key system agents as the police and Family Court probation. Shelters constitute the other major service focus of the family violence projects. Of the projects with this service focus, those that arose from feminist grass-roots efforts and that remained independent of any social service agency affiliation confronted credibility issues that made linkage development difficult and time-consuming as well as funding issues that diverted staff attention from program development. Shelter projects administered by public agencies gained thereby a certain institutional credibility that facilitated linkage development. In general, shelter projects confronted fewer implementation problems than criminal justice system-focused projects because they fill a pressing gap in services, over which turf disputes rarely arose.

Chapter 4. Project Features

The projects are arrayed organizationally into hierarchical, collective, and subcontractor structures. The eight hierarchically structured projects generally experienced the least difficulties in establishing themselves with community service providers, although internal procedural problems were reported in two projects housed in traditional bureaucracies. The two collective projects were confronted with the need for structural modification toward a more hierarchical form to allow for a rapid decision-making capacity and response to LEAA requirements for role specification and salaried status; at the same time, their underlying collective philosophy has promoted some role flexibility, which seems to reduce staff burnout and increase commitment. The four subcontractor projects have experienced severe factionalism in political interests and systems alignment, organizational philosophy, and appropriateness of particular treatment/intervention strategies; two of them have undertaken important structural revisions involving the elimination of the administrative component. The collective and subcontractor projects as well as those with nonaffiliated institutional bases, had the greatest difficulty in securing second-year funding.

Important staffing features during project implementation centered on recruitment and selection use of volunteers and students, worker burnout, and the role of advisory boards. The projects have contended with a number of problems attendant to changing needs, demanding or unattractive job requirements, inappropriate selection criteria, and bureaucratic hiring procedures. Volunteer and student recruitment has been notably creative, although use of these workers has presented typical problems of training and management, turnover, and maintenance of performance

standards. Projects have attempted to deal with worker burnout--a particular concern in shelters, which require intense work over long hours at low pay--by developing sharing and support mechanisms as well as multifaceted and flexible staffing patterns. Advisory board functions, level of commitment, and performance varied across-sites; critical emergence issues were conflicts of interest and lack of effective sanctions for absences or nonparticipation.

Several issues were identified in relation to operationalizing direct services. All shelter projects faced initial difficulties in locating and selecting a site. Developing effective counseling strategies for shelter clients has been a demanding evolutionary process. Provision of child care, though a necessary adjunct service at several sites, was characterized by facilities, staff, and parental problems. Operationalizing crisis-intervention services required considerable amounts of time, planning, and coordination. The one attempt to develop crisis intervention with the police was frustrated by ideological conflicts. Legal advocacy projects have been very successful in obtaining competent legal staff and developing effective advocacy services sensitive to their local and state legal systems. The primary obstacles to implementing mediation and mediation-arbitration services have been police reluctance to provide adequate referral support and disputant noncooperation. Prosecutorial components have all been reconceived to respond to the difficulties involved in winning domestic violence cases, staff burnout, uncooperative witness victims, and increasing reliance on civil remedies. All but one diversion counseling project have experienced difficulties obtaining court referrals and have developed procedures for obtaining clients in other ways. Also handicapped by the absence of treatment models and client resistance, these projects are experimenting with several promising behavioral counseling methods. This array of services suggests a service typology according to primary focus--shelter or legal--that will be used in future analyses of client outcomes.

Project indirect services generally included training and outreach to address certain national goals, establish legitimacy and credibility, and improve services to their clients by other agencies. Training on the problems and issues of domestic violence, techniques of case handling, and use of project services has been extended to law enforcement, social service agency and, to a lesser extent, hospital personnel. Outreach activities have included speaking engagements and media campaigns, interagency staff meetings for linkage development, recruitment of advisory board members, legislative lobbying, and participation in conferences and coalitions on domestic violence.

Chapter 5. Effects of Project Implementation

Despite the traditional criminal justice ideology against involvement in family disputes, the projects have provided law enforcement officers with alternative responses and services to help them meet their legal responsibilities. This has been particularly true of shelter projects, where police-project cooperation has evolved out of necessity, even under the handicaps of geographical distances and transportation problems. Criminal justice system-focused projects based outside the system experienced difficulties effecting the law-enforcement procedural changes necessary for referrals. By contrast, police referrals to a system-based project were facilitated by pre-existing linkages.

Project intervention in the criminal court system has been through diversion and prosecution projects. Diversion programs have employed various strategies to increase awareness and establish referral mechanisms in the criminal courts, particularly with district attorneys. When precedents for diversion existed, the diversion projects provided the court with real alternatives and linkage and referrals were facilitated. Sanctions against recalcitrant divertees are still avoided throughout the system. All of the prosecutorial projects impact on the district attorney's office through organizational ties and have worked extensively to educate court personnel as well as police. Despite numerous obstacles, the prosecution projects report some changes in case processing and increased judicial acknowledgement of the phenomenon of domestic violence.

Project intervention in the civil court process--a critical service for nearly all clients--has been impeded by access problems and by system unresponsiveness in providing legal representation, encouraging petitions, and enforcing sanctions.

Effects on the social service system have been primarily from shelter projects. Efforts to effect a variety of procedural changes in Departments of Social Services have resulted in the provision of cash allotments to some shelters, emergency cash grants for clients, and waiving of procedures so that the secrecy of a shelter can be preserved. Bureaucratic policies and delays in AFDC processing still plague many projects. Once hospitals are made aware of the domestic violence problem and the availability of project resources, they generally respond with referrals. Given the limited use of services offered by mental health agencies and their ideological differences, changes in their handling of domestic violence clients have been limited to isolated instances of increased attempts to identify potential cases and provision of some support and counseling services. Projects have established linkages with a variety of employment programs and have succeeded in placing a number of clients, particularly in CETA and displaced homemakers training programs. Among other social service agencies affected by projects, hotlines have increased counseling to domestic violence victims, the Public Housing Authority in one site has altered its exclusionary policy toward battered women, Child Protective Services is working regularly with one shelter to identify potential child abuse cases, and drug and alcohol treatment programs are exchanging referrals and training with several projects.

Effects on the community are evident in legislative changes, allocation of money for domestic violence services, and various kinds of direct support for the projects. Project organizing, drafting, and lobbying efforts have resulted in several legislative changes related to police procedures, issuance of and sanctions against violating temporary restraining orders, low-cost housing priorities, administration of monies and facilities standards, and tax revenues for shelters. State and county allocation of money for domestic violence services is constrained by prevailing conservatism about spending and about social intervention in areas traditionally considered private. Projects have, however, been somewhat successful in raising money in their local communities from such sources as town tax rolls, the United Way, benefit performances, and individual donations. Other forms of community support include donations of furniture and other items, access to facilities for conferences and training, and provision of volunteer services. Project impact on the community is limited by staff resources and conflicting priorities for service delivery as well as by focus in the community outside of project control.

Chapter 6. Conclusions and Recommendations

Several issues have influenced the direction of the demonstration projects that can be expected to impact on future programs. The national program goals will be extremely difficult to attain given the short demonstration period, contradictions between goals, the influence of factors beyond project control, resource constraints on critical service agencies, and project funding levels. The funding of several projects at minimal levels has constrained their development of service delivery mechanisms and linkages, provision of indirect services, ability to attract and keep qualified staff, administrative effectiveness, and project credibility. Resource constraints have also led to project prioritizing of goals and services, frequently on an unsystematic basis and at the expense of indirect services and goals related to such services. The refunding crises experienced by independent grass-roots projects suggest the need to provide a higher federal funding share during years one and two to ensure adequate program development. Finally, justice system-based projects, particularly prosecution units, are severely constrained by the need to establish difficult linkages with police, judges, and prosecutors, whose burdens they are augmenting.

Current criminal justice record-keeping formats and procedures do not adequately distinguish and record information on domestic violence cases and have proven to be very resistant to change. To achieve certain national program goals for improved documentation and reporting of family violence and improved institutional response to victims, it is recommended that LEAA consider two major record-keeping changes in the law enforcement system.

- adoption of a data-collection format specified under 1979 Ohio Domestic Violence legislation; and
- adoption of procedures specified under the Ohio legislation.

The implementation experiences of the projects suggest a number of recommendations to facilitate organization and development of future programs:

- Organizational recommendations. Program staff should undertake short- and long-range planning; administrators should periodically re-examine the appropriateness of the original program design; community-based programs should identify potential funding sources at the earliest opportunity; subcontractor programs should specify the expectations of their roles; and all programs should determine authority and decision-making roles for all staff.
- Staffing recommendations. Programs should review the mix of functions in creating staff policies and consider the multi-role concept of staffing; administrators should develop salary schedules that reflect unusual, demanding or unattractive job features; advisory board functioning and by-laws should be designed to deal with possible conflicts of interest and to sanction nonparticipation.
- Service recommendations. Projects should plan for their clients' critical civil court needs, which will require time and attention to linkage development with local attorneys as well as the decision-makers and gatekeepers in the court and legal aid offices; administrators should review proposed

staffing patterns and training to ensure an adequate level of paralegal service and appropriate intake procedures. Shelter programs should consider the staffing, parent training, and social service agency linkages required to provide child care for their clients. Diversion programs should seek to explore referral linkages with the civil court, push for the development of effective sanctions against noncompliance, and research and development theoretically derived and empirically based models for treatment of batterers.

- **Linkage with social service agencies.** Programs should approach DSS offices for interim stipends or emergency cash grants while their clients await AFDC checks or develop in-house cash funds through donations; outreach and training efforts as well as ongoing contacts should emphasize agency identification and documentation of domestic violence; project staff should assess the possibility of pressuring for change in Public Housing Authority guidelines; LEAA should consider providing training and technical assistance in domestic violence counseling to all its projects.
- **Training in law enforcement agencies.** Police training efforts should not be initiated unless and until the qualities and expertise of training staff will ensure easy rapport; projects should consider using former police officers as trainers; trainers should stress complementarity of police and project services, acknowledge police expertise, and avoid psychological conceptions of police roles; training in urban settings should be ongoing; and the upper echelons of law enforcement should be contacted and supportive before initiating relations with on-line officers, although such administrative linkages will not guarantee procedural changes.
- **Community outreach.** Administrators should establish priorities in allocating staff time for outreach, taking into consideration the return on staff time and the developmental stage of program services; initial efforts should be targeted strategically toward potential funding sources and other service providers; and the impact of successful media campaigns on demands for project services should be weighed in advance.

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PREFACE

In January 1978, the United States Commission on Civil Rights sponsored a consultation to study the problems of battered women and domestic violence. During two days of hearings in Washington, D.C., panels of experts presented papers and testimony on topics including the causes and treatment of domestic violence, the role of law enforcement and the courts, support services and social interventions, and the federal role. Participants included researchers, practitioners, attorneys, and representatives of federal agencies sponsoring demonstration efforts to serve victims of domestic violence.

Although grass-roots organizations have for several years provided various types of support systems in response to the needs of victims, the hearings identified the often fragmented nature of the responses of public agencies--social services, juvenile and criminal justice, mental health, and medical services--to the needs of victims and their rights to protection and safety. Perhaps most important was the apparent unwillingness of the criminal justice system to recognize domestic violence victims as victims of crime and the system's inability to coordinate it other service providers to assist victims. In effect, the nature of institutional responses and the public accountability of service agencies were major focuses of the consultation. The consultation provided one of the first opportunities to thoroughly examine the issues raised in considering whether to develop public policies and services to aid families troubled by domestic violence.

At the hearings, the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (LEAA) identified its role as a leader in developing the first national demonstration program specifically designed to assist battered women and other victims of domestic violence. Beginning in 1977 and continuing through the present, LEAA has allocated over \$4 million to clarify the role of the justice system in preventing and controlling family violence and to improve its ability to coordinate with other agencies to respond to violence in the home.

During the consultation, LEAA expressed the hope that its discretionary grant program in family violence would provide program models that states and local communities could replicate. The LEAA Family Violence Demonstration Program includes five projects funded under its Victim Witness Program in 1977, eleven projects funded in 1978, and in projects funded in 1979 under the Family Violence Program. These projects represent a comprehensive experiment in public policy testing of a variety of program models and policy initiatives aimed at preventing and reducing family violence, including sexual assault on children.

Consistent with its congressional mandate to assess the impacts of family violence and sexual exploitation of children and adolescents, the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention (OJJDP) has sponsored an evaluation of the LEAA Family Violence Program. In 1978, OJJDP awarded a grant to the URSA Institute to conduct a national evaluation of the demonstration program. The evaluation is designed to provide information on viable program approaches and services to legislators, policy makers, and to communities wishing to develop services for victims of domestic violence. The evaluation also provides projects with data for decision-making on service delivery and program management. A major evaluation goal will focus on changes in institutional responses--from the justice system and medical, legal, and social services--as well as in community attitudes toward domestic violence that result from project efforts. Ultimately, the evaluation will assess the range of client outcomes as a function of project and other institutional services, legislation and community context, and family characteristics. Finally, evaluation findings should help to determine the optimal role of the justice system, in coordination with other agencies, in family violence intervention.

This interim report is the first of three analytic reports from Phase I of the evaluation, which continues through September 1980. The report examines the history and development of the national program, including the federal contributions and goals and the projects' various implementation strategies. It then documents the projects' service typologies and organizational models and discusses interim effects on systems and communities resulting from the first six months of project operation. The report concludes with a reconsideration of the national goals in light of constraints to attainment and a series of recommendations emanating from the first year of the evaluation effort.

1. OVERVIEW: THE NATIONAL FAMILY VIOLENCE PROGRAM AND THE EVALUATION

ORIGINS OF THE FAMILY VIOLENCE PROGRAM

In 1977 the Special Programs Division of the Office of Criminal Justice Programs (OCJP) of the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (LEAA) awarded six grants under its ongoing Victim Witness Assistance Program to develop comprehensive programs and services for victims of domestic violence. Grant awards were made in mid-1977 to four programs serving battered women and two programs serving victims of child sexual assault. In Spring of that same year, OCJP developed a special program initiative specifically to address family violence, setting forth guidelines for an expanded demonstration program to begin the following year (Fiscal Year 1979). Under this program, new grants were awarded, and five of the original victim witness grantees were funded for their second year. Altogether, the LEAA Family Violence Demonstration Program funded 16 projects providing comprehensive services to victims of domestic violence and child sexual assault.

Funding, Projects, and Services

First-year funding for the six family violence projects funded under the Victim Witness Assistance Program totalled over \$400,000 for 12-month grants (although many of the grantees extended their first-year operations to 15 months). Under the expanded Family Violence Program, funding for 16 projects in FY '79 totalled \$2.1 million.

Only a few of the grantees were created as a direct result of federal funding. Given the program stipulation that projects have a prior three-year history, federal funds more often resulted in the creation of a special unit within

pre-existing agencies or in the expansion of services in agencies already serving domestic violence victims. The grants included two statewide projects and one regional project. The two child sexual assault projects were based in hospitals. Other grantees included prosecutors' offices, victim assistance agencies, private nonprofit organizations, commissions on the status of women, county social service agencies, and community action programs. The services provided by the grantees include shelter, mediation, diversion and treatment of batterers, court advocacy, victim witness assistance, special prosecution services, and family crisis intervention.¹ The projects provide these services in several different combinations.

Program Goals

The original six and, later, the 16 family violence grantees were established under the following national program goals as set forth in the announcement of the Family Violence Program initiative:

- reduction in community acceptance of intra-family violence;
- increased reporting of incidents of intra-family violence and documentation of the extent, nature, and interrelationship of these crimes;
- demonstration of an effective mechanism for institutional coordination among police, prosecutors, protective services agencies, welfare, hospitals, community mental health, and other relevant public and private agencies and community organizations to respond to family violence situations;
- documentation of the needs of these families and the development of methods to address these needs, including a reallocation of existing services as well as creation of new services;
- improved knowledge, skills, and cooperation of medical and social service agency personnel in the collection and transmission of evidence and information to the legal system in cases of intra-family violence;
- reduction in the number of repeat calls to the police related to family disturbances;
- increased prosecution of cases involving repeated violence of a severe nature;
- establishment of community corrections and/or pre-trial diversion programs specifically designed for defendants involved in intra-family violence cases; and
- reduction in the number of intra-family homicides and serious assaults.²

1. Services are described further in Appendix A.

2. Guide for Discretionary Grant Programs, M 4500.1F, "Background Paper" (Washington, D.C.: LEAA/DOJ, 21 December 1977), chapter 5, paragraph 49, p. 81.

Reflected in these goals are several specific perspectives and concerns. First, the goals anticipate a community-wide approach and response to domestic violence. LEAA is the first federal agency to launch a national demonstration program in domestic violence. As a first effort, the national program seeks to provide comprehensive, multi-agency, community-wide approaches to serving victims of domestic violence. This is reflected in the overall goal of the LEAA Family Violence Program: "to help communities identify effective approaches to reduction and prevention of acts of violence and sexual assault on family members." It is also reflected in several of the national program goals, especially those stressing interagency coordination, community attitudes, skills of service providers across agencies, and increased reporting. Thus, service integration and the service responses of several institutions and services are important in the study.

Second, the Family Violence Program is premised on the assumption that these acts are crimes and that the criminal justice system must play an important role in responding to acts of violence in the home. This does not imply, however, that law enforcement and the courts have exclusive jurisdiction over domestic violence. Rather, it implies that a comprehensive community response to adequately meet the needs of battered women and sexually assaulted children must include the support and integration of social services with agencies of the justice system.

Identifying the optimal role of the justice system--including both civil and criminal remedies--is an important focus of the national program. This is reflected in the national program goals that refer to reduced repeat calls-for-service and intra-family homicides as well as to increased prosecution of cases involving repeated violence. It is further reflected in program goals calling for the establishment of community corrections and diversion programs.

Third, the national program clearly focuses on more serious and repeated acts of intra-family violence. This is reflected particularly in the goals that identify homicides, "serious assaults," prosecution of "repeated violence," and repeat calls-for-service as the indicators of family violence that will demonstrate project impact. Moreover, the justice system will be the primary area where these impacts will occur. The focus on more serious acts of violence implies that this program will devote more attention to interventions where violence has escalated, rather than early intervention or prevention. (As chapter 4 will show, however, some projects have focused more on the latter.)

Fourth, the national goals express an implicit hypothesis that changes in institutional and service agency responses (as expressed in the goals concerning service integration, improved documentation, and medical/legal/social service cooperation) will lead to client and family impacts such as reduced homicides, assaults, and repeat calls-for-service. Restated, the national goals hypothesize that a comprehensive program of direct services, system training/coordination, and community outreach/education will lead to reductions in family violence.

The goals further imply that several intermediary goals--either process or operational--if established, will lead to reductions in family violence. Goals that mention increased reporting are examples of "operational" intermediate goals. Those mentioning service integration, improved system responses, and documentation of family needs are examples of "process" goals. Together, these two types of goals represent an ambitious and far-reaching attempt to improve community responses for families troubled by violence.

Nature of the Demonstration

The LEAA Family Violence Program is, in effect, a national policy experiment to test the efficacy of several intervention approaches and types of services in reducing the incidence and severity of family violence. The projects are arrayed in terms of type and combination of services, implementing agency, organizational/administrative approach, methods for service delivery and coordination, point of intervention in the justice system, and point of family intervention (early intervention versus secondary responses).

The national demonstration program differs from "traditional" demonstrations where comparable experimental models are tested in several sites under varying conditions. For example, there was no preliminary analysis that identified key aspects of project structure and operation for inclusion in the development of a "model." Rather, the national program goals were developed in such a way as to encourage a diversity of project initiatives that would impact on the policies of systems and institutions as well as on victims and families.

While the absence of a model complicates potential analyses of the efficacy of any single approach, the programmatic range of the national demonstration ensures that extensive information and knowledge will be developed about improving institutional responses to domestic violence. The range in program models will (1) allow

for the development of new and more refined methods for family intervention and reductions in family violence and (2) inform various evaluation audiences about the impacts of family violence on children and youth, community institutions, and victims--overwhelmingly women.

THE NATIONAL EVALUATION

The 1977 amendments to the Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Act mandated that the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention (OJJDP) study the effects of family violence on children and youth. To meet this mandate, OJJDP's research agency, the National Institute of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention (NIJJDP), awarded a grant to the URSA Institute, a nonprofit social research and planning organization located in San Francisco. The evaluation has been designed to lead to the development of sound national policies and guidelines for the development of intervention strategies around battered women and family violence.

The Family Violence Evaluation takes on special significance given the "state of the art" in approaches to preventing and reducing family violence and the dearth of research in the area. The array of family violence projects encompasses the current range of programmatic and institutional responses to domestic violence throughout the country. Research on domestic violence to date, however, has been limited to studies on etiology, incidence, and a few treatment efforts. Consequently, the hypotheses constructed from the national evaluation will result in conclusive testing and identification of promising approaches in this area.

Goals

The evaluation of the LEAA Family Violence Demonstration Program has the following major goals:

- develop information on the epidemiological characteristics of family violence project clients (incidence, severity, chronicity) compared to national samples and determine the implications for programs, policies, legislation, and service delivery;
- determine how well the family violence projects receive cases from both justice system and community resources of referral;
- assess the impact of family violence and subsequent intervention on children and youth;

- describe and analyze implementation problems, project service strategies, community education and outreach activities, and methods of system coordination and improvement;
- determine the extent to which the family violence projects improve the responses of service agencies and institutions to victims of domestic violence, including service integration and delivery;
- explore and assess whether the family violence project intervention strategies (direct service and system change) contribute to reductions in repeated incidents of intra-family assault and acts of violence; and
- determine the estimated cost-effectiveness of the family violence intervention strategies and the relative costs of achieving the various national program goals.

Approach

Although each service approach and treatment strategy has strong advocates, little evidence of their relative effectiveness exists at this time. The focus of the evaluation is to determine which types of projects using which approaches and in what settings are most likely to achieve LEAA program goals to impact on family violence. The evaluation must also develop research strategies, methodologies, and techniques to assist other agencies and programs in assessing the impacts and effectiveness of other demonstration efforts in domestic violence. To date, little research has been conducted on family violence programs or intervention strategies, and there is no consensus on what constitutes project "success" or positive client/family outcomes. The complex needs of families involved in domestic violence (both for men and women) make it difficult to identify universally applicable or desirable outcomes.

For these reasons, the evaluation methodology must be sufficiently flexible and diverse to account for the wide range of policies being tested. The methodology must also be sufficiently sensitive to measure incremental changes in attitude and policy. Hence, qualitative methods are used for several goals.

Finally, the LEAA national program goals include projected impacts on client families, service delivery systems, service integration, and community attitudes and responses. As a result, the evaluation study will develop methods for assessing each of these areas of impact. As in the first studies on child abuse treatment programs, the evaluation effort will experiment with several methods to assess the reduction of violence and the consequential effects of each intervention strategy on family ecology.

FIGURE 1
FAMILY VIOLENCE EVALUATION ANALYSIS FRAMEWORK

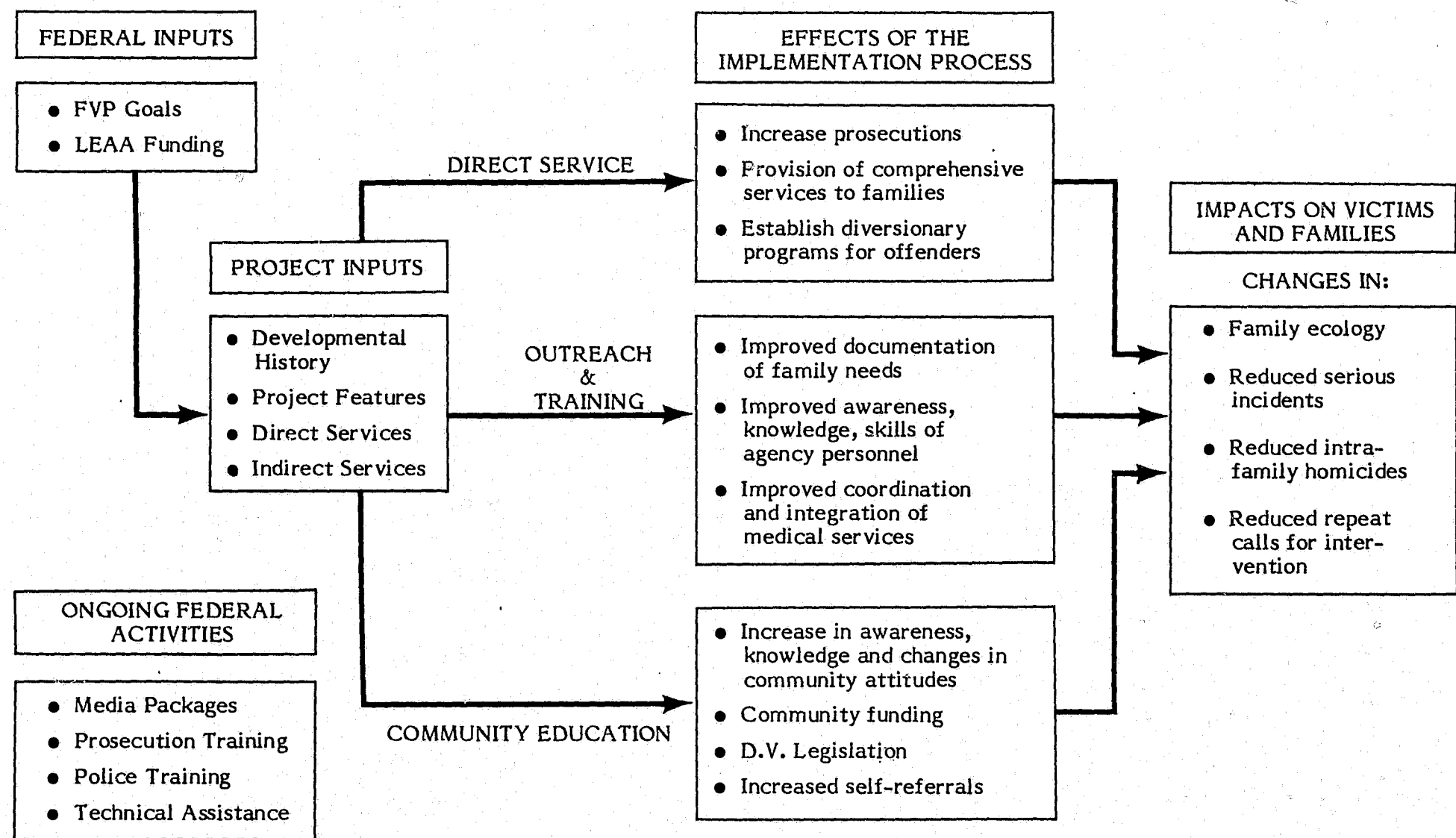


Figure 1, on the following page, diagrams the analytical framework within which the projects will be evaluated against the national program goals.

Components

Four major data-gathering and analysis components have been designed to achieve the evaluation goals.

- (1) an analysis of the history and development of each project;
- (2) a program monitoring system;
- (3) a process study; and
- (4) an impact study.

History and Development Study. At each site, detailed histories were compiled of the project and the community's response to domestic violence. This--the first report--focuses on a cross-site discussion of the origins of the projects.

Program Monitoring System (PMS). The second component is a management information system that will generate data and information about who receives project services, what services are provided, and which short-term outcomes result from project intervention. The PMS will also generate program management information and data on staff, community outreach, volunteers, and critical events in the community that may influence each project's impact and direction. The second report will draw on information obtained through the PMS.

Process Study. The third component includes both quantitative and descriptive information on project services and approaches. A discussion of structural features of projects--how they are organized to deliver services (e.g., subcontracting approaches, organizational affiliations)--and a comprehensive description of services provided across-site are products included in the Process Study. Subsequent reports will feature detailed descriptive assessments of program services and services through referral to agencies, including criminal justice agencies. Use of a process approach in subsequent reports will allow us to determine and document shifts in goals or changes in service. Careful determination of project operations and approaches helps to identify and refine input variables for use in later impact analyses.

Impact Study. In subsequent reports, the Impact Study will address questions concerning the projects' impact on the justice and social service systems, community responses and attitudes, and on the victims and families who use the projects' services. Chapter 5 of this report describes--in process form--program progress toward impacting in several goal-defined areas. Additional and special components of the Impact Study include special studies designed to measure and describe impacts on children and youth, comparisons of outcome of project clients with battered women who are not served by the projects, and the incidence of child abuse among project families. In addition, the Impact Study will include a cost component providing estimates of project costs and, to the extent possible, comparing projects' costs of "formal" handling of domestic violence cases--from calls for service through probation supervision.

THE HISTORY AND DEVELOPMENT STUDY

First in a series of analytic reports of the National Evaluation of the LEAA Family Violence Demonstration Program,³ the current report focuses primarily on "Project Inputs" (see figure 1): developmental history, features, and range of services. To provide a context for this historical and developmental report, "Federal Inputs" and the emergence of domestic violence as a national issue are reviewed. To a more limited extent, the report also addresses certain issues relating to the "Effects of the Implementation Process." Finally, "baseline" system and community responses are reported, in anticipation of changes that will occur over the duration of the demonstration program (and that will be dealt with in the Process Study for the next analytic report).

Rationale and Objectives

There are several compelling reasons for looking closely at project emergence. Perhaps most important is the need to develop planning approaches for future efforts in family violence intervention. Documenting the history and development of projects

3. While this is the first analytic report, there have been two prior products of the evaluation: the Research Design, including an exhaustive literature review, and the Operations Manuals for the Program Monitoring System.

across-site--with emphasis on barriers encountered and successful strategies to overcome those barriers--will help future programs and communities in the process of developing programs and services for family violence.

In subsequent chapters of this report, we describe how the family violence projects have attempted in various ways to change and improve services in a wide range of community agencies. Concurrent initiation of direct services as well as linkages between justice systems and service agencies is a complex process--and one that bears heavily on a project's ability to achieve its system-change goals. Describing how these projects have emerged and become institutionalized can, it is hoped, point out the internal steps, the people and actors, and the time and resources necessary to initiate a project.

Documenting project emergence will also help us to understand findings from other parts of the evaluation. The establishment of, and shifts in, goals will often dictate which services are established as well as the viability of interagency linkages. The selection of project directors and staff dictates the course of a project and its reception from established service agencies. Such decisions also influence the service approach adopted. These, in turn, influence client and family outcomes. At the most basic decision-making level, processes such as the identification of the host agency during the grant-writing stage will, as we observe in later chapters, significantly affect the ability of projects to access clients, obtain local cash match, and gain credibility among local agencies.

The specific objectives of the History and Development Study include:

- describing and analyzing events that led to the development of a proposed community-wide response to domestic violence, including federal inputs;
- documenting project "start-up" and services;
- identifying and analyzing interim, or short-term, effects resulting from initiation of project services in terms of progress toward goal attainment; and
- making recommendations that emanate from data collection efforts thus far.

Methods

Data for this report were obtained through a series of interviews with federal program initiators, intensive observation activities at five special sites,⁴ and key-actor interviews at all 14 sites.⁵ Our analysis is further informed by published statistics and evaluative reports on the workings of the criminal justice system.

Federal Initiator Interviews. Data concerning the thinking and activities of instrumental federal initiators--those responsible for developing the idea for the national program and the set of policy guidelines and goals--were obtained directly from those involved at the time. A series of interviews conducted by an URSA evaluator provided the basis for the description and discussion of the origins of federal involvement and nature of federal support contained in chapter 2 of this report.

Intensive-Evaluation Site Observation. Given the inherent limitations of assessing 14 projects with noncomparable models, it was decided early in the evaluation effort to distinguish five project sites for intensive study.⁶ Selected on the basis of services provided, organizational model, justice system services, and several other variables, each intensive-evaluation site has an URSA Institute fieldworker on location. Although the History and Development Study was implemented cross-site, this report relies heavily on information gathered at these five sites over at least the first six months of service delivery. Fieldworker activities included:

- compilation of socio-political mappings to describe the community context in which projects emerged and evolved and
- participant observation of the implementation and start-up process as well as goal and service shifts.

4. These sites include Safe Space and DIP in Miami and the projects in Philadelphia, Cleveland, and Brattleboro, Vermont.

5. Two of the 16 projects focus on child sexual assault and are being evaluated separately. The evaluation design for these projects is comparable to the approach described here, and parallel reports will be issued.

6. While the case-study method cannot yield firm conclusions about causes and effects, it can lead to the formulation of valid hypotheses for future testing through service demonstration and research programs. See Donald T. Campbell, "Administrative Experimentation, Institutional Records, and Nonreactive Measures," in Improving Experimental Design and Statistical Analysis, ed. J. Stanley (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1967), pp. 257-91.

Key-Actor Interviews. URSA Institute core staff visited all 14 projects without on-site researchers to conduct interviews and observe program operations. Historical information was gathered primarily through interviews with a sample of key actors at each site:

- The Project Director, interviewed at length, provided input on project history, philosophy, procedures, and short-term impacts.
- Administrators or supervisors at key community agencies offered their perceptions of family violence project services and short-term impacts.
- Criminal justice agency staff and representatives of law enforcement and prosecutors' offices related their perceptions of the role and purpose of the family violence project, reactions to project training and services, and assessments of project effectiveness. This group of interviewees also reported on changes within their own agencies in policies, procedures, recordkeeping and documentation, and methods for responding to domestic violence cases since the inception of the family violence project.

Between five and eight two-hour interviews were conducted at each site. The results were coded and analyzed to develop assessments of short-term project effects. Much of the background data (e.g., historical analyses, barriers to service delivery) were compiled from field notes and interviews and organized into structured site visit reports to facilitate cross-site comparisons.

Modifications for Differing Time-Frames. Because this study examines emergence/implementation issues across sites, the time-frames for our analyses are critical. Beginning shortly before the 11 new projects were funded, the evaluation found the projects in varying ages--from incipient to two years--and stages of institutionalization--ranging from pre-service to implementation to more-or-less stable operation. Thus, for the older projects, we asked our interview sample to reconstruct the events and processes that had contributed to project development and start-up. For the younger projects, on-site researchers were present during (or shortly after) many critical events that dictated project development.

Report Structure

Figure 2 illustrates the relationships of the major sections of this report to the overall evaluative framework. In sum:

- Chapter 2 reviews the federal contributions in the development of a national family violence program and discusses the national goals and barriers to goal attainment.

Chapter 3 explores some cross-site themes in the history and development of projects.

Chapter 4 describes structural features of several projects and discusses the range of direct and indirect services comprising the activities of project personnel.

Chapter 5 details some effects of the implementation process in terms of progress toward goal attainment.

Chapter 6 concludes and recommends changes based on first-year findings.

Appendix A describes program services across sites.

Appendix B describes criminal justice recordkeeping at intensive site locations.

Appendix C analyzes domestic violence statutes.

FIGURE 2
FAMILY VIOLENCE EVALUATION ANALYSIS FRAMEWORK

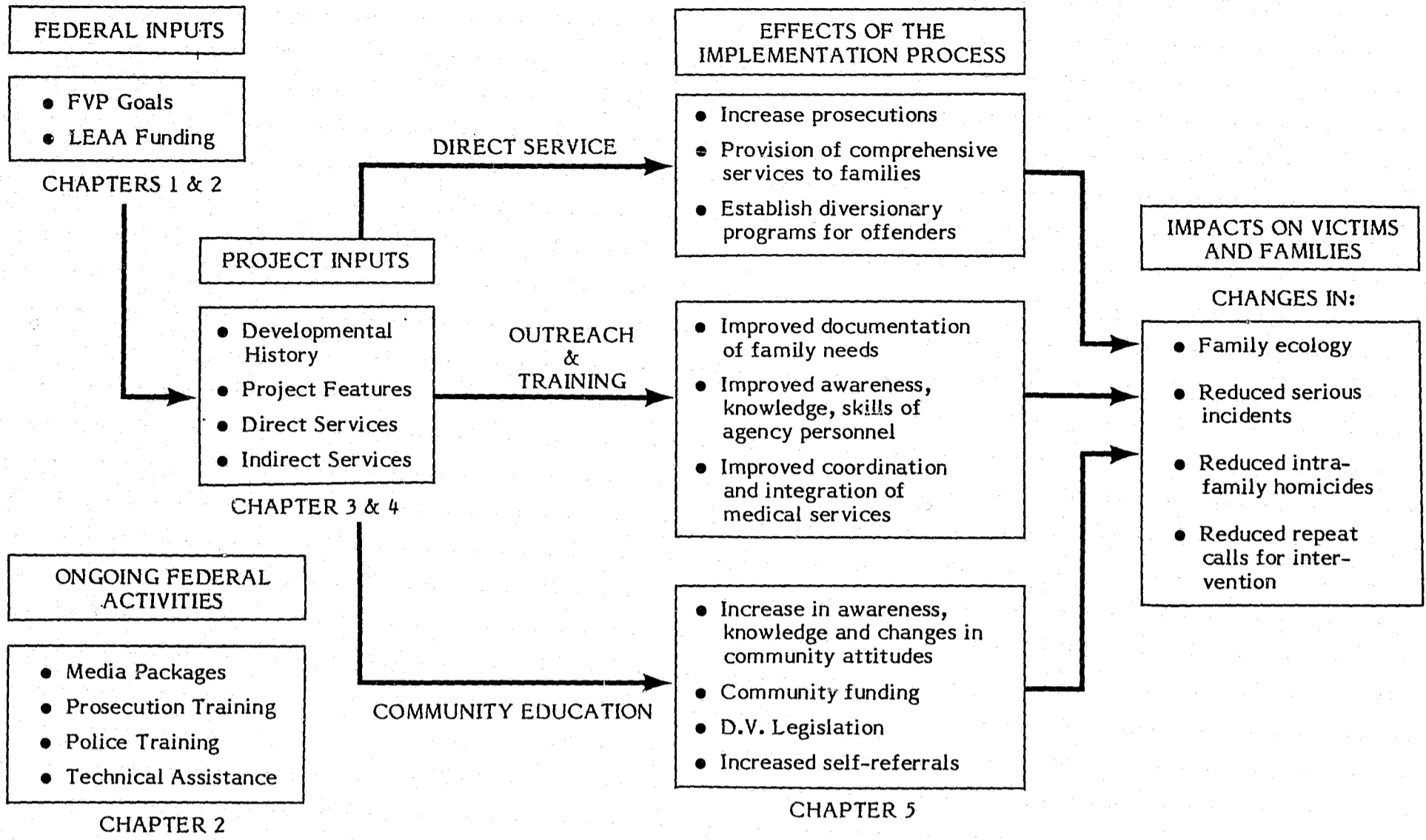
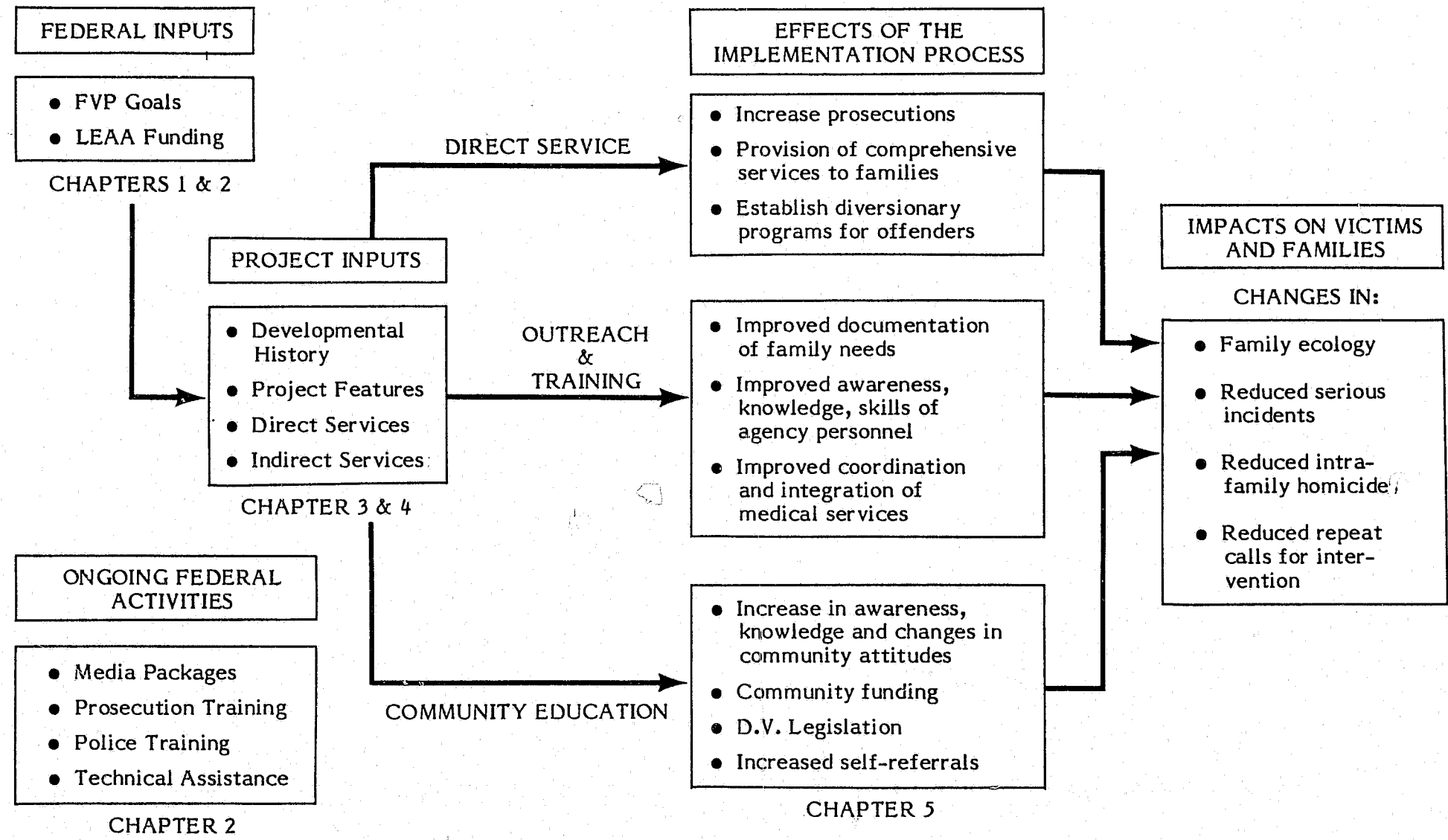


FIGURE 2
FAMILY VIOLENCE EVALUATION ANALYSIS FRAMEWORK



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2. FEDERAL CONTRIBUTIONS: POLICY DEVELOPMENT, PROGRAM SUPPORT & NATIONAL GOALS

The federal contributions to the Family Violence Demonstration Program are critical elements affecting project history and development. As indicated in the evaluation analysis framework, these contributions include national goals, policy guidelines and funding as well as ongoing support activities. This chapter seeks to clarify the nature of federal policy and program development efforts and their effects for projects by:

- describing the events surrounding the emergence of the idea for a national family violence program, the process through which the national goals and policy guidelines were selected and conceptualized, and the types of support provided to projects; and
- assessing the national goals in terms of their feasibility for goal attainment and their evaluability for purposes of measurement.

HISTORY OF FEDERAL INVOLVEMENT IN FAMILY VIOLENCE

The national goals of the Family Violence Demonstration Program (listed in chapter 1) have influenced both project and URSA evaluation designs in critical ways. Moreover, project staff and federal policy-makers alike have expressed puzzlement over the large number and broad formulation of the goals that the projects are expected to address with limited federal funds. To provide a context for these issues, we discuss here Family Violence Program goal and policy development from two perspectives: (1) institutional etiology and (2) the actions of principal initiators. We then review the kinds of support activities that LEAA has provided to projects to assist them in attaining the national goals.

1. For a discussion of the needs for and conditions of evaluability assessment, see "Intensive Evaluation for Criminal Justice Planning Agencies (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Justice, 1975), pp. 10-14; and "Evaluability Assessment: Making Public Programs Work Better" (Washington, D.C.: The Urban Institute, 1978).

Institutional Etiology

The origins of the family violence projects are to be found in the Citizen's Initiative Program and its successor, the Victim Witness Program. Begun in 1974 (FY 1975), the Citizen's Initiative projects continued until the establishment of the Victim Witness Program in 1976 (FY 1977).

The Family Violence Program can be seen as an "outgrowth" of these earlier programs and was described as such in Jan Kirby's "Overview of Victim Witness Assistance Programs." One program apparently led to the other. First, the Citizen's Initiative Program called for citizen involvement in the criminal justice system, which was to "consider and stratify highest the needs of interacting citizens."² The resulting demonstration and research projects established the need for expanded and refined services for victims and witnesses, and a specific program, Victim Witness, was born. Included in this program was an emphasis on victims of "sensitive crime": rape victims, sexually abused children, and domestic violence victims. The following year, the domestic violence and sexually abused children categories were separated out into a distinct program--Family Violence.

As chapter 3 of this report suggests, the apparent "outgrowth" process also seems to reflect and parallel events on the local level, both in the victim witness projects and in grass-roots organizations.

However, official LEAA documents that describe the programs, their objectives, and delineation of goals indicate a somewhat different pattern. Within the context of these documents, the Family Violence Program appears as a radical departure from the Victim Witness Program. A review of the origins of the two earlier programs is, therefore, informative.

The Citizen's Initiative Program. When this program was instituted as a national priority of LEAA in 1974, LEAA administrators publicly expressed a concern that the average citizen had lost confidence in the criminal justice system. To ameliorate this situation, LEAA solicited bids on demonstration projects that were to cause the criminal justice system to "enable and assist the citizen in better

2. Guideline Manual, M4500.1B (February 1974), p. 34.

performing a function for the criminal justice system."³ Further, as specified by a statement of purpose within the program description, the projects were also to have a "significant impact on the reduction of crime through the active involvement of the citizen in the criminal justice process."⁴ In their scope, the projects included goals for public education, volunteer involvement, and reduction of circumstances that promote crime.

The Victim Witness Program. Established as a separate program in 1976 (funding for FY 1977), Victim Witness was intended "to assist in the development, implementation and replication of projects designed to improve the treatment of victims and witnesses and to increase citizen confidence in and cooperation with the Criminal Justice System." This objective was similar to that of the earlier Citizen's Initiative Program.

Victim Witness project goals--actually called "results sought"--included:

- increased reporting of crimes by victims and witnesses;
- reduced waiting time and unnecessary appearances of police and civilian witnesses;
- increased witness cooperation in the prosecution of cases, particularly those cases involving traditionally uncooperative witnesses, including rape victims, victims of domestic violence, children who have been sexually assaulted, the elderly and those fearing reprisals;
- systems improvements for victims and witnesses, including computerized witness notification, televised testimonies of expert witnesses, citizens' information terminals in courthouses, and other new and improved methods aimed at cost savings;
- development and dissemination of programmatic guidelines for victims of sensitive crimes including rape, sexual abuse of children, and domestic violence;
- development and demonstration of new methods for victim participation in criminal justice proceedings; and
- reduction in the repeated victimization of sexually abused children, victims of domestic violence, and vulnerable elderly victims.

3. Ibid., p. 35. It is interesting to note that the "Purpose" section closes with the statement that "these goals conform to LEAA's mission to develop, test, and evaluate effective programs, projects and techniques to reduce crime and delinquency."

4. Ibid., p. 121.

The Family Violence Program. Differing significantly from those of the earlier programs, the overall objective of the Family Violence Program is "to provide support for several comprehensive program models designed to test appropriate and effective responses to family violence." This objective indicates a break with the original rationale for establishing services for victims--to increase their cooperation/confidence with/in the criminal justice system.

The elaborate and ambitious set of Family Violence Program goals (see chapter 1) appear to have been developed, in part, in an attempt to integrate the domestic violence projects originally funded under Victim Witness auspices into the new program. Some of the project components had been mandatory parts of the earlier Victim Witness-funded projects. For example, the Victim Witness Program had called for all projects to provide for:

- specific activities to increase awareness on the part of the public and the criminal justice community regarding victims and witnesses, particularly victims of sensitive crimes;
- mechanisms for involving citizens, community representatives or advisors;
- training to victims to help them avoid further victimization; and
- incorporation of criminal justice agencies in project activities.

It may be that the thrust in the purpose of the Family Violence Program was not as explicitly focused on criminal justice improvements as it had been in the Victim Witness Program. The Victim Witness Program was, perhaps, viewed as appropriately inclusive of social service projects and project components because the underlying assumption about the program was that it would ensure citizen confidence in and cooperation with the criminal justice system. LEAA may have developed the strong set of criminal justice goals for the Family Violence projects primarily to enhance the likelihood that the issue would be perceived as legitimate within the scope of that agency's legislative mandate.

Actions of Principal Initiators

Our interviews with key initiators--the (then) LEAA program manager for Victim Witness/Rape Crisis projects and the (then) project director of the Technical Assistance Program for Victim Witness/Rape Crisis--suggest the flow of events and decisions within LEAA that occurred at various junctures in the federal development of the family violence initiative.

The program manager provided a chronological overview:

In 1974 the Victim Witness projects were started. The emphasis was general--services for victims. The same was true for 1975. By 1976 a concern had developed for victims of "sensitive crimes," i.e., rape, child sexual abuse, battered women, the elderly. Early in 1976, the Center for Women's Policy Studies was awarded a grant to gather information on "sensitive crimes." Over a two year period, the relationship between battered women and sexual abuse became apparent to the initiators through contact with the existing projects.

In early 1977, the Victim Witness program manager proposed the family violence program. The proposal memo drew on expertise of practitioners--program administrators and direct service personnel. In winter and spring 1977, the initiators surveyed personnel in other federal agencies--HEW (Rape Center, Child Abuse and Neglect). In summer 1977, the program manager testified before the Civil Rights Commission hearing on battered women. Subsequently the program manager was given permission to proceed in developing the project, but with very limited resources at her disposal. Two initial demonstration projects were funded under Victim Witness. At that time, the goals emphasized improving services to victims. Additional projects were funded in 1977. By the time the scope of the project was broadened and a set of national goals developed, the program manager had come to consider essential an emphasis on interagency coordination, some basic LEAA concerns regarding agency statistics and the level of criminal justice involvement in domestic violence, and a multifaceted approach to family violence. Some of the national program goals reflecting these and other concerns were taken directly from the Children's Hospital grant proposal. The original focus was to have been "crimes in the home," but this wording was later changed to "family violence."

According to our informants, on the most general level, the intent of the program initiators was to "mobilize community support and interest" in family violence issues. At the agency (LEAA) level, initiators were apparently interested in facilitating agency acceptance of family violence as an "appropriate program area" of agency concern and attention.

Initiators felt that making money available for domestic violence projects focused on the criminal justice system would provide an impetus for improvement of system response and give the issue an increased priority nationwide. A precise formula--a program model--for accomplishing this aim was not developed. Initiators' additional areas of interest included questions concerning the appropriate use and effectiveness of the "nuances of criminal justice authority," i.e., measures not involving incarceration (e.g., arrest, prosecution in order to divert). They were also interested in discovering the level of effectiveness (in terms of a reduction of the battering phenomenon) given minimal criminal justice action.

During interviews, program initiators indicated that they would write the guidelines somewhat differently at this later point in time. The (then) technical assistance project director commented that some grantees appeared to have been handicapped by inadequate budgeting and planning during final grant application negotiations with federal program administrators. Many operating costs--other than staffing--had been unanticipated during initial planning and grant application stages.

This informant was also critical of the initial thinking regarding the method of promoting an "integrated services" approach to domestic violence. Initiators felt, at the time, that a major impediment to unified and effective services was the absence of one (or more) individual(s) in a community with the time, skills, or responsibility for coordination efforts. The subcontractor arrangement (discussed at length in chapter 4) was promoted as a way of developing an administrative unit amidst a cluster of services. The nature and degree of power relations and turf disputes that subsequently occurred in projects with this structure were unanticipated and underestimated, according to initiators.

Federal Program Support

OCJP support for the federal program began with the development of a "Background Paper" by the Center for Women Policy Studies (CWPS). Included in the Guide for Discretionary Grant Programs and grant application package, the "Background Paper" provided potential grantees with information on the context and purposes of the LEAA demonstration program. The most significant part of this paper was its elaboration of the rationale for criminal justice involvement in the demonstration program. The document clearly states LEAA's overall goal of identifying and testing a variety of approaches for improving criminal justice system intervention in domestic violence as well as the agency's desire to promote comprehensive community-wide responses from medical, legal, and social service agencies.

OCJP has since provided family violence grantees with several other types of support. Three "cluster" conferences gathered together the directors and staffs from the 14 projects to exchange information and receive technical assistance on specific program components (e.g., management concerns, burn-out, batterer treatment). The Center for Women Policy Studies have provided grantees with technical assistance, including site visits by CWPS staff, information-sharing, and several specific training efforts for community service agencies. These training programs have included:

- Law Enforcement Training--on-site technical assistance was provided by the Police Executive Research Forum.
- Prosecutor Training--a national conference of prosecutors from the 14 sites was sponsored in 1978 by the National District Attorney's Association
- Child Sexual Abuse Training--a multi-disciplinary training curriculum was delivered at each site to project staff and other agency personnel by the Sexual Assault Center of Harborview Medical Center in Seattle, Washington (one of the two LEAA Family Violence grantees in child sexual abuse).
- Media Campaigns--a grant was awarded to a national organization to produce materials for community education and media campaigns ranging from "bumper stickers" to public service announcements for television and radio.

Among its other support activities, LEAA co-sponsors, in concert with the DHHS Office on Domestic Violence, a national clearinghouse on domestic violence and a national newsletter, Response, published by the Center for Women Policy Studies. OCJP also participates in the federal interagency coordinating committee on domestic violence, an informal committee of program managers from several federal agencies currently sponsoring research, programs, or technical assistance in family violence.

While these federal support activities have certainly contributed to the development of the family violence demonstration projects, the national evaluation does not include an assessment of technical assistance efforts.

LEAA GOALS AND CONSTRAINTS ON GOAL ATTAINMENT

A major goal of the evaluation is to assess projects' progress toward objectives and attainment of LEAA goals. Many difficulties in achieving this rather ambitious set of goals became apparent during the first phase of the evaluation. The present documentation of those barriers and constraints provides a context for future assessment. For example, because many--probably most--constraints lie outside the sphere of project control, lack of progress toward goal attainment may not actually be an indication of project ineffectiveness. Similarly, real progress toward goal attainment may appear insignificant or be misunderstood without such a context.

All projects, of course, subscribe to some mix of the LEAA goals. In their grant applications, however, few projects established priorities or stipulated which goals they were more and less likely to achieve; nor did they establish objectives linked to each goal. Two factors probably contributed to this lack of specification:

- The LEAA goals are broadly and ambitiously conceived (for example, "reduce community acceptance of intra-family violence"), which makes it difficult to introduce specificity in formulating either methods to accomplish them or ways to demonstrate goal attainment.
- Although most projects had been started with LEAA assistance, others had no extensive prior LEAA history or involvement with the criminal justice system. For the latter projects, situational and other exigencies likely to affect goal attainment were not always apparent or easy to ascertain until they actually began operations.

Now that the start-up phase of program implementation is complete, the projects are more cognizant of the feasibility of attaining their local objectives as well as national program goals. As an integral part of the evaluation, URSA will elicit from project directors and other staff detailed descriptions of site-specific objectives and achievements. This documentation will help to ensure that project accomplishments are not ignored or underestimated and that the impact of community contexts on goal achievement is fully understood.

For each program goal, we summarize below the obstacles encountered by projects across sites in their attempts to operationalize service components and effect impacts in the communities. In some instances, we also cite measurement, identification, and reporting (or methodological) problems in determining whether goals have been attained.

Goal A--Reduce Community Acceptance of Intra-Family Violence

Measurement Difficulties. Given the relatively short evaluation period and the problem of defining or determining "community," exact measurement of attainment of this goal will be difficult. The complex social, economic, and political characteristics of the various communities strongly impede conclusive demonstration of project impact in the community. Consider, for example, the scenario in the smallest project site, where community boundaries are most identifiable:

Residents of the area believe in being "native"--the sanctity of the family and their land. Their politics are typically Republican and conservative, in contrast to the expectation of social change inherent in this national goal. Many natives live under social conditions that tend to increase pressure in families. There is limited public transportation. Many natives are minimally educated (high school or less), which tends to circumscribe their job opportunities. The state is generally considered economically depressed and is one of the poorest in the country. Unemployment is high--over 10%--and there are typically more jobs for men (in the paper mills) than for women. When the men do work, the pay is low (75% of the national average). Often unpredictable lay-offs occur. Thus, being a native often means being a part of the working poor. Being working poor means living in inadequate housing, in crowded conditions sometimes with no phone and inadequate plumbing. Being poor adds to the likelihood of being isolated from social opportunities. Part of what rural means in terms of social isolation is "where the distance between houses is measured in acres not lots and the nearest store is five miles," as one resident put it. The rate of alcoholism is considered high; one in 15 welfare clients is thought to have an alcohol problem. These are some of the social conditions that influence the context in which the family violence project is working.

Compounding the contextual problem is that fact that community attitudes regarding intra-family violence have been and continue to be affected by several factors. As we shall describe in greater detail in chapter 3, such forces include changes in state legislation, reallocation of local funding, media attention, and increased awareness of politicians and local officials in addition to the specific efforts of the family violence projects. As these and other factors continue to impact on community attitudes, separating out effects due to project efforts alone will be impossible.

Barriers. One very basic impediment to reducing community acceptance of intra-family violence is apparent from the foregoing description of the rural project site. Given the host of serious problems that plague this community, residents may, rather understandably, consider domestic violence relatively unimportant. To the extent that individuals are preoccupied with other concerns of an order more pressing to them, overall community acceptance of domestic violence will be resistant to change.

Another obstacle to addressing this goal is introduced by the limited resources of the projects. For example, one measure of reduced community acceptance of domestic violence would be an increase over time in the number of client self-referrals emanating from media attention. At various junctures, projects have encouraged media attention to increase public awareness of both their existence

and the problem of domestic violence. Some projects were subsequently inundated with clients--in fact, too many to handle--and are now much more cautious regarding the use of publicity. Cessation or reduction of publicity efforts, however, could create the impression that projects are not seriously addressing this particular goal. This dilemma points to the possible tensions produced when projects pursue several family violence goals equally. In other words, can projects realistically be expected to simultaneously (1) provide direct services, (2) change institutional response, and (3) alter community attitudes and context?

Goal B--Increase Reporting of Incidents of Intra-Family Violence and Documentation of these Crimes

Several barriers impede accomplishment of this goal. First, service agencies (social welfare, mental health, CPS, etc.) have been established for purposes other than serving victims of domestic violence. Whether implicitly or explicitly, these agencies prioritize problems, many according to categorized funding or a legislatively mandated mission. Domestic violence has, until recently, been relatively unrecognized or unattended to. In terms of the priorities of most agencies, domestic violence probably falls at the low end of the scale.

Second, the projects have few sanctions or methods to pressure agencies to comply with requests for new documentation procedures or changes in existing recording practices. Moreover, placing such demands may prove impolitic for projects attempting to establish new practices or interagency cooperation. The staff in one project, for example, ceased pressing for changes in agency documentation procedures because they began to note that their requests both engendered bad feeling and interfered with the development of coordinating mechanisms and good working relations with agency personnel. Their attempt to realize one goal--increasing documentation--interfered with achievement of another--promoting interagency cooperation.

Our observers did note that some projects have the potential to succeed in altering criminal justice system recording procedures at the state or federal level. New laws in one state will mandate generation of detailed statistics on domestic violence. Other states request (but do not require) police to routinely note victim-offender relationships during calls-for-service and at other decision points in the criminal justice process. On the local level, however, commitment to the national Uniform Crime Report will probably block change as well as precise measurement of reporting trends.

Goal C--Demonstrate an Effective Mechanism for Interagency Coordination

Constraints on goal attainment in this area are many and complex. Our field researchers identified four salient barriers that projects have encountered in attempting coordination.

Turf Issues. Some agencies have been less than hospitable to projects due to fears regarding the potential of overlap in service provision and competition for the same client population. In one state, for example, family violence project personnel have experienced considerable difficulty in establishing cooperative relations with Family Court probation, which has blocked access to clients through referrals and, at one point, access to the court. Staff believe the lack of cooperation stems, in part, from agency fears regarding duplication of services. In another project, cooperative relations with police in providing on-site crisis intervention assistance have never been worked out, in part due to special-unit police perceptions of a potential for services duplication.

Our fieldworker at yet another project observed a number of obstacles to interagency coordination over the course of its six months of operation. Merely listing--let alone targeting for coordination--the multitude of service agencies handling aspects of domestic violence problems is an awesome task. Further, to break through the agency turf battles means that the new family violence project must first establish credibility for itself--a "Catch 22" dilemma since, without a large body of successful cases, proving effectiveness is difficult. At least one of the local women's groups believes that the project might usurp territory and funds better utilized by grass-roots organizations.

Ideological Differences. Distrust, suspicion and hostility emanating from real or perceived ideological differences plagued most projects' initial relations with personnel from one or more service or criminal justice agencies. These attitudes worked to impede development of effective mechanisms for service coordination in several projects.

Tensions between projects and agencies developed over the extent or type of procedural or administrative changes required within the agency to develop referral links to the projects for increasing service delivery to clients. Given traditional law enforcement attitudes that domestic incidents are "family matters,"

such resistance to procedural changes may be attributed in large part to ideological differences. As our observer in one urban project noted,

The higher echelons of the police department seem cooperative, but the city patrolmen feel overburdened by a new directive with no real enforcement power behind it. Moreover, the suburban police chief insists that, although his men are issuing Notices to Appear, the residents will prefer to consult private attorneys, clergy, or psychiatrists.

Ideological differences in client focus emerged more overtly in another urban project experiencing difficulties in obtaining referrals from Family Court probation. The family violence project is primarily concerned with protecting the interests of women; by contrast, Family Court probation focuses on the entire family and tends to stress treatment strategies that promote family integrity. Project staff have observed that policies concerned with maintaining the family are frequently inconsistent with the interests of individual members--particularly women. Probation staff have countered with a challenge of the project staff's credentials as "experts" on family violence.

Our fieldworker in a rural site sums up that project's problems in obtaining intra-agency cooperation given agencies' traditional notions of sex roles and fears about the preservation of the family:

The network of public service providers has slowly included the project. The center has been viewed most negatively as a radical, lesbian, feminist group that breaks up families. Over 2-1/2 years, staff have both spoken and worked with all of the service agencies and managed to somewhat defuse this view. There are some key people (police officers and some mental health workers) who still feel some mistrust toward the project and its services to women. This has been expressed in phrases such as, "How do I know what they really do?" Currently, most agencies are cooperatively linked to the project as service providers, despite a residual undercurrent of ideological questioning.

Internal Conflicts over Priorities. Developing relations with service agencies and instituting effective coordination mechanisms is an extraordinarily lengthy and politically delicate task requiring the expenditure of considerable staff time and effort. All projects--but especially the smaller ones--expressed some concern that there was insufficient time both to deliver effective services and to develop coordination mechanisms. As with Goal A, this conflict is, in part, a consequence of limitations on financial resources for project staffing:

Credibility/Legitimacy Issues. Successful institutionalization of a family violence project depends on acceptance by its audience--service agency and criminal justice personnel as well as clients, politicians, and community representatives. According to URSA interviews with representatives of these audiences, they are most likely to accept the project if they perceive:

- the project as a stable and accountable entity;
- the project staff as competent, experienced and professional;
- the type of services delivered as necessary, effective and efficiently organized; and
- the project as providing services that augment or complement those already provided by a specific agency.

Other forces will influence the development of a project's reputation. Perhaps most important among these is its institutional base. If, for example, a project is housed within an established agency (e.g., state's attorney or district attorney offices, Department of Social Services), it may be granted "conditional" legitimacy at emergence, provided the audience associates the project with the host or sponsoring agency and looks favorably on that agency. Linkages are easier to develop when they are built on pre-existing services. Also, projects using treatment approaches that are more traditional or familiar to audiences may receive greater agency cooperation. (It should be noted, however, that such projects are susceptible to criticism for not being sufficiently innovative or experimental.)

At the same time that their audiences are measuring them against the foregoing credibility/legitimacy criteria, the family violence projects are undergoing the implementation process. That process is, inevitably, characterized by instability in the struggle to work through the typical problems of organization, staffing pattern, services delivery strategies, etc. And, since domestic violence has only recently received attention, implementation of family violence projects necessarily involves a certain amount of experimentation in services approaches, some faltering, and reconsideration of originally conceived plans and objectives. Thus, during the course of overcoming temporary implementation problems, the new projects are subject to unjust or premature judgements. This is particularly true of those "grass-roots" projects that do not enjoy a legitimizing affiliation with an existing agency. Once labelled as "unstable" or "poorly organized," project credibility is compromised, presenting yet another obstacle to the establishment of interagency coordination.

Goal D--Documentation of Family Needs and Development of Methods to Address Needs

The major obstacle to attainment of this goal is that projects' designs offer limited access to an entire family. Projects designed to deliver direct services to clients--shelters--are limited both by client wishes and safety requirements. Some shelters report that a number of their clients do not wish to have their whereabouts revealed to spouses or to participate with spouses in treatment. In one project, informing a battering spouse of one's whereabouts is grounds for eviction from the shelter. This rule, enforced to keep the location of the shelter a secret, reflects real and well-grounded staff and client fears of violent spousal reprisals.

Criminal justice system-based projects confront yet other obstacles to access to family members. One project with a diversion component, for example, offers a batterers group composed in part of court-referred clients. The staff have indicated that spouses (victims) have refused their repeated offers of assistance. In another project providing clients (primarily women) with legal information, assistance and referral, documentation of spousal or children's needs is inhibited by virtually nonexistent contact with this potential client population.

For those projects that do have access to more than one family member, documentation of their needs and development of services-delivery mechanisms are difficult to achieve. The needs of children, in particular, are frequently greater than projects have time, resources, or capabilities to address.

The strategy of referrals to other agencies for services presents further obstacles to needs documentation, because certain agencies have eligibility requirements that work to exclude domestic violence clients. At one site, for example, a legal aid office refuses to assist clients in divorce actions where custody or property issues are involved. In another project, temporary restraining orders are unavailable to women who have not filed for divorce. At a third site, the Public Housing Authority, through which women could obtain moderately priced housing, prioritizes applicants into categories, the last of which includes battered and displaced women. In these and similar instances, documentation of needs by service agencies is impossible because many of these needs render clients ineligible and, hence, remain unrecorded.

Goal E--Improve . . . Medical and Social Service . . . Collection and Transmission of Evidence and Information to the Legal System . . .

This goal incorporates two functions of a community-wide response system:

- identification of victims of domestic violence who seek or are referred for services to hospitals or social service agencies ("evidence and information"), and
- coordination of interviewing procedures and protocols among several systems--with the justice system as the focus ("transmission of evidence").

Predictably, programs have encountered several barriers to attainment of both aspects of this goal.

Identification of victims presenting themselves with physical trauma at either public medical facilities or social service agencies has been observed to be problematic at several sites for a variety of reasons. For example:

- Emergency room staff, often busy and overloaded with crisis cases, relegate "diagnosis" of physical trauma (and hence identification) to a low priority. Often the nature of medical emergencies precludes asking a victim for the causes of her injuries.
- Project staff across the sites seem to have relegated hospital training and coordination to a low priority, relative to other training and outreach efforts, because medical services apparently are not immediate critical linkages for their clients.
- According to emergency room personnel, personal barriers (fear, shame, embarrassment) inhibit most battered women from self-identifying in this setting.
- Many social service agencies' exclusive eligibility requirements and priorities (as discussed in relation to Goal D) preclude identification of domestic violence victims by such agencies and reinforce the battered woman's reluctance to self-identify.

The gathering and transmission of evidence is also impeded by several obstacles, some of which derive from the lack of identification. For example:

- While interviewing and evidence-gathering protocols for rape and child abuse (and child sexual assault) have been implemented in many emergency rooms, the protocols for adult victims of domestic violence are still in developmental stages. Since the initiation of a protocol is predicated on identification, battered women's aversion to self-identifying hinders the development of both documentation and transmission procedures.
- Because a diagnosis in an emergency room setting is rarely required, a battering incident and the victim often remain unidentified. Thus, as in the previous example, evidence is not readily transferred, unless subpoenaed by the prosecutor's office.

- Training in hospitals to date has been targeted at hospital social workers more than at emergency room personnel. Improved evidence gathering and transmission by these workers will accomplish little until ER staff increase their identification and referral of suspected abuse victims.
- Because their mission is to gather facts relevant to decisions on eligibility and planning for services, social service agencies rarely probe for facts--information or evidence of physical abuse--even in cases where the victims self-report. Again, low agency priority is a barrier to integration of domestic violence protocols within social service agencies.

Goal F--Reduction in Repeat Calls to the Police Related to Family Disturbances

This is one of the program's major impact and client-outcome goals, and it also focuses on the decision point in the justice system where the majority of family violence cases are handled. The goal assumes that, if a project's interventions with a family are effective, violence in that family--and, therefore their calls to the police--will abate. This goal presents several evaluation difficulties--in both measurement and interpretation of data.

Given the relatively short duration of the evaluation, there will not be sufficient time to measure the number of post-intervention calls to police for a meaningful sample of clients. Furthermore, at most sites the organization of and access to records make it difficult, if not impossible, to determine the number of pre-intervention calls to police. Records concerning domestic violence are often logged together with several other categories, such as "loud stereos" and "cats in trees." Data are rarely retrievable by family, but more often, by address, which would require a "manual" search of voluminous records. Since many clients are poor and live in multi-family dwellings, tracing a call to a particular family at an address may be problematic. There is also a question at many sites as to the availability and validity of data on calls to police, which are often lost or not maintained systematically.

Data on calls to police for domestic violence can be interpreted in several ways. To assume that a reduction in repeat calls is a function of fewer incidents of violence is a leap of faith. It might also be a function of an individual's calling "behavior": it may mean, for example, that the victim has left, the assailant has been incarcerated, or that the victim sees no possible benefit from further calls. It may even mean that the phone has been disconnected, which has happened at more than one site. A reduction of repeat calls could also be

attributed to changes in the community or an agency--for example, changes in police call coding or dispatcher discretion in logging calls. Of course, even if it were possible to show a decrease in repeat calls to police and to attribute that decrease to a decrease in domestic violence, it would still be impossible to determine whether and to what extent such a change was due to project efforts as opposed to myriad other factors at work in families and communities.

Finally, a potential barrier to actual attainment of this goal is presented by other program goals that encourage increased reports of domestic violence. It is possible that efforts to increase reporting to the police in general will have a similar impact, at least initially, on many families' repeat calling behavior.

Goal G--Increase Prosecutions of Repeat Violence

To effect increases in prosecution of repeat cases of domestic violence requires the cooperation and participation of not only the prosecutor's office but also the police, the victim, witnesses, and judges. The types of obstacles to developing an effective prosecutorial response include administrative, statutory or procedural, system linkages, and resources.

Administrative. Prosecution of domestic violence cases may be a function of the organizational model. Projects that subcontract for prosecutorial services have limited control over the handling of cases. In other sites, prosecution depends on the philosophy and priorities of the district attorney. Prosecutors at two sites have expressed their belief that domestic violence cases are better handled outside formal adjudication. At other sites, priorities for clogged calendars relegate these cases to lower status. Because these cases are difficult to successfully prosecute, the probability of correction is low and the potential "rewards" to the DA's office are thus minimal. Finally, the trial court commissioner (unrelated to the DA) in one urban project can screen out complaints and negate efforts to prosecute.

Statutory/Procedural. As pointed out above, domestic violence cases are difficult to prosecute. Most cases are charged as misdemeanors, since felony convictions require sound evidence and extensive witness cooperation. Prosecutors are still

reluctant to pursue felony convictions unless there is substantial injury to the victim--commonly known as a "stitch rule." Even when charged as simple assaults or misdemeanors, these cases usually require corroboration for conviction; and collaboration is difficult to obtain in domestics. The numerous appearances and lengthy delays that characterize these cases often erode witness cooperation and prosecutor motivation. Finally, in many states, attitudinal legacies persist from not too distant statutory eras when domestic violence was not a crime.

System Linkages. Successful prosecution depends on the timely and accurate documentation of evidence and charges by police. Without arrests, or at least police support of and encouragement to the victim, prosecutions will not occur. Once again, since police procedures are often outside the control and "jurisdiction" of the family violence project, the goal may be difficult to achieve. Prosecutors also look for dispositional alternatives. If sentencing is ineffectual and sanctions not enforced, the effects of the prosecution will be negated. Incarceration is not pursued in all but the most severe cases, but "treatment" alternatives rarely exist. Judges, who have an historical independence in formulating social policy, often apply their own philosophy and attitudes in sentencing. To the extent that they undo the deterrent or punitive effects of prosecution and conviction, such sentences act informally to deter future prosecutions. Finally, in sites where diversion options exist, there is an inherent conflict between the principles and goals of diversion and the goals of prosecution.

Resources. Given rising or fluctuating crime rates, prosecutors may be reluctant to reorganize their offices to devote more resources to prosecution of domestic violence cases. The relatively low yield of convictions also deters such reallocation of staff time and resources. Since public dollars are becoming increasingly scarce under Proposition 13 and its counterparts around the country, the creation of special prosecution services and components becomes increasingly unlikely. Fewer staff and less specialization appear to be the future of prosecutorial administration.

Goal H--Establishment of Diversion Programs for Family Violence Offenders

Built on a philosophy of rehabilitation, diversion programs are designed to provide alternatives to criminal prosecution and adjudication. Thus, the goal of establishing diversion programs conflicts, in principal, with the goal of increased prosecution. Some projects have attempted to reconcile these goals by using prosecution to maximize the number of occasions when diversion can be offered as an alternative to criminal court processing.

The establishment of diversion programs requires the cooperation of police, district attorneys, judges, clients, and project staff. Thus, this goal is subject to many of those barriers discussed in relation to interagency coordination. The three pre-arrest diversion projects, which rely on police referrals of batterers to the project as an alternative to arrest or citation, have all experienced considerable difficulty in implementing this early intervention model. Turf issues have arisen in some locales between police and the project. For example, one police unit with special training in crisis intervention felt that the project component they were to work with represented a duplication of their services. In another project, barriers appeared as a result of ideological conflicts and the voluntary nature of the diversion program. Police have been reluctant to issue Notices to Appear (NTAs), which direct disputants to contact the project for mediation counseling. Since the NTAs are nonmandatory, they are often ignored, and the police do not feel compelled to issue them. Their reluctance is bolstered by the traditional police ideology of nonintervention in "family matters."

Perhaps the most critical barrier to the establishment of pre-arrest diversion programs has been their dependence on the voluntary cooperation of clients. Most batterers do not choose to participate in counseling programs, and there currently exist no sanctions against, for example, ignoring an NTA. Thus, early intervention efforts remain frustrated by client resistance.

The barriers to the establishment of post-arrest and in-trial diversion programs have not been as difficult to overcome. Control of the diversion process, however, lies with the DA's office and trial judge, who may hold philosophies that conflict with diversion goals. The special prosecutor attached to one project, for example, does not suggest diversion for the batterer if the complainant is seeking separation but, rather, only if the couple wishes to remain together. In another project, the deputy district attorney reports that the court often delivers a sentence that appears less punitive to batterers than six weeks of counseling.

Goal I--Reduce Intra-Family Homicides and Serious Assaults

Requiring two quantitative measures of systemic and community-wide impact of the family violence projects, this goal is rooted in data that show that significant proportions of all homicides and serious assaults involve parties who are known to each other. In many of these cases, the victim and offender are members of the same family or household. If, in fact, project intervention is effective, fewer cases will increase in severity to the point where injury or deaths occur.

Barriers. There are several barriers to attainment of this goal. First, the family violence projects in metropolitan areas are insufficiently funded and staffed to impact on intra-family homicide. For example, three projects in major cities with populations of more than two million have fewer than four staff providing direct services. Second, project efforts at system change and community organizing cannot expand the capacities of other service agencies to accommodate family violence victims, especially where these agencies and systems are hard-pressed to meet current demands for service. For example, as a result of the opening of the legal "clinic" in one metropolitan site, the Family Court experienced a surge of clients that it was unable to handle. The judge requested that clinic staff exercise greater "discretion" in filing petitions. Also, there was a six-month backlog of cases in the legal services agency before the project began. Therefore, it may not be realistic to anticipate reductions in indicators in communities with higher homicide rates without a concomitant expansion of other service agencies.

Projects in smaller communities are better equipped to impact on greater proportions of their populations through both direct service and system change efforts. Again, though, there remain barriers: few services and resources other than the project, few alternatives, and rigid social structures that present psychological and personal impediments to change. Moreover, the small population size in rural sites makes it difficult to achieve measurably significant reductions in the homicide and serious assault rates for non-strangers.

Attainment of this goal is also predicated on the realization of other difficult goals related to the batterer. The focus of many projects on services to victims will probably reduce the incidence of repeated abuse of a particular victim. However, because, as many projects report, abusive spouses often become involved in

other violent relationships, impacting community-wide on domestic violence (as measured by "serious assaults") is a difficult task without expansion of treatment services for batterers and effective sanctions for those placed under the control of the justice system or who violate treatment orders. According to the rehabilitation literature, the most effective treatment programs will be those based on voluntary participation; yet the strong denial mechanisms of many batterers pose formidable obstacles to voluntary programs. This dilemma argues for the expansion of treatment services testing innovative approaches linked to a variety of programs, including pre-trial diversion, post-conviction alternatives, and shelter services.

Finally, unpredictable fluctuations in factors outside the control of the projects --including economic stress, severe weather, and population shifts--can strongly influence intra-family homicide and assault rates. For example:

- During a two-week spell of severe winter weather in Chicago in 1979, intra-family homicide rates jumped dramatically.
- Immigration in several cities has created pressures on the housing and job markets, which have responded slowly because of the immigration status of recent arrivals. In these isolated communities, violence--including violence between family members--is often high.
- The effects of economic stress are apparent in communities that depend heavily on seasonal economics. For example, in northern communities that rely on fishing, tourism, and other seasonal industries common to colder climates, winter brings economic problems as well as physical and social isolation. Although these factors are "built into" the data, a particularly harsh or unproductive season can create pressures that the community is not equipped to handle.

Measurement Difficulties. Confounding the issue are a couple of familiar measurement problems. First, given the relatively short duration of the evaluation and the recent "discovery" of domestic violence, it is unlikely that significant decreases in intra-family homicides or assaults will be manifest during the evaluation period.

Indeed, it is highly probable that the rate of reported serious assaults will increase as a result of increased reports, improved documentation, and better handling of cases. The experience of child abuse projects is instructive: their efforts to impact on families and increase interventions resulted in generic increases in reports during the first several years of program operation.

As police and prosecutors become more aware and sensitive to identification and reporting issues in domestic violence, more cases are likely to be charged as "serious" or felony assaults. Hospitals are also more likely to encourage victims to self-report to police. The resulting increases in reports will mask measurable reductions in serious assaults during the evaluation period.

3. HISTORY AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE PROJECTS

This chapter provides a thematic historical overview of the LEAA-funded Family Violence Demonstration projects. Some of the national events that set the stage for program creation--the LEAA contributions--were discussed in detail in the foregoing chapter. This Chapter reviews other national and local events that shaped the projects during their initial phases. Specifically, we examine the projects' historical commonalities and differences in terms of:

- the broadest political and social context--their relationship to domestic violence as an emergent national policy issue--and
- their institutional location (or base) as a factor that conditioned the development of project services.

EMERGENCE OF DOMESTIC VIOLENCE AS A POLICY ISSUE

In examining the historical context of the projects, four distinct yet interrelated themes emerge:

- feminist involvement in recognizing domestic violence and making it a major policy issue;
- the criminal justice system's growing awareness of domestic violence, partially due to previous LEAA programs;
- changes in legislation on domestic violence; and
- the role of available funds in generating new programs to deal with violence.

Together these themes summate the development of domestic violence as a national policy issue.

This section explores project history in terms of this social and political process. A largely grass-roots feminist movement around "battered women" gathered momentum, created services, and pushed for changes in legislation and institutional

responses. Concurrently, the criminal justice system and social service agencies took steps toward working more systematically with victims of domestic violence. The federal government then made funding for domestic violence projects available through LEAA to both traditional agencies and grass-roots groups. Although each of the resulting projects emerged in a different way along this process, they all can be better understood in relation to the broader context.

The Feminist Contribution

Identifying the Problem and Initiating Change. The "discovery" of battering, especially wife abuse, was due in large part to the work of feminist organizations, nationally and locally, and to feminist writers and scholars who documented and publicized the issue. Feminists have been central to the expansion of domestic violence as a multifaceted public policy issue. Over the last few years, feminist groups have been instrumental in initiating legislative changes, altering police and court procedures, and working as advocates for victims within traditional social service agencies. Feminists created the concepts and first ventures into alternative, community-based services such as hotlines and shelters. A number of feminists who had played central roles in political and service activity on behalf of battered women testified before the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, seeking to incorporate their expertise into the formation of public policy. (See Battered Women: Issues Public Policy, 1978.)

The battering phenomenon came to the attention of feminists through their grass-roots efforts, especially those on behalf of rape victims. Workers in such feminist-oriented service groups as rape hotlines, victim assistance agencies, and rape crisis centers found that the crisis lines were bringing in a disproportionately high number of calls from battered wives. Community-based women's resource centers, offering open-ended information and referral services, became increasingly aware of the problems of the abused woman and of the dearth of services.

Having "discovered" the battered woman, these grass-roots groups rapidly identified the array of services that victims need: shelter, transportation, counseling, legal assistance, advocacy, jobs, childcare, etc. They also became aware of the limits in the legal resources available: inadequate police response, discouragement in efforts to prosecute, and civil and criminal legislation that did not provide sufficient protection for the victim.

Feminist activists thus became involved in many aspects of the domestic abuse issue--legislative reform, police and prosecutor training, shelters, and attempts to obtain large-scale funding for services to victims of domestic violence. Their involvement generally occurred within the context of community-based organizations such as shelters, rape crisis programs, hotlines, and women's resource centers. Quasi-official agencies such as commissions on the status of women and task forces on domestic violence were also active in creating programs and coordinating services between social service agencies.

Project Origins. It is in light of this nationwide movement that the relationship of feminism to the LEAA-funded programs should be considered. For some of the projects, feminism was an explicit part of the conceptualization of the program and informs the services offered and the approach used. For example, issues such as the relationship to battering of sex roles in the family and sexism in society are fundamental assumptions underlying the service approach and are incorporated explicitly into the plan of services. Four projects find their roots in what has been called the "feminist alternative service model," which sought to create services, especially shelter-based facilities, centered outside traditional agencies.

In one urban criminal justice-based program, members of several organizations working together succeeded in creating a network of alternative feminist service agencies. Two of these women's organizations are also LEAA subcontractors. One focuses on counseling services for abused women--as well as women undergoing divorce, separation or widowhood--and provides job counseling and educational programs. The other runs a shelter and initiated a legal counseling program for abused women that was the precursor to the current legal clinic services project component. The existence of these women's organizations enabled the district attorney's office to create the present domestic violence project, which combines a feminist service network with legal assistance.

A rural shelter-based program was initiated by feminists who had been involved in creating services for abused women in one geographic sphere and wished to extend them to another. Another rural program began in a women's community center, originally focused on a hotline service, branched out into providing "safe housing" for victims in private homes, and eventually formed a shelter and related services with the LEAA grant funds.

Several programs in a statewide network that eventually formed one project began as women's resource centers and rape crisis hotlines. When it became apparent that battering was a major problem in their communities, the groups began to assist abused women and formed a statewide network to lobby for programs and services

In many of the other projects, feminists were involved either in the task force that wrote the grant or in the outside community applying pressure for the creation of services for abuse victims. The initiation of one of the shelter-based projects, for example, followed a task force meeting of members of the Court Commission on the Status of Women and grass-roots feminist organizations. Another criminal justice-based project emerged through the innovative work of Maria Roy and her liaison with a long-established settlement project. Members of the local NOW chapter in another city who formed a task force on battered women were subsequently contacted by Department of Social Services grant-writers to help in conceptualizing the shelter services for the grant.

Despite the original feminist tone of the domestic violence issue and the involvement of feminist groups and individuals in the majority of the grant proposals, the LEAA-funded domestic violence projects differ vastly in character and presentation. Some are explicitly feminist, and others are not. In sites where core services are provided by subcontractors, the overall project can have a different orientation than that of the individual subcontracting organizations. For example, the three subcontractors in one criminal justice-based project are feminist organizations, while the project administration seeks to present a more neutral "rights of victims" or victims-assistance stance. Another urban shelter-based project is oriented toward victims services and a human-rights, rather than a woman's rights, position. Other projects have quite explicitly expressed the belief that, in the cultural climate of their region, the "feminist" label could have been disastrous for a domestic violence project.

The Criminal Justice System's Responses

As domestic violence became a public policy issue, the criminal justice system was obliged to respond in new ways to fulfill its legislative mandates to treat abuse as a serious issue. Traditionally, criminal justice agencies have perceived domestic violence as burdensome--an ever-present phenomenon that creates dangerous situations for the police and generates cases difficult to resolve for the courts.

Despite victims' increasing demands for criminal justice intervention, the pervasive attitude was that domestic violence cases are "family matters" and do not belong in the domain of the police and courts. (The domestic violence programs continue to grapple with ways of changing such attitudes.) There were, however, several movements within criminal justice agencies that counterbalanced such attitudes and served to create favorable pre-conditions for domestic violence projects.

Police Training. Innovative training programs on how to solve disputes and defuse violent situations have been provided to police officers since the late 1960s. A major objective of training is to get officers to reconceptualize their role and begin to view themselves as "conflict managers." The training programs in family crisis intervention were initiated by LEAA, which has continued to support this approach.

Victim Witness Program. LEAA's victim witness projects were instrumental in making law enforcement agencies amenable to the idea of providing services for the victims of crime--thus, extending their sphere of responsibility. Since the projects functioned as magnets for victims of domestic violence, sponsoring agencies were also presented with the need to provide additional special services.

A number of domestic violence projects trace their origins to victim witness projects:

- One project initially had a victim advocate program providing services to victims of crime, including domestic violence. In response to an increasing domestic violence caseload and the need to house these clients, the project began a shelter funded under Family Violence.
- At another suburban site, the district attorney, also chairperson of the National District Attorneys Association's Commission on Victim-Witness Assistance, initiated a victim witness project that became one of the eight national models. Later, the DA was instrumental in drafting standards and goals for domestic violence projects.
- One of the current mediation projects is an outgrowth of a victim witness service center. Although designed to serve victims of theft, vandalism and assault, the center received many spouse abuse victims referrals by the police prosecutor. This spurred the development of services for abuse victims and the family violence project.

1. The work of Milton Bard and others helped to create such programs and documents the difficulties in implementing them. See especially "Family Crisis Intervention: From Concept to Implementation," in Roy, Maria (ed.), Battered Women (New York: Van Nostrand, 1977).

Diversion Programs. Another trend in criminal justice agency practices, diversion programs using mandatory counseling can also be seen as having prepared the groundwork for domestic violence projects. This was evidenced in the development of a pretrial intervention and a misdemeanor deferred prosecution program. The programs provided counseling to individuals charged respectively with felonies and misdemeanors, the charges to be dropped on successful completion. A domestic violence component was added to services, the established program thus providing a vehicle for the treatment of a violent spouse.

Court System. Key actors in the judicial system also became sensitized to the problem of domestic violence. As seen in the Civil Rights Commission hearings testimony of judges from one city in which a criminal justice-based project emerged, there was a growing awareness and concern over domestic violence on the part of at least some members of the judiciary. One of the testifying judges attributed his awareness of the scope of domestic violence to activists in the feminist community, including consultants to the current LEAA project.

In both this and another project site, domestic violence was a campaign issue in the district attorney and state's attorney campaigns. At the first site, the current district attorney ran for office on a platform that included establishing a special unit to serve victims of domestic violence. He had been apprised the issue by the feminist community and used their support during his campaign. In the second campaign, the state's attorney drew on the statistic that 39 percent of the homicides in the county for the previous 20 years had resulted from family violence. She announced her intentions to begin a program that would intervene in family disturbances before they escalated to the point of homicide.

Legislative Changes

Domestic violence legislation affected both the climate in which the projects arose and the kinds of services that they are able to offer. Some of the projects came into being concurrently with newly enacted legislation; in several instances, legislative changes took place after the projects were well underway. In still other cases, whole projects or significant components emerged to fulfill needs generated by new laws. The pressure for these legislative changes came largely from feminists and attorneys who had worked in the legal system attempting to secure protection for victims of domestic violence. In a number of states,

individuals actively involved in creating the domestic violence projects also worked on legislation. Five projects in four states are discussed below to illustrate the often complex relationship between the projects and legislation.

Advocacy. The interrelationship of advocacy and legislation is apparent in the first three examples. In both of the states involved, advocates for the rights of abuse victims discovered that there were too few remedies for their clients; and were, therefore, obliged to seek statutory amendments. Members of legal aid services in both states were very active in lobbying for legislative reform. Changes in law then created the need for further advocacy services for victims to make the legislation readily accessible.

The first state enacted a Protection from Abuse law in 1976 to provide a civil recourse for domestic abuse victims. Considered by criminal justice representatives as a model piece of legislation, the act made protective orders available to members of a family or household who reside together. An adult files a petition to the court on behalf of her/himself and/or on behalf of minor children. The court can then issue an order forcing the abuser to vacate the premises, granting temporary custody and support, and enjoining further physical or verbal abuse. The initial filing of a petition requires legal assistance (either from an attorney or a paralegal) to prepare the documents. All parties must have attorneys in the hearing on the final order.

After the Protection from Abuse Act went into effect, however, victims of abuse had limited opportunity to learn of the law and to utilize it in the city that was the eventual project site. Although private attorneys and Community Legal Services represented clients in such cases, victims often went through a roundabout procedure, first referred to the district attorney's office by police and then transferred to the attorney. District attorney staff often failed to supply the referral information and the victim never learned of the possibility of using the Protection from Abuse Act. Before the LEAA grant, a women's group (which later became a pivotal part of the subcontractor program that evolved) started a part-time voluntary program of legal counseling in the DA's office to inform victims of their options. These efforts pointed to the necessity for a more formalized advocacy service to fully implement the Protection from Abuse Act. The domestic violence project was designed specifically to enable the legislation to be used more effectively by victims.

In a second state, two domestic abuse projects arose after a lawsuit and legislative changes had made domestic abuse a well-known and highly charged issue in some parts of the criminal justice system. A 1976 lawsuit had been brought against the police department and the clerks and probation officers in the Family Court in the city where one of the projects was later located. The suit charged police with lack of responsiveness to abuse victims; it charged Family Court intake staff with diverting victims from hearings before a judge where they could obtain emergency protective orders. Victims had allegedly not been informed that the informal adjustments made by probation staff were not binding and that abuse victims had a statutory right to see a judge.

Family Court and Criminal Court in this city have concurrent jurisdiction over domestic offenses. A victim in a domestic violence incident has the option to have either court hear his/her complaint. This procedure was further altered in 1978 to allow the complainant 72 hours to change courts.

The rather complicated set of options open to the victim, coupled with past problems with the court and police reaction to domestic violence, were critical antecedent conditions that dictated the approaches of the domestic violence project in this city and the project formed in a neighboring community. The latter project, located in the district attorney's office and headed by an assistant district attorney, focuses on the criminal prosecution of abusers. An essential project component is police training in correct procedures for dealing with domestic violence cases. The other project provides advocates to assist victims in dealing with the complex Family Court petition process.

Intervention in Criminal Justice System. Two other projects began at the same time as new domestic violence legislation was enacted in their states. However, neither of the projects was specifically aimed at helping to implement the new laws; indeed, the thrust of one is in a different direction.

Legislation in one of the states treats domestic violence as a separate crime with specific penalties: it contains requirements for reporting domestic violence incidents, arrest procedures, and also provides for additional police training. The law thus has a prosecutorial cast. The focus of the family violence project is, by contrast, one of intervention and diversion: it mediates disputes between partners who are issued a noncompulsory Notice to Appear (NTA) by police.

The second project began in 1978, shortly after its state's legislature passed a new abuse prevention act, which governs vacate and restraining orders. The act contains protective measures similar to those in other states; it also includes provisions detailing the services that law enforcement officers are to render to abuse victims. The victim can file for protection under this act without the assistance of an attorney. The project's services to victims include court accompaniment to obtain a protective order, but their emphasis is toward prosecution and diversion. Project staff include an assistant district attorney, who serves as a special prosecutor for domestic violence cases, and a male therapist, who provides counseling in a pre-trial diversion program for batterers. Thus, while it does provide services to help victims use the civil procedure, the project is focused heavily on intervention in the criminal justice system.

In summary, legislation has been used by the domestic violence projects in various ways. At one extreme is the project whose direct services center on implementing a specific piece of legislation, the Protection from Abuse Act. At the other end of the continuum is the project that offers services of a different thrust than the legislation. Most projects, like our last example, represent a midpoint, directing some portion of their services to aiding victims to better utilize existing legal remedies.

The Role of Funding

In tracing the antecedents of the family violence projects, it is important to recognize the role of the availability of funds for domestic violence programs. In some instances, the LEAA Request for Proposals was a factor in generating the idea of a domestic violence program. In one project, for example, one of the principal grant writers was aware of the issue of domestic violence but only began to plan a program when it became apparent that such funds were available. At another project site, the city Department of Social Services saw the RFP for domestic violence projects as an opportunity to create an innovative service.

In several sites, projects responded to the LEAA RFP in order to continue or expand existing services to victims. These projects often were comprised of task forces or women's groups which had assisted victims through hotlines and crisis intervention activities.

THE PROJECTS' INSTITUTIONAL BASES AND SERVICE FOCUSES

The confluence of trends that brought domestic violence into being as a policy issue is reflected in the institutional bases and the service approaches of the LEAA-funded projects. The projects are housed in institutions running the gamut from grass-roots feminist organizations to district attorneys' offices. Some are located within victim witness projects, others have a quasi-independent status within a larger governmental umbrella agency. While most of the projects offer a range of services, they can be categorized according to the primary focus of the services they provide--shelter or criminal justice system.

This section examines the connection between the institutional base of the project and its service focus as factors constraining or facilitating the inception of the project. Of particular interest are the kinds of linkages that projects were able to forge with other agencies, specifically to expedite client referral and cement relationships with agency personnel.

Criminal Justice System-Focused Projects

System-Based Projects. Three projects focusing on the criminal justice system are housed in criminal justice agencies--a district or state attorney's office. Despite the similarity of institutional location, these projects address different aspects of intervention in the legal process. One project was designed from a punishment and deterrence model: increased prosecution would punish and, thereby, prevent abuse. Another is primarily a post-arrest diversion project using compulsory counseling. The third project, while designed with a diversion component and a special prosecutor, is centered mainly on a legal "clinic" to enable victims to better utilize civil remedies rather than pursue criminal prosecution.

Affiliation with the criminal justice system has in many instances facilitated implementation of services by these projects. The legal "clinic," operated by a feminist subcontractor, was able to create a linkage with the sheriff's department through the use of its affiliation with the district attorney's office. The DA tie facilitated the establishment of a procedure whereby the sheriff serves the defendant (the abuser) with a temporary protective order and notice to appear in court. (It should be noted that local legal aid offices have had some problems in obtaining similar service.) Referral of clients to the legal clinic from the

district attorney's Private Criminal Complaint Unit has also, after the cooling of early tensions, proceeded fairly smoothly. Structural reasons are readily visible: the clinic is a subcontractor of the district attorney's office, creating a vested interest for all concerned that referrals function well.

A similar experience can be cited for the post-arrest diversion unit. By employing the pre-trial intervention model proven successful by a pre-existing program, the project could draw on established relations within the criminal justice system to facilitate compulsory counseling programs. With the precedent and necessary referral links already in existence, it was a matter of instituting a program with a different content but the same relationship to the structure.

It is important to emphasize, however, that mere placement within an important criminal justice agency does not in and of itself guarantee the success of a project component. The link between the legal clinic project and the probation department seems to have suffered in part from a lack of other counseling diversion programs located within the district attorney's office. The subcontractor crisis-intervention pre-arrest unit faced similar difficulties in its attempt to coordinate with the police unit where no prior referral link existed.

Externally Based Projects. Project placement within an agency appears especially critical to directly impacting on the criminal justice system. The design of a mediation project located within a victim witness service but outside of the criminal justice agency network called for police to issue noncompulsory summons for appearance by domestic disputants before a project mediator. Police were not structurally integrated into the projects, nor were the summons backed up by sanctions (or threat of sanctions) from a criminal justice agency. The project's difficulties in obtaining clients can be seen in part as a result of attempting to impact on the criminal justice system from an outside institutional location.

Another project suffered referral problems for similar reasons. Designed to serve abuse victims seeking assistance from Family Court, the project was to receive client referrals through the Probation Intake Unit at the Family Court. Probation interpreted the function of the family violence project differently than project staff. Instead of automatically referring all domestic violence cases, the Intake Unit sent only those clients scheduled for a hearing in Family Court. As a result, the project could not function as an intake and assessment unit for all

domestic violence cases, having only a limited number of preselected clients with whom to work. As in the case of mediation project, there is no mandatory relationship on which referral systems are built.

Shelter-Focused Programs

Nonaffiliated "Grass-Roots" Shelters. Two rural shelter-based programs faced similar situations at inception. Both were formed by feminist grass-roots groups that incorporated into nonprofit organizations. In both cases, the groups were obliged to strike a balance between presenting themselves as feminist organizations and gaining acceptance in the community, particularly with social service and criminal justice agencies. The issue they faced was one of legitimacy: how does a new organization, with a different point of view, creating a "new" and volatile social problem, prove itself qualified to other agencies yet retain a sense of the principles on which it was founded?

The situation was compounded in one of these projects by the community's traditional distrust of outsiders. Nevertheless, many local women had utilized the precursor of the shelter, the "safe housing" program run by the women's community center, that placed abused women in private homes; both the project and its precursor had to counter the attitude of social service agency professionals that hotlines and safe housing constituted "radical intervention" and were questionable practices. The needs of the client population and their willingness to use services offered by the feminist community were important factors in getting service professionals to accept the services.

The second shelter project also faced a relatively conservative community. Their strategy was to make a concerted effort to lay a groundwork of community support and to obtain funds from local public and private sources in order to become an integral part of the community and service provider network.

Location outside a public institution required that these projects create linkages to agencies for coordinated services. Pre-established links did not exist. While neither project encountered major obstacles in this process, it did consume much staff time and effort. Staff in one project initially accompanied individual clients to the social service agencies to obtain services and to establish the presence of the project with the agencies.

As a result of their independent status, these projects have also had to continuously search for funding to match the LEAA grant and, eventually to become self-sustaining. Staff members, unprepared for the pressures of fund-raising, perceived it as conflicting with services provision to clients. Projects housed in larger government or private institutions can operate on the assumption that if they function well they will be taken over by the host agency; they can, therefore, concentrate on developing the program to its fullest. The independent projects, however, are faced with the dual task of establishing their services and constantly looking for new sources of funds.

Affiliated Shelters. Six shelter projects are administered by public agencies ranging from regional units of state government to county and city agencies. The projects operate along an autonomy continuum of high integration within a city department of social services to fairly autonomous "confederations" of grass-roots operations coordinated by an administrative unit.

Affiliation with traditional public agencies reduced some of the initial credibility problems faced by the more grass-roots feminist programs and facilitated early linkage development. In some cases, staff were drawn from the host agencies. The directors of two projects, were well-known figures to local social service agencies whose personal credibility helped to legitimize the projects. While the grass-roots shelters were obliged to establish both their institutional and service credibility, the shelters directly associated with traditional agencies faced simply the latter.

Summary

In terms of start-up problems and services implementation, institutional affiliation is far less critical to a shelter than to a project oriented toward direct intervention in the criminal justice system. Shelters fill a more readily perceived service gap in existing agencies and are created to serve a previously unserved population. Since emergency housing for abuse victims is lacking throughout the country, duplication-of-services issues and turf disputes rarely arise. Even if traditional agency personnel are skeptical of the organization of which the shelter is a part, necessity dictates using the services offered. By contrast, projects focusing on the criminal justice system had to contend with a situation in which domestic violence clients were being handled (however

inadequately) by existing agencies. Such projects, therefore, were confronted immediately with issues of "turf" in establishing their expertise and integrating themselves into the flow of pre-existing patterns for domestic violence cases.

While the institutional locus and service orientation of a project help to explain project development across sites they do not solely determine the workings of a project. Other situational factors that dictate project development include internal organization, agencies' responses to the projects, and other social and political events, which will be further developed in the following chapters on program implementation and the effects of implementation.

4. PROJECT FEATURES

The analytical framework (figure 2) identifies a second critical dimension of the national effort to address the issue of family violence: project inputs. In this chapter we describe and discuss the family violence projects cross-site in terms of two major dimensions:

- structural features of the projects, including organizational structure and staffing, and
- project services, both direct and indirect

The selection of structural features as a focus of attention in this report emanated from field worker and project staff identification of these variables as critical to project development. The discussion of direct and indirect services is also based on evaluator observations and interviews with project personnel at several administrative levels.

We would direct the reader's attention to one of the products of this consideration of structural features and direct services--a typology. The typology suggests an organizing strategy for future consideration of project impacts in terms of system change and client outcomes.

STRUCTURAL FEATURES OF PROJECTS: ORGANIZATIONAL MODELS

Projects in this evaluation have adopted three basic organizational models: "hierarchical," "collective," and "subcontractor."¹ Eight of the 14 programs are structured hierarchically, two are collectives, and four operate according to the subcontractor model.

1. In this document, organizational models are considered mainly in terms of the positions and roles of decision-makers. See Eugene Titwah and Jack Rothman, "Toward the Theory and Practice of Coordination Between Formal Organizations," in Rosengren, William R., and Mark Tefton, Organizations and Clients. (Merrill, 1970).

Hierarchical Model. In this "top to bottom" organizational model, lines of authority, decision-making, and spheres of responsibility are most clearly delineated. A specific individual, usually the project director, tends to be the final authority and is responsible for determining policy, program, and staff operations. Staff are accountable to the director, who is usually empowered to hire and fire. In no project, however, are directors totally independent decision-makers. Most are involved in complex structural relations with criminal justice and/or service agency administrators and are accountable to representatives of agencies hosting the programs.

Collective Model. In this model, decision-making is accomplished either through staff consensus or consensus of certain staff members and a steering committee or other decision-making group. In one of the collectively organized projects, spheres of responsibility tend not to be the exclusive province of individuals. Most staff members are viewed as capable of and responsible for, carrying out most activities necessary for project functioning. In the other project, however, roles are highly specified.

Subcontractor Model. This is the most complex of the three kinds of organizational models. An administrator or administrative unit is responsible for coordination of service providers rather than for the day-to-day direction of staff programmatic activities. Groups (or subcontractors) contracted to deliver services designate individual representatives who are responsible for cooperating with the administrator or administrative unit to coordinate goals and activities of the project overall. Directors of subcontractor projects have varying degrees of authority over subcontractors, and their spheres of responsibility are inconsistent across sites.

Effects Associated with the Models

Hierarchical Structure. When compared with other projects, those with hierarchical structures appear to have experienced the least difficulties (which informants attributed to structure) in becoming established as identifiable entities among other service providers in communities. Their success may be due, in part, to the fact that the systems with which most projects must interface are almost invariably organized along hierarchical (bureaucratic) lines. Forming relationships between agencies is probably facilitated to the extent that organizational structures are similar and the requisites of interaction are familiar to all concerned.

Some of the internal difficulties associated with the hierarchical form were apparent in two projects housed in traditional bureaucracies. The director of a project based in a formal social services agency, for example, informed evaluators that timely response to an array of demands regarding budget allocations had been inhibited by bureaucratic procedures. For instance, delays in putting together and ordering brochures and publicity posters were introduced by the necessity to obtain approval at several organizational levels.

Issues and Problems in Collectives. There emerged in collectively structured projects several issues and problems that were attributed at least in part to organizational form. Informants reported that, while collective decision-making enhances the likelihood of staff commitment, it is a time-consuming process. Both collectively structured projects provide crisis intervention services, which frequently demand immediate but considered action. Since this demand appears, in turn, to require a rapid decision-making capacity among staff, a certain tension has developed between the dictates of the "pure" collective model and the activities necessary to deliver services efficiently and safely. One of these shelter projects avoided tensions by developing at the outset clearly delineated roles and responsibilities, empowering staff to make decisions within certain role-related spheres of activity. Tension in the other collectively modeled project was reduced as decisions originally requiring discussion and consensus of staff and steering committee members became more frequently the responsibility of on-line staff.

LEAA funding introduced another difficulty in the latter project's operating as a collective. LEAA Program Office requirements for role specification and the changes in staffing from volunteer to remunerated staff had consequences for the project's organizational form. Staff now recognize that they have changed organizationally from a collective to a "hierarchical collective" form--a change that is viewed with ambivalence. Some believe that volunteer commitment declined when the center received funding. There was a perception that payment of salaries introduced a disaffecting status hierarchy wherein paid staff were viewed as more valuable than volunteers.

Presently, however, there are reports that the hybrid model is advantageous in reducing worker burn-out and turnover. On the one hand, many staff feel a great sense of control because of the clearer role descriptions and lines of responsibility recently introduced. On the other hand, staff continue to exchange roles and to redefine spheres of responsibilities. For example, the original director and primary counselor changed roles upon finding that they were each better suited for the other's position. Such opportunities, rarely available to staff in either the hierarchical or subcontractor models, seem to reduce boredom and increase organizational commitment.

Factionalism in the Subcontractor Model. To date, the most serious difficulties associated with organizational structure have occurred in projects with a subcontractor form. Although the reasons for initial selection of a subcontractor model are uncertain, it is likely that project initiators were responding to request-for-proposal guidelines that emphasized the necessity for involvement with existing, on-going programs and for interagency coordination. Since start-up, two of the four projects using this form have undertaken important structural revisions, necessitated because of considerable intra-project conflict and administrative upheaval. In both cases, the revision entailed eliminating the administrative component.

One field worker identified organizational complexity as a primary factor explaining extreme factionalism that developed on several levels during the implementation process. Aspects of what occurred in that project took place in all other projects with this organizational form. Levels of conflict emerged and were identified by field workers during observations of project staff meetings and interviews with major actors in two intensive-site urban criminal justice-based projects.

First, conflicts developed among participants because of ambiguity surrounding role definitions, lines of authority or decision-making, and/or spheres of responsibility.

In neither project were role specifications and lines of authority clearly delineated at the time of project emergence. No specific group or person was ultimately responsible for decision-making with respect to the development of policies and procedures encompassing project operations or the requirements of subcontractor participation. Staff meetings and individual relationships became characterized by struggles to reach agreement on both these organizational questions.

Second, in the course of this process it became clear to our observers and to the participants themselves that serious differences existed with respect to: 1) political interests and system alignments; 2) organizational philosophy, including an appropriate method of accomplishing services coordination; and 3) appropriateness of particular treatment/intervention strategies to deal with domestic violence.

The next sections will discuss these sources of conflict.

Political interests and systems alignment. Given the nature of the subcontracting model, representatives of subcontractors are frequently placed in difficult positions. They must be responsive to the interests of their own organization and also those of the family violence project. These interests are seldom completely aligned, thus increasing potential for conflict.

One urban criminal justice-based project was attempting to develop a dual-component approach. The pre-arrest unit was to use a crisis intervention strategy, working directly with police at the scene of disputes; the post-arrest unit was to work with offenders diverted by the court. The project was operating under the auspices of the state attorney, but the nature of the program required police cooperation for success. In fact, the project would not have been conceived without cooperative agreements between these agencies. One issue of concern to police at this site has been the lack of prosecution in domestic violence cases, which they perceive as increasing the risk of violent incidents. The state attorney's office, on the other hand, was over-burdened with cases and, consequently, was most interested in discovering more efficient means of case disposition--diversion, for example. During staff and advisory board meetings, both positions were represented--although different persons advocated them over time. Parties representing the police position were concerned with direct legal methods of sanctioning batterers, while representatives from the state attorney's office appeared to perceive their interests as a function of rewards accruing from diverting rather than prosecuting domestic violence cases.

A variant of this conflict was also apparent to the observer in another urban criminal justice-based program that provides direct legal services to women in a "clinic" run under the auspices of the district attorney's office. The grant was put together by representatives from the DA's office and three local women's groups. Housing the grant in the DA's office necessitated the subcontractor

arrangement, in part because the Protection from Abuse Act (which provides the legal basis for much of the services the clinic can provide) comes under the jurisdiction of the family, not the criminal, court. A lack of clarity concerning lines of authority among the subcontracting organizations, the administrative unit of the DA's office, and the attorney actually running the legal clinic resulted in a major confrontation between participants. As a result, the clinic was temporarily closed.

Organizational Philosophy. Immediately upon grant award, subcontract projects faced conflicts between their preconceived notions of organizational structure. Subcontractors commonly envisioned a collective network of services coordinated by a central administration; they perceived their services as autonomous entities tied to a larger structure. Grantees, on the other hand, saw their projects as hierarchical, with subcontractors responsible to them and under their control. One key person at the dual-component subcontract project characterized these philosophies as the "interagency model" and the "divisional model" respectively. The divisional (hierarchical) approach suggests the creation of a new institutional structure, whereas the interagency (collective) model implies creation only of a new mechanism to facilitate cooperation.

Failure to resolve this conflict in organizational philosophy had inevitable consequences for the project's overall systems approach to coping with domestic violence. The project had little difficulty implementing components requiring cooperative relations that had existed in the system pre-project, that is, in parts of the network represented by the state attorney's office and the courts. The difficulties arose when it was necessary to establish new relationships--specifically, between the state attorney's office and the police force, and the state attorney's office and critical social service programs. The latter sets of relationships were precisely those necessary to implement and develop the crisis intervention pre-arrest unit. This component of the project had to be substantially modified, and plans for staff to work on-site with police never materialized.

Appropriateness of particular treatment/intervention strategies. While all project staffs have experienced some internal conflict over the appropriateness of particular treatment/intervention strategies, the subcontractor model appeared to

exacerbate this conflict. In the dual-component criminal justice-based project, as a result of unclear lines of authority combined with the complex relationships among organizational representatives with divergent and sometimes conflicting views of appropriate treatment strategies, meetings were used as forums for strategy debates among participants. Alliances were formed and shifted over time, depending on the issues at hand. Our field worker at this site, an anthropologist, noted:

I was much reminded of African Segmentary Lineages as I watched the alignment and realignment of these various factions around different issues. For example, the police faction came into conflict with the crisis intervention faction during the panel on criminal justice where Morton Bard spoke. These two factions came into conflict around the issue of enforcement vs. social or behavioral control. Other factionalizations took place during which the police, and crisis intervention, opposed the social work model represented by the diversion component and family therapists. Essentially, issues related to this alignment concerned immediate knowledge and handling of the crisis situation vs. the social work model in which change is seen to occur over time in an office or in an institutional environment.

In the meantime, much pressing administrative work remained undone. Roles and areas of responsibility slipped further into ambiguity. The result was that service providers (subcontractors) began to duplicate services. Areas of overlap included functions of the police unit and the program's pre-arrest unit; the two agencies which were to provide training; the program administrative component and subcontractor's administrative components.

A similar situation arose in another criminal justice-based subcontractor project. Subcontractors, an administrator, and the DA came into conflict over the type of service to be rendered by legal clinics. The DA position was that the clinic was to provide legal help--file petitions for clients, and if necessary, even urge them to take legal action. The subcontractors' original notion had been that of a counseling service on legal alternatives. The clinic's initial operation period was characterized by much tension between the DA's office and one of the contractors. LEAA officials were eventually called in as mediators.

Some Influences of Structural Variability in Relation to Funding

To encourage institutionalization of the projects within their localities, federal requirements stipulate that each must raise some monies to provide a "match" to their federal grant money. The projects' ability to obtain local funding is, thus, central to their continued existence. We were interested in analyzing the extent

to which structural features of the projects might affect this vital organizational requirement. That is, what structural arrangements might community agencies or systems be responsive to when family violence projects seek funding support? By analyzing data within and across sites at the point of project emergence, we have been able to identify structural factors that seem to be associated with variations in project ability to obtain funds. These factors include the institutional base from which projects operate and their organizational structures.

Institutional Base. All projects in the family violence evaluation operate under either public or private auspices, referred to here as the institutional base. Each type of auspice has its separate legal base and tends to have separate means of financing its work. Agencies operating under public auspices usually receive their funding through tax-supported revenues; projects operating under private (voluntary or philanthropic) auspices tend to seek their funding from a wider range of resources. Five projects operate under private auspices; all others operate under public auspices.

Table 1 examines the relationship between experiencing problems obtaining match monies and the institutional base from which projects operate.² All private, nonprofit agencies reported some difficulties obtaining their second-year match, while only two projects operating under public auspices reported difficulties. This relationship was significant at the .016 level.³ Thus, there is a strong relationship between the organizational base projects operate from and the relative ease with which they obtained their second-year match

Possible explanations for this phenomenon are offered by the qualitative data. First, projects housed within public agencies can rely on their host organizations to act in concert with them in appeals for funding. At one site, for example, the public agency acted as the project's advocate in requesting funds from the county commissioner. Second, when fund appropriations are made by public bodies,

2. Data were not available for one project. This and subsequent tables are based on a sample size of 13 projects.

3. In this context, a significant relationship indicates that the observed distribution is most likely the result of the interaction of the variables, rather than chance. A probability of .05 or less is generally accepted as an indication of significance.

the legitimacy and recognized authority of the public host agencies may serve as a positive influence in the project's financial negotiations. Projects operating under private auspices do not enjoy these advantages. In the absence of this support, the privately based agencies may be viewed by local funding entities as simply another of the myriad nonprofit programs competing for limited public money.

FUNDING PROBLEMS	AUSPICES		
	PUBLIC	PRIVATE	ROW TOTAL
YES	2	5	7
NO	6	0	6
COLUMN TOTAL	8	5	13

Organizational Model. Implicit in the conception of three organizational models discussed earlier is the process of decision-making. Hierarchically structured organizations tend to have directors who, based on the authority vested in them, may represent the project to other agencies. Projects organized in other than a hierarchical structure do not necessarily have one individual who is publically viewed as the ultimate decision-maker. Table 2 shows that hierarchically organized projects experienced the least difficulty obtaining second-year funding. All projects managed on other than a hierarchical model experienced refunding problems. This relationship is significant at the .016 level.

The strength exhibited by this relationship suggests a rich area of qualitative exploration. The influence of organizational structure on difficulties in attracting funding may be due to:

- factors internal to the projects caused by the organizational model, and/or
- external conditions, e.g., expectations and norms of community agencies which the projects interact. (This proposal has been extensively described in organizational theory literature.)⁴

4. See, for example, James D. Thompson, Organizations in Action (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1967).

FUNDING PROBLEMS	ORGANIZATIONAL MODEL		ROW TOTAL
	HIERARCHICAL	OTHER	
YES	2	5	7
NO	6	0	6
COLUMN TOTAL	8	5	13

Over the duration of the evaluation, we will further explore the nature of this relationship.

STRUCTURAL FEATURES OF PROJECTS: STAFFING

Staffing is a major structural feature of every organization. Particularly important are the mechanisms by which staff are recruited and selected and the staffing patterns finally adopted. In this section, we discuss these aspects of project staffing and then analyze them in relation to the problem of worker burn-out. Finally, the role of advisory boards in these projects is discussed.

Recruitment and Selection

Recruiting, socializing, and training staff presented all projects with difficulties endemic to implementing new organizational forms. They also presented myriad opportunities for creative problem-solving.

Changing Needs. As projects have evolved, changes in administrative personnel, services focus, and objectives have been reflected in staff recruitment strategies and, hence, in personnel characteristics. For example, when one urban-based project began, it was primarily staffed with graduate students. Following a change of coordinators, the staffing pattern changed. Whenever possible, more experienced professionals were hired. According to our field observer, the new coordinator felt that, while graduate students had fine theories, their performance did not reflect sufficient practical experience or skills. Presently, the paid staff--characterized by the coordinator as "the finest in the country"--is composed primarily of social services professionals.

Job Requirements. Recruitment issues at emergence appeared to stem in some projects from inadequately formulated job descriptions, which led to some poor matches between worker expertise and the demands of particular roles. For example, in one urban criminal justice-based program, a highly placed administrator was reportedly hired on the basis of a reputation for efficiency in administrative, procedural areas. As the project began to expand, however, URSA evaluators and project staff on several levels noted that the job increasingly required sophistication and expertise in managing complex interpersonal relations with staff and criminal justice officials. As a result of the administrator's highly authoritative management style, relations with other agencies and among project staff deteriorated, adversely affecting the project's potential for interagency cooperation. This management style, perhaps perfectly suited to a different type or organization, was inappropriate to the family violence project, and the administrator was replaced.

Sometimes unattractive or unusual features of particular positions narrowed the recruitment pool. Such was the case with the position of shelter coordinator which was defined as "live-in" in a service agency housed program. The program director told our core staff person that this was the most difficult position to fill:

Initial recruitment efforts, both formal and informal, were largely unsuccessful. The job requirements were more demanding than other project positions. The first shelter coordinator possessed a mental health background and had previously worked in an inpatient program for the retarded. Staff felt that she was immature and unable to handle the responsibilities of a demanding job. Relationships with both staff and clients were strained. A new shelter coordinator with seven years of experience in day care center management was hired later in the month. After two months on the job, she is viewed by other program staff, particularly the project director, as an "indispensable" member of the project.

Selection Criteria. A particular orientation or project philosophy underlies staff selection criteria in some projects. In one rural shelter-based project, an imbalanced set of staff expertise ensued from a consistent steering committee policy to hire personnel who (1) have primarily counseling rather than administrative backgrounds and skills, and (2) hold a grass-roots commitment. This policy has affected organizational development at this site. Hiring policies and the collective nature of the project seem to have determined the priorities placed on aspects of staff responsibilities.

The emphasis on counseling skills has facilitated the development and coordination of counseling and outreach services to victims--but at the expense of fundraising capabilities:

The project is now in its final year of LEAA funding with a strong internal organizational structure but no well-defined external structure allowing for linkage with a primary funding source for continuation of the project in 1981. Further, staff members report that since they were trained in human service agencies with the bureaucratic cushion of tax monies, they were not prepared for fund-raising pressure. They have responded to the day-to-day demands of grant guidelines and client service needs rather than the issue of fund-raising because it reflects their priority to meet client needs, their primary skills as counselors, and their commitment to the feminist model of collectivity in a grass-roots organization.

Hiring Procedures. In projects obliged to hire through local governments, hiring procedures and requirements have frequently superceded the needs of projects. Staff in these projects reported problems in obtaining approval for various positions and in working through time-consuming and tedious procedures. At one site, for example, job openings must first be listed; applications and the layoffs lists are then reviewed before advertising and screening of applicants can take place. Only then are names of qualifying applicants passed on to the project.

Hiring the director/administrator became a political event in two criminal justice-based projects. In the first, several key systems representatives reported that they initially viewed the project director as outside the established power networks and thus, capable of innovative and equitable decision-making (in the absence of personal commitments to established alliances with key network members). Subsequent events, including disbanding of the administrative unit, suggested to URSA evaluators that the lack of support generated by the absence of alliances may have contributed to the difficulties experienced by the administrator in defining and performing his role and, so, in implementing the project. In the second project, the director was hired by the DA with little input from the grant-involved women's groups. This method of hiring and the choice of director having apparently exacerbated tension between the groups and DA, the new director was immediately faced with numerous problems and existing staff grievances, which continue unresolved.

Volunteer and Student Staffing Patterns

A significant problem for a number of projects has been insufficient staff, probably the result of an understandable initial lack of knowledge about precisely what types and numbers of personnel would be required by various service delivery strategies. Attempts to cope with understaffing include recruiting volunteers, CETA workers, VISTA workers, and work-study and other students.

Recruitment. Volunteer services have been enlisted in all projects that require their services. The projects have been very astute and creative in accomplishing recruitment. For example, one field worker reported that

There are many mechanisms to obtain volunteer services in the [urban-based] shelter. One of them is internships. This last year, a local university placed a student who served as a voluntary crisis counselor in the evenings. There were also interns from another university's Department of Clinical Psychology. Staff of a local court diversion program recently placed a woman worker in the shelter. This woman killed her husband because of repeated battering and was sentenced to a length of time performing volunteer work in the shelter. Volunteers are fairly well integrated into the staff, participating in staff meetings, and some of the interns handle cases also. Counseling services provided by the university are voluntary and cooperative. Volunteer child care is also provided.

Problems. In general, training and management of volunteers requires considerable time, skill, and sensitivity. Project staff, cross-site, noted that dealing effectively with victims of violence is a demanding and sometimes depressing job for all involved--whether paid or volunteer workers. Paid staff must not only cope with their own feelings but must also be cognizant of volunteer needs for recognition and reinforcement in performing unremunerated and greatly needed services. According to field staff, in one rural shelter-based project

Eighteen volunteers and three paid staff work in the project. Special attention must be given to screening volunteers in this small town atmosphere to ensure they are not voyeurs or gossips.

Volunteer turnover has occurred with some frequency, so valuable staff time must be continually allotted for training. Volunteers are estimated to remain with the project about six months. Turnover is attributed to a transient population, the acquisition of full-time jobs, perhaps too little support from professional staff (i.e., case feedback is not usually immediate), and, according to one volunteer, "It's too cold in the winter to go out at 2 a.m., and it's scary. You need someone at home who cares if you don't come home after a while. You need an understanding family."

Issues related to controlling nonremunerated staff were introduced in at least two projects when differences in treatment ideology or strategy emerged in particular cases. In one of these projects, for example,

Shelter staff suspected a client of battering her child. This woman was receiving therapy from a pre-doctoral student from a university psychology department. Shelter staff had indicated their concerns about the mother-child relationship to the therapist. The therapist defended the mother and indicated that there were probably no problems with the woman. Later there was a child abuse incident involving this

client. In a staff meeting, staff noted that the lack of experience with battering often means that volunteer therapists do not recognize cues concerning violence. Thus, battering does not become a therapeutic issue unless it is specifically addressed.

The difficulties associated with using staff not directly responsible to or paid by the projects may be summarized as follows:

- Turnover. Volunteers, CETA and VISTA workers, and work-study students are obligated to participate either not at all or only for limited periods of time. Turnover is, therefore, continual and inevitable. Precious staff time must be allotted for periodic or ongoing training of new workers. One conflict that contributed to volunteer turnover in at least one project was introduced by perceived differences in the status of paid as opposed to volunteer workers. Volunteers performing functions similar to those of paid staff are likely to leave if they feel undervalued and comparatively unappreciated.
- Performance Standards. Administrative sanctions for unacceptable or unreliable staff behavior are minimal or absent with respect to some personnel categories. Developing and maintaining performance standards--particularly with respect to dependability and reliability--is difficult given this lack of control. This problem is further compounded in projects heavily dependent on volunteers, where the imposition of sanctions for rule infractions or poor performance may result in staff departures.

Worker Burnout

All project personnel are critically aware of their potential for "worker burnout." Staff associate the burnout experience with perceptions of internal over-stimulation: a person feels bombarded by too many sensations, feelings, thoughts, and too much information. Burnout was reported to occur to the extent that self- or project-defined expectations were perceived as impossible to meet for reasons beyond the control of the worker. Burnout appears to be experienced frequently by workers whose

- positions, as they perceive them, demand a personal commitment of time, energy, and emotional involvement;
- characteristic interactions with clients involve a high degree of intimacy; and
- clients' typical characteristics promote worker-client identification.

Workers associated burnout with a cessation of feelings of commitment to the job and with feelings of apathy and depression. Workers believe that departure from the program is the likely culmination if the burnout experience becomes too intense.

Shelter project staff are particularly concerned with burnout, perhaps because worker interactions with clients frequently occur at crisis points where the effects of battering and violence are most visible and distressing. The shelter work potential for staff client identification, according to one director, initiates a "new worker" socialization pattern that frequently leads to burnout. Our field worker at that project noted that

on a number of occasions, . . . the feelings among the clients were mirrored in the staff and vice versa. The project director told me that the fact that these clients are battered women seems to have a unique effect on women in the staff. She articulated a number of phases that new staff members go through. The first phase is identification with the women accompanied by the realization that clients are not very different from staff. Second, staff experience paranoia, especially in terms of increased sensitivity to male power trips. Finally, workers enter a phase of continual stress. One counselor described the last phase as a feeling of fear associated with a drip, drip, deep in the stomach.

Other factors that shelter staff associated with burnout are long and undesirable work schedules (e.g., evenings and weekends) and low pay.

Projects have attempted to anticipate burnout by discussing the phenomenon, by developing structural and other mechanisms to help staff deal with their feelings, by structuring staff positions to include multifaceted roles, and by creating opportunities for staff to switch roles. Regular formal and informal meetings and get-togethers in which staff can share feelings and receive support and reinforcement were mentioned across sites as important in reducing the potential for worker burnout. These efforts are further bolstered by general staff relations, observed across sites as warm, supportive, and congenial. The situation was described by one rural shelter-based project director:

Burnout is always an issue. There are too few staff, so we burn out a lot. We all work too hard, and clients are draining. Our jobs are complex and exhausting. Fortunately, we get along together very well. Staff are supportive, considerate, and spend time together socially. The fieldworker's observations corroborate the project director's statements. Staff are kind to each other and often express interest in how the others are feeling, cover for each other professionally, and are flexible in compensating for personality differences. Some staff meeting time is spent allowing staff

members to express job concerns relating to functions as well as to feelings. The director initiated this as a meeting wrap-up. About once a month to six weeks, issues around client case management, job roles, staff relations, burnout, or funding become a crisis or heightened-awareness issue. Staff meetings are very tense and opinionated, but the dynamics are usually productive and tend to pick up the quality of service delivery. . .

Advisory Boards

Federal guidelines mandated that projects plan for and constitute advisory boards. Since emergence, advisory board activities have covered a range of role functions, including:

- providing feedback to project about their image;
- establishing initial administrative and higher-level relational mechanisms in various service agencies (e.g., among emergency room personnel in hospitals);
- developing a political lobbying effort to represent the interests of domestic violence victims on the local and state levels;
- resolving intra-program conflicts;
- educating the community through participation in speaking engagements and media events; and
- helping with fund-raising.

Overall, the level of commitment and performance have varied widely both across sites and among members within specific project boards. For example, the advisory board of one project managed to accomplish a number of important tasks even though individual members' attendance varied:

Advisory board attendance varied greatly, and when a new member attended, time was spent discussing broad philosophical issues rather than specific agenda items. At times, however, these discussions seemed to refocus program issues. The subcommittees of the board were very active. A subcommittee on legislation drafted a bill on restraining orders, and a committee on media arranged for voluntary consultations from a professional public relations specialist. The project has been the subject of two newspaper articles and several radio and television shows.

In another project, one advisory board member from a police department developed a procedure for and then implemented a survey designed to ascertain police response to one aspect of the project.

Our observations suggest the following summary on advisory board functions across sites:

- Conflict of interest. A popularly held belief concerning advisory boards is that as a collective body they will facilitate interagency coordination, expand community contacts and assist in fund-raising. These beliefs lead projects to invite heads of agencies from one or another service sector (e.g., medical, social) to participate as advisory board members. There is some indication that this strategy may need re-thinking. In many sites, county agency directors who sit on advisory boards occupy structural positions that ensure conflict of interests. To the extent that monies are solicited from county agencies, project staff and advisory board members are competing for the same monies.
- Sanctions. Advisory board participation is voluntary and discretionary. Therefore, projects have limited sanctions available to ensure attendance or cooperation. Levying sanctions--such as requesting resignations for absences or nonparticipation--against powerful advisory board members could even prove risky for projects seeking to expand relational networks. To the extent sanctions are not incorporated in the original advisory board by-laws, the potential risks are further increased.

DIRECT SERVICES

In this section, we present a descriptive assessment of the types of services that family violence projects have undertaken to impact directly on the needs of domestic violence families and, thereby, respond to LEAA national goals. The following discussion of direct services considers both the wide range of services provided and the variation within each service category as well as the issues that have emerged in operationalizing services. These issues discriminate the service mixes and offer ways of viewing differences between projects as a function of service characteristics. Following our discussion of direct services we present a simple typology based on the primary component or focus of services. The typology will allow us to incorporate project descriptions as inputs to future analyses of system change and client outcomes.

The Services

The number and range of services that projects have been able to implement are impressive in their implications. (See Appendix A of this report for brief descriptions of services cross-site.) The projects have accomplished an incredible number of tasks with limited resources in relatively short time periods. It is obvious to URSA evaluators that project staff have expended considerable time, effort, and imagination in overcoming difficulties encountered during the implementation phase of project development. Below, we document some of the problems faced (and to a large extent overcome) in putting particular service components in place.

Shelter Location. All shelter programs faced some initial difficulties posed by issues related to location and selection of a site. In some instances, landlords would not rent to projects due to fears regarding the transient nature of the client population and the potential for contact with violent men and high visibility of police. Constraints on locating appropriate sites were also introduced by special requirements for client safety or for enhancing service delivery. Projects that desired secret locations still had to find locations close to public transportation. The needs of residents' children were also considered as much as possible (e.g., proximity to playgrounds or parks). Zoning restrictions limiting the number of residents per dwelling and health and safety codes regarding features of community kitchens also had to be taken into account.

Our most recent report from a shelter project housed in a local services agency illustrates some of the points above:

There were several obstacles to finding a location for the shelter that would be accessible by public transportation throughout the county, suitable for a multi-racial client population, and secret. First, the county (family violence target area) spans many miles, and the public transportation system is inadequate. Additionally, zoning ordinances require permits for unrelated persons to live together in residential areas. These permits are awarded by the County Planning Board at public hearings which are reported in local newspapers. The identity of the shelter would then be disclosed to the public.

Working with social service agency personnel, project staff were able to circumvent the public hearing process and guard against public knowledge of the secret location by organizing neighborhood residents and obtaining their endorsement.

All shelter projects eventually succeeded in locating sites that they consider more or less desirable, and certainly adequate for the time being.

Counseling Strategies. The adaption of existing counseling strategies or modalities and/or the development of new approaches to effectively meet the special needs of clients constitute an ongoing process in projects. The director of one urban shelter, for example observed early in project development that the needs of clients in crisis would require special attention. Our field observer at this site outlined the counseling approach that evolved:

In regard to counseling and therapy, the shelter staff have developed and formulated a rather unique and specific approach that is geared to the particular problems of battered women. The style of counseling is essentially a crisis intervention, rather than an "in-depth" style. The staff quickly learned to focus on providing immediate, concrete services to people. One reason for this is to encourage the women to realize that it is possible to "make it," and that once any concrete change has taken place, other changes will follow.

Much of the counseling approach derives from a recognition that the women in the shelter have a low sense of self-esteem. To deal with this, the counseling staff encourage women to begin to visualize what their real alternatives are and choose between those alternatives. Much energy is focused on the idea that the individual can and must take responsibility for herself; that she should focus her energies on her own needs and the needs of her children. This--in addition to attempting to provide some immediate feedback to women regarding decision-making--is regarded as a method of beginning to effect therapeutic change. In-depth kinds of therapy are not undertaken by the staff; rather, individuals who need long-term counseling and therapy are generally referred to other service agencies.

In addition, an attempt is made over the course of residents' stay in the shelter to provide them with a clear outline of what "progress" is, in terms of alternatives and decisions. When the woman is first taken into the shelter, she is generally treated with the recognition that she is in crisis. Initial interview information may not be gathered for several days. The first few days are spent in sympathetic listening generally; the staff is sensitive to the needs of the woman for rest and recuperation. Staff then determine when the woman is ready to work on change. It sometimes occurs that some of the clients feel immobilized and unable to make a decision even after the first few days; they are encouraged to begin to take action during individual counseling sessions. An attempt is made to help the woman design a timetable for decision-making while in the shelter. This occurs during an initial counseling session.

Child-Care Services. Issues related to offering in-depth or more than supervisory childcare services have only recently received attention in most projects.⁵ Conspicuous exceptions are two projects--both rural and shelter based.

One of these projects has been especially responsive to the needs of children through its child-care component. Three staff members--a child-care coordinator and two CETA workers--provide services to shelter residents' children, including recreational activities, (e.g., visits to the park and zoo). When in-depth treatment is necessary, the project usually refers to other service agencies. The coordinator works directly with mothers to teach parenting skills and noncorporal disciplinary methods. Presently, the coordinator is developing a committee comprised of herself, a Child Protective Services representative, and a representative from a local childrens hospital, to coordinate services for children from domestic violence families.

Preliminary reports across sites suggest that the provision of child-care services is likely to raise sensitive issues among staff and clients. Staff in one project, for example,

Believe that childcare is a necessary back-up service to provide clients with time to restructure their lives. But it is a difficult job to structure well for both the worker and the children.

There is a consensus among the staff that the aspects of the childcare worker's job make it the most frustrating in the center. Frustration can stem from several sources. First, the childcare worker must be able to rely on clients to be responsible. One childcare worker said, "It's hard for me to do my job, be accountable when the parents of the kids I'm trying to help aren't." For example, she said, "the women often bring sick children or they forget the child's pampers or food. Sometimes they come by without calling or call and then don't come." Second, the shelter playroom is small, and supplies are limited. Third, planning for a group within the age range included--from infancy to kindergarten--is difficult.

Crisis Intervention/Hotline. Almost all shelter projects offer crisis intervention services--a critical aspect of a comprehensive services package. In order to operationalize crisis intervention services, projects must accomplish a complex set of tasks involving considerable amounts of time, planning, and coordination. Fieldworker observations in one rural shelter-based project outline what is entailed in such services:

5. Several projects--both criminal justice- and shelter-based--provide clients' children with temporary, limited supervision or "babysitting" services.

Crisis intervention services are the highest priority and most critical comprehensive to services at the center. They are the most advertised. Crisis intervention has the most impact on the overall project goals since, in crisis, victims are networked through the most project and community services in the shortest amount of time. The first intervention is to provide alternatives in violent situations by having the victim stay with a friend or relative or come to the shelter. The comprehensive support services that follow crisis intervention include: 24-hour availability of professional staff and peer support staff; police department protection; transportation; medical help if necessary; legal advocacy such as a restraining order; welfare monies for food and lodging; child-care; and psychological counseling--all of which are coordinated by the project. This coordination usually takes place quickly, depending on the client's emotional state and available appointment times at community agencies.

A typical case might be networked through services in the following ways:

- A call comes to the answering service (after hours 9-5) for a victim or referral source.
- The answering service takes the name and number of the victim and calls a volunteer screener.
- The trained screener calls the victim back and determines the needs while offering emotional support. The screener explains the crisis center services and alternatives.
- If appropriate, an advocate is called to further clarify the needs and offer transportation to the shelter or to other immediately needed services such as medical help or police protection.
- The advocate stays with the victim until the victim's immediate needs have been met.
- Back-up crisis center professional staff are available at all points in the immediate crisis process.
- Follow-up involvement with the community agencies usually takes place the next working day. The outreach worker has primary responsibility for determining a strategy to support the client.

The crisis center intervention services are staffed both by paid staff and trained volunteers.

Crisis Intervention with the Police. Only one urban, criminal justice system project attempted to develop a formal, cooperative police-crisis counselor approach (component) to assist domestic violence clients. The approach as originally planned was never implemented due to a complex set of problems emanating from political circumstances and overall relations among service providers as well as from characteristics of the approach itself. Our on-site fieldworker relayed the following observations about the difficulties of the approach as it was originally designed:

The most important change in the project since it began has been in the design of the pre-arrest unit. Pre-arrest was originally conceived as a crisis intervention unit that would respond to domestic disturbances within an hour of police requests in two designated geographic areas. The current unit serves as a referral resource rather than a crisis intervention unit. It receives referrals of cases from a special unit of the police department as well as referrals from the paralegal intake unit. In addition, negotiations are in process with another local police department to establish a summons system in a limited geographical area. Police will issue a quasi-legal document to the parties in a domestic dispute requiring that they attend an interview with a pre-arrest counselor to determine whether counseling is appropriate. Subsequently, the couple would become project clients.

A number of police have offered similar philosophical explanations for failure of the crisis intervention model. The clearest articulation of this occurred at a panel featuring Morton Bard at a local college, attended by a number of types of police officers, including detectives, and uniformed officers, as well as project staff. Essentially, many of the police are doubtful that the social and psychological approach to human behavior has the power and sophistication to control or change aggressive behavior. There were strong disagreements among the police as to the desirability of such approaches. (When I rode with a uniformed police officer, he informed me that this is a major issue within the police department.) Bard expressed concern that bringing social workers into crisis situations could have the effect of giving police officers the message that they do not have to become "behavior regulators," i.e., knowledgeable in psychological skills. Some officers expressed concern that in the domestic situation, officer-social worker communication might not be adequate. The disputing partners might take advantage of the situation, just as children take advantage of arguing parents.

Concern about the roles of the police person and the social worker in dispute situations received a lot of attention over the course of the first few months of implementing the project. It was made clear initially that the police would have control and authority in the situation. Several months into the project, police detectives informed project staff that the presence of counselors on the scene of a domestic violence incident would be an additional burden and danger in an already dangerous situation.

Legal Advocacy. The activities of advocates are quite diverse across projects. This diversity is, in part, a reflection of differences in local and state legal systems. The projects have been very astute in developing effective forms of legal advocacy and also fortunate in obtaining competent legal staff. Legal advocacy components typically involve liaison activities between clients and the court. Clients are given legal information (e.g., informed of alternatives) and often accompanied to the family court, where charges are filed.

The paralegal in one such project has developed good working relationships with arbitrators in two courts. If program clients go through arbitration, arbitrators will frequently call the project staff member to obtain information on the appropriate content of agreements. In another project, the legal advocate is a volunteer, or internship position, filled for the last three years by a law student. Her accomplishments during her tenure were considerable, benefiting the project and clients alike:

The relationship between the project and legal aide developed to the point where briefs were prepared at the project. This is an extreme vote of confidence. Legal aid gained in this arrangement, since savings of staff preparation time allowed for more expedient case processing. Another benefit of the law student's advocacy has been the knowledge she has passed on in the form of inhouse education about the workings of the criminal justice system in the state and strategies to deal with the system. Staff understanding of state law includes the intricacies of the civil court system, in which divorce cases are handled. In order for a woman to obtain a temporary restraining order, she must file for divorce. When the center began advocating for TROs, judges would only sign in a "life or death" situation. Now, about half of the judges sign without listening and half without sending a notice to the husband. Most unmarried women can file for a criminal restraining order. In civil court, the woman can file for property and custody, holding the man in contempt if he violates the ruling.

Mediation and Mediation Arbitration. Two projects--one justice system-focused and the other a shelter--provide mediation-arbitration services. The mediation-arbitration component in the shelter project only recently began operations. The other project has had difficulty implementing the mediation approach. URSA evaluators have identified obstacles to implementation as police and disputant related.

Police have been reluctant to issue the Notice to Appear (NTA), a nonbinding "summons" to disputants in domestic disturbances. Their reluctance stems, in part, from their perceptions that, although the NTA appears official, in fact the police have no enforcement powers following issuance. They also fear lawsuits from persons who mistake the NTA for a binding document. Having resisted the NTA from project startup, police confuse both the NTA and the project with new state-wide domestic violence legislation. (Training in use of the NTA began almost simultaneously with the enactment of the law.)

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Widespread police opposition to the law arose when officers learned that they would be required to participate in further training around domestic violence and, most importantly, could issue a Temporary Protection Order (TPO) if the victim signed a complaint. Issuance of the TPO would allow the officer to arrest the alleged offender and hold him/her until a hearing was held. Although the hearing should be held within 24 hours, an offender may remain in jail over a weekend if an arrest is made on Friday or Saturday. Police officers have debated the constitutionality of the new law; many fear retribution if, in arresting an alleged offender, constitutional rights are violated. Thus, they associate the family violence project with the passage of an unpopular bill and also argue that the NTA documents will be mistaken for the TPO.

Finally, the police have complained that the program's hours of operation (primarily day time) preclude mediation of cases soon after the incident occurs. They suggested that staff be available during those hours when violence is most likely to occur--evenings and weekends.

Disputants feel no compunction to participate in the mediation program. According to staff and fieldworkers, the extra-judicial, noncompulsory character of the service may have impeded implementation.

When the mediation approach experienced start-up problems--including low client numbers--staff took remedial actions, including

- plans to station workers in the police radio room to do preventative telephone counseling (including information and referral) and attempt to recruit clients to mediation;
- plans to replace a mediator who recently left the project with an attorney to assist clients attempting to obtain TROs; and
- increased public relations and media involvement, including speaking engagements and training with social welfare and alcoholism service workers.

Client numbers have subsequently increased. At this juncture, however, judgments or generalizations about the efficiency of mediation are premature. Perhaps, once implementation difficulties (as they were experienced in the one project) are overcome, the approach may be effective in assisting and reducing repeat calls to the police.

Prosecution. Four projects have specifically designated approaches for increasing prosecutions of domestic violence offenders. The two shelters and two justice system projects have made arrangements with the district attorney to allow for an assistant district attorney to concentrate either full or part-time on seeking prosecutions. Implementation of this approach has been problematic in all four sites. In one of the shelter-based projects, the original intent of the DA was to file charges--independent of a complainant--and proceed with prosecution when abuse was suspected. Prosecution would ensure that the offender would learn that domestic violence is a crime, and the victim would not have responsibility for deciding whether or not to pursue the charges, as the deputy district attorney (DDA) would make that decision. The offender could be treated through counseling in the project's counseling component.

Due to several factors, the DDA found it difficult to win cases in court and mandate treatment. For example, the district attorney unit was housed in a location four blocks from the DA's offices, which fostered isolation of the unit and reportedly contributed to burnout of its staff. The project's criminal investigator stated that the physical separation of the offices made it difficult to engage in informal discussions of domestic violence issues with other staff. As a result, many DDAs continued to hold to beliefs that domestic violence was not a crime and should not be prosecuted as such. Staff burnout was attributed mainly to feelings of futility related to victims' reluctance to testify and the lack of court support exhibited by judges' refusal to levy more than minimal sentences on offenders. In the face of unsympathetic groups on all sides--judges, the public, at times the victims themselves--the staff began to burn out.

Largely as a result of victims' reluctance to cooperate as witnesses, the projects' prosecutorial approach was modified in two important ways. First, the DDA began filing and prosecuting only those cases in which either the victim is a willing witness or the injuries are severe and corroborating evidence exists. Second, the DA unit will become, in year two, largely a victim support and criminal investigation unit, with the DDA moving into the position of filing deputy within the DA's office. The project will continue to advocate and lobby for increased prosecution; but in the second year, attempts will be made to achieve better court results through victim support rather than by retaining a DDA as part of the project.

The prosecutorial focus of another criminal justice-based project was also re-designed during the implementation phase:

The original proposal called for a strong prosecutorial posture toward domestic violence cases. Exposure to clients, the director stated, led to the realization that clients must be related to "as people, not just numbers." As staff awareness of the complexity of domestic violence has grown, they have come to realize the practical necessity of providing services that clients identify as important. For example, staff now realize that the success of criminal prosecution rests on client cooperation. The prosecutorial focus has thus been tempered by an improved understanding of the many factors that contribute to domestic violence and how such factors affect the prosecutorial process. The shift from an exclusively prosecutorial to a focus concerned with servicing the victim in a manner responsive to his/her needs led to the development of a spectrum of services. Services now range from a warning letter to the abuser on DA letterhead, to criminal presentment before the grand jury.

URSA evaluator discussions with the special prosecutor in another shelter-based project revealed that women who wish to bring sanctions to bear are relying increasingly on civil remedies. As a result, the project's prosecutorial component--though not other legal services--were under-utilized the first year. Second year project plans are for the special prosecutors' position to be funded exclusively through the DA's office. The former special prosecutor will still focus on domestic violence cases and will continue to be involved with the project informally.

Prosecutorial components in all projects were re-conceived following startup. Perhaps these various "adaptive strategies"--particularly as they are empirically-based--will prove more viable in meeting client needs and in obtaining increased prosecutions of offenders.

Diversion Counseling. Rehabilitation counseling services for batterers were originally conceived by LEAA and project grant writers as diversion programs that would provide alternatives to prosecution and traditional sentencing. Cross-site, project staff expressed their intense commitment to exploring promising approaches to the treatment of batterers. Unfortunately all but one project attempting to develop such services have experienced some difficulties obtaining court referrals.

The exception is a rural shelter-based project that has successfully linked with the local pre-trial diversion program. Prior to establishing this linkage, referrals were received directly from the court or other sources, but referral rates were low. By building on established procedures in the diversion program, a convenient and visible referral system was made available to DAs and other court-attached referral sources.

Some of the referral difficulties were solved in the other three projects when they developed procedures for obtaining clients in ways other than exclusively through the court. One project obtains referrals through a jail intake procedure in conjunction with a pre-trial release program. Sixty-eight percent of their diversion cases are the result of staff screening efforts in the jail within 24 hours of the arrest incident. Another project recruits spouses of shelter residents, and a third receives client referrals from the probation department. The latter project currently extends referral networks to include social service and mental health agencies and plans to recruit clients from family court hearings in the future. Though some staff believe these client recruitment strategies are only an interim necessity until court referral procedures are stabilized, they do illustrate the problem-solving ingenuity of staff in all sites.

One shelter-based project characterizes their approach to diversion--which includes anger-management classes--as particularly appropriate to the needs of those involved in domestic violence.

The counseling component features a well-thought out approach to counseling offenders and victims. The project staff stress behavioral rather than psychological/psychiatric changes. The coordinator indicated that the concept of seeking behavioral changes in counseling stemmed from the need to stop violent acts in a short period (4 to 8 weeks) of treatment. While the counselors will offer emotional support to victims, as well as attempt to raise the low self-concept so common in battered women, the primary focus of the sessions is to teach clients alternative ways of handling anger.

This approach to domestic violence is implemented structurally in the project's anger-management classes. The coordinator, with some assistance from the project director, developed this class in order to offer instruction in anger-management on a community-wide basis. An anger-management class was taught through community college and adult education centers. Community members interested in understanding more about anger attended the class along with divertees from the DA unit.

Similar behavioral methods are used in the other shelter-based diversion component during individual, couple, and group counseling sessions. The rehabilitation counselor in this project, in discussing some of the problems unique to counseling batterers with evaluators, identified the absence of treatment models for counseling abusive men and clients, hostility and resistance to treatment when they are involuntarily deferred from court (e.g., conditionally released).

Typology

To facilitate its assessment of system change and client impacts, URSA Institute has developed a typology of the family violence projects based on their primary service focus. Two major service characteristics differentiate programs--the provision of shelter as the primary service focus and the provision of legal assistance as the primary service focus. The first dimension describes whether shelter services are provided to clients by the family violence project. The second describes whether project clients have access to the court (adjudication) process and/or are diverted to alternate services outside of the formal jurisdiction of the court. These classifications, which are displayed in Table 3, suggest several future opportunities to develop client outcome comparisons--both within and between direct service typologies--that may provide insight into issues central to policy formulation.

TABLE 3--PROJECT TYPOLOGIES	
PRIMARY COMPONENT LEGAL SERVICES	PRIMARY COMPONENT SHELTER SERVICES
5	9

Shelter Service Projects. Although there is diversity in the means by which services are provided within this typology, the basic service mix is fairly "pure." Shelter, counseling, advocacy, and crisis intervention are offered to project clients and (usually their) children. These projects rely heavily on police referrals. Three projects draw their clients from widely dispersed geographic areas, while three others draw clients from small urban or metropolitan areas. Exceptions within this "pure" typology are one project that offers mediation services and one with a diversion program.

Within this service typology, there are opportunities to compare client outcomes along a variety of lines of inquiry. For example, demographic influences (north-south, east-west, urban-rural, ethnicity) and clinical orientation to the problem of domestic violence (service to the victim only or whole family; public or hidden shelter location; variations in attitude toward "family integrity") may be assessed.

Legal Service Projects. The five projects in this service typology are differentiated from the other projects in the national evaluation by the fact that they do not offer direct access to a shelter, but rather, focus on providing legal (civil and/or criminal) services. Within this category, variation is found along several dimensions: the type of service offered, the point at which they intervene in the legal process, and identification of the client population. Services represented in this classification include counseling, advocacy, crisis intervention, civil/criminal assistance or representation, and diversion. Again, inquiry into the possible affects of demographic influences (north-south degree of urbanization, ethnicity) or orientation to the problem of domestic violence (services targeted for the victim, the alleged assailant or the whole family; variations in attitude toward "family integrity"; utilization of civil or criminal justice mechanisms) may be traced.

Other Variables. The service typologies may be further refined. Table 4 portrays the distribution of service classifications in relation to the institutional base from which the projects operate. Table 5 illustrates the association of service typology to the projects' organizational structures. Though sufficient client data are not presently available, these models suggest other interesting avenues for future studies of the projects' impacts on client and community change.

TABLE 4--SERVICE TYPOLOGY BY INSTITUTIONAL BASE		
INSTITUTIONAL BASE	SERVICE TYPOLOGY	
	PRIMARY COMPONENT LEGAL SERVICES	PRIMARY COMPONENT SHELTER SERVICES
PRIVATE	1	4
PUBLIC	4	5

TABLE 5--SERVICE TYPOLOGY BY ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE		
ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE	SERVICE TYPOLOGY	
	PRIMARY COMPONENT LEGAL SERVICES	PRIMARY COMPONENT SHELTER SERVICES
HIERARCHICAL	3	5
OTHER	2	4

INDIRECT SERVICES

Projects engage in a variety of activities in which staff do not provide services directly to clients. Combined here under the generic category of "indirect services," these activities most commonly include training and outreach. Through these activities, projects are frequently addressing aspects of almost all of the national goals. In the broadest sense, projects are using training and outreach to alter institutional response to domestic violence issues and incidents. Providing indirect services also enhances the likelihood of project tenure: building relations with agencies tends to establish a project's legitimacy and credibility as a service provider among personnel in other service agencies. Project staff also seek to improve direct services to domestic violence clients when they visit other agencies and request that victims receive special attention.

Training

Training can be defined as those efforts undertaken by project staff to improve the handling of domestic violence cases by other agency actors. Training sessions generally include a discussion of the problems and issues surrounding domestic violence and a demonstration of techniques to enhance case handling. Often a description of the project's services and how an agency may use the project is incorporated into a training session.

Law Enforcement. Training to law enforcement agencies has usually included:

- dynamics and legal issues of domestic violence,
- discussion of services and goals of the family violence projects, and
- demonstration of new techniques in handling domestic violence cases.

This content emphasis is expanded or modified depending on the project. For example, one prosecutorial project director has responsibility for training 48 law enforcement agencies in the details of new domestic violence legislation in her state. Another prosecutorial unit's training efforts revolve around altering the documentation and record-keeping of several target area police departments.

Social Service Agencies. Most projects that conduct training sessions have focused on such social service agencies as mental health, social welfare, hospitals, and hotlines. Second sessions have been held in agencies at some sites. The content of training for social service agencies is similar to that for law enforcement and generally covers the following topics:

- profiles of family violence participants,
- dynamics of spouse abuse,
- resources available to battered women,
- services provided by the project, and
- requests for volunteers, volunteer host homes, and/or donations.

Two projects have endeavored to instruct hospital staff in ways to improve identification and documentation of victims of spouse abuse. But training (as well as outreach) efforts for hospitals have been minimal to date. Staff have mentioned to evaluators that hospitals will receive increased attention in the upcoming year.

Training in mental health agencies focuses on assisting counselors to better understand and counsel persons affected by domestic violence. Several projects are working on developing and disseminating expertise on counseling batterers. Staff have noted the inexperience of many mental health counselors, as well as themselves, in working with this newly identified client group. To improve this situation, one project has established an eight-week intern program to train mental health professionals and para-professionals; the program includes a section on counseling techniques for batterers.

Outreach

Outreach encompasses a broad spectrum of activities including speaking engagements and media campaigns, interagency staff meetings concerned with linkage development, recruiting community and service agency representatives for the project's advisory board, lobbying for legislation dealing with domestic violence, and participation in conferences and coalitions on the issue of domestic violence. When the major aim of the endeavor is to inform the agency or community actors of the family violence project, we define the activity as "outreach."

In a sense, outreach activities were initiated even before the projects actually began operations. Through soliciting letters of endorsement for the grant, holding community meetings to support the grant, or presenting media publicity to garner public support, the emerging projects were conducting outreach activities in order to increase their visibility and dramatize the issue among community and service agency members. This initial outreach was only the first step. Continued efforts seek to solidify support for the project, obtain assistance for clients, and educate the community about domestic violence. Efforts to meet these goals are demonstrated through several project activities.

First, project staff have invited criminal justice, social service, or community actors to sit on the advisory board. Staff have indicated that they view advisory boards as one method of improving interagency communication, building mutually cooperative working agreements, and educating agency staff regarding the domestic violence issue and the needs of clients.

Second, projects send staff out to other important agencies to discuss the functions of the project and offer services to the agency. During these contacts, mutual referral networks (and/or other agreements) may be established. The resulting linkage may both assist the agency in its handling of domestic violence cases and provide the project with an agency commitment to giving domestic violence clients high priority.

Most projects also attempt to reach out to the community-at-large. Through the media, speaking engagements, and coalition attendance, they hope to educate the public about family violence--the extent and causes of the phenomenon as well as system responses and alternatives. By increasing project visibility, these outreach activities, it is hoped, will increase client self-referral and material support for the project, including donations and volunteers.

Projects have become involved in legislative lobbying on two levels. One type of legislation action seeks to change existing criminal and/or civil laws regarding domestic violence crimes, thus responding to the national program goals of reducing community acceptance of domestic violence and impacting on the criminal justice system. Several projects have also engaged in efforts to increase legislated public subsidies for domestic violence programs.

5. EFFECTS OF PROJECT IMPLEMENTATION

In this chapter, we discuss the projects' accomplishments toward attaining several national program goals over the last year: improved coordination of services, improved documentation and case handling procedures, improved knowledge and skills, reduced community acceptance, increased prosecutions, and the establishment of viable diversion mechanisms. (As figure 2 illustrates, we have conceptualized these national goals as "enabling conditions" arising out of the implementation process). Project progress toward these goals is essentially a consequence of (1) providing services to domestic violence clients and (2) creating a set of conditions to facilitate wide-scale system change and long-term impacts on clients.

The effects of project efforts are examined for the period immediately following project emergence through the first several months of service delivery. These effects thus represent "baseline" system and community data against which we will be able to determine further changes and improvements in system responses during subsequent project years.

The chapter is organized to permit a broad policy-level assessment of the potential and actual achievements of family violence projects in effecting short-term change in system responses. Initial project impacts on five areas are examined: law enforcement, the criminal court, the civil court¹, social service agencies, and the community. Within each of these areas, we describe how projects have implemented service delivery components and effected changes in institutional responses. Given our assessment² barriers to goal attainment (chapter 2), the achievements discussed are impressive indeed.

¹ The civil court is included because field observations indicated that projects have focused considerable attention on altering the process of obtaining orders of protection (TOPs, TROs, etc.) and clients are frequently referred for services available only through the civil court system.

The provision of direct services and the creation of linkages to social service and criminal justice agencies for coordinating existing services were the focus of first-year project activities across sites. At all sites, project staff consider the creation of a specialized service for a largely unserved population of battered women as their greatest impact on the service delivery system and the community-at-large. Prior to these projects, agencies were already overloaded with cases and were not equipped to handle the special needs of this population. In many sites, projects became a major referral resource for social service, mental health, medical, and criminal justice agencies in their communities.

EFFECTS ON LAW ENFORCEMENT

Law enforcement agents play a pivotal role in the criminal justice system's response to domestic violence. Often the police are the first to intervene in domestic disputes. They carry the responsibility to ensure the safety and lives of the disputants. They must halt the occurring violence and defuse the threat of future abuse. In some cities, there are specially trained police who respond to crisis situations; such units are, however, the exceptions rather than the rule at the present time.

Traditional criminal justice ideology, as reflected in the attitudes of police in various sites, defines domestic disputes as family, not police, matters. Most state legislation prohibits arrests without a warrant or without the officer actually witnessing the act(s) of violence and abuse. Some states have changed this legislation to permit police to arrest without a warrant on reasonable, rather than probable, cause. Yet there is still considerable ambiguity regarding procedure, and police are reluctant to arrest. This situation may be partially rectified as police officers become familiar with the new law. However, staff at various sites feel that officers will probably continue for some time to come to resist involvement in what is still considered a private family matter.

Given the bias against arrest, police are faced with having to "talk down" the danger and volatile energy of domestic disputants, often having to rely on the abuser's ability to cool off during a walk around the block. The emergence of

domestic violence projects, in many cases, has provided the police with some alternative response previously unavailable. In those sites where the police are specifically mandated under the law to ensure the safety of abuse victims, the availability of project services--especially shelters--for these victims helps police to meet their legal responsibilities.

All projects depend on police as a fundamental referral source to project services. Using the service-based typology (identified and discussed in chapter 4) we examine project police relations.

Shelter-Focused Projects

The nine domestic violence projects that provide shelter services to battered women have been uniformly successful in establishing positive relationships with law enforcement agencies. In all shelter sites, police reported feeling a sense of frustration in dealing with domestic disputes. Because no refuge for battered women existed at these sites prior to project emergence, the shelters became an important new resource for the police. Even when real or perceived ideological differences exist between shelter staff and the police, necessity restrains the potential for conflict. Shelters rely on police for referrals and transportation; police rely on shelters to provide them with a means to fulfill their legal obligations to protect the lives of domestic disputants.

Although referral relationships with the police have been relatively easy for shelters to establish, one major obstacle to complete cooperation became apparent during this first year. In rural and suburban shelters, geographic distances and transportation are of particular concern to project staff and police. Though transportation is an issue in urban sites, projects and police usually manage to arrange for either project staff pick-up of clients, client self-delivery, or police transport. For example, in one project, often the only means of transport is by plane, and travel costs frequently inhibit a woman from leaving a violent relationship. Shelter staff sometimes take it on themselves to provide client transportation to the shelter. Police consider transportation a major obstacle in their use of the shelter. As one officer explained:

If I get a call at 2:00 am to go out to the family, what can I do? I'm the only officer on duty. It's a real problem to drive 20 miles from town to pick the woman up. I can't drive her in myself--if I leave, no one else is on duty in town.

In this site, staff have arranged for temporary motel accommodations in outlying areas and volunteers to assist with transportation, but these alternatives are not always available.

Criminal Justice-Focused Projects

Unlike shelters, projects whose services focus directly on intervention in the judiciary process encountered many obstacles to service delivery. This group of projects features a range of approaches to service delivery and different points of intervention in the justice system. Some were designed to divert domestic violence cases from the court process by creating alternatives to prosecution and traditional sentencing (e.g., diversion, mediation/arbitration and crisis intervention); others facilitate justice system involvement through the prosecution of domestic violence cases in criminal court and/or assist clients in filing family or civil court remedies.

All of these projects rely on the police as a referral source. Obstacles to establishing a referral relationship with the police were most apparent in the three mediation/arbitration and crisis intervention projects, all of which are based outside the criminal justice system and attempt to divert disputants from further involvement in that system. As part of this mission, the projects also attempt to effect procedural changes so that police refer cases to the projects for mediation/arbitration, crisis intervention, and counseling. These services are intended to reduce the time and energy that police expend on repeat calls and, ultimately, the actual number of repeat calls. All three projects have experienced delays in the process of implementation.

Uneasy relations with the police in two of the projects centered around credibility issues. In one, police perceptions of a possible duplication of services presented barriers to establishing initial referral relationships. In another, anticipated referrals through police compliance with state legislation have not been forthcoming because of police reluctance to issue the non-mandatory Notices to Appear (NTAs) before a caseworker. In response to a special URSA survey, the officers attributed their reluctance to the fact that NTAs are considered police "advice," which a disputant can ignore since there are no legal sanctions against failure to arrange for mediation. To facilitate police understanding of the family violence project and the NTA program, project staff have conducted training

and used personal and advisory board contacts. Future plans to work in the police radio room to connect with the "community response unit," may enable project staff to work with officers on domestic dispute calls. In these ways, the project hopes to overcome existing barriers between themselves, police, and clients.

In a third mediation/arbitration project, referrals from the police were facilitated by pre-existing linkages between the police and the victim-witness unit, located within the police department.

EFFECTS ON THE CRIMINAL COURTS

Until recently, domestic violence was relatively ignored within the criminal court system. Family violence and wife battering were considered matters to be handled by the family and/or civil courts. LEAA and the local judiciary are currently exploring a number of responses to domestic violence, including recourse through the criminal courts. At issue is whether abusers should be punished, rehabilitated, or simply restrained from further abuse of their mates. LEAA raises these questions by setting two program goals that explicitly call for project intervention in the courts: increased prosecution and the establishment of diversion programs.

Diversion Projects

Typically structured to provide counseling services as alternatives to trial or traditional sentences (i.e., fines or incarceration, probation), diversion projects depend on the cooperation of the entire criminal court system, particularly district attorneys and judges.

Various strategies are employed to increase the district attorney's awareness of domestic disputes and to establish referral mechanisms in the criminal courts. Staff in one project, for example, attend bond hearings, have access to the jail to do initial screening, and have arranged with the court's paralegals to receive notification of incoming domestic violence complaints to obtain referrals. The project's location in the criminal justice building facilitates these relationships. Another diversion project employs a civilian investigator who also serves as the mediator in their mediation/arbitration component. She is in constant contact with the DA's office and has established a referral relationship with the

police department's victim-assistance unit. While acting as an intermediary link between these two agencies, she also advocates for the diversion of offenders and couples to the project.

At some sites with prosecutorial components, diversion can be offered throughout the adjudication process. If pre-trial diversion does not occur and if the project's assistant district attorney is attempting prosecution, the abuser may be diverted to the project prior to determination of case disposition or following conviction as an alternative sentence or as a condition of probation. One such project allows for diversion at three points in the criminal court process. Police send the assistant district attorney reports of domestic disputes, and the deputy district attorney may contact an offender and request that he contact the project's counseling component. If the person fails to contact the project, further action may be taken. If prosecution is attempted, the offender may be diverted by the judge prior to case disposition. A case is dismissed if a defendant participates in the program. Finally, a judge also may offer diversion as an alternative to fine and incarceration.

Project staff identified several factors that affected a project's ability to establish linkages with gatekeepers in the criminal court system for implementing diversion components. One of these was negative--the low availability of batterers eligible for diversion. In one small city, shelter-based project staff reported that the increased reliance on civil remedies in their community reduced the number of criminal complaints filed in district court. Among the other factors that, according to the project prosecutor, limited the pool of available batterers, one was related to the characteristics of the women who prosecute in these situations. Typically separated from the offender and determined to end the pattern of abuse by terminating their marriages, these women often do not consider diversion an attractive alternative to prosecution in such cases, since rehabilitation counseling is usually a vehicle for keeping the family intact. On the other hand, women who stay in their relationships are likely to dismiss charges altogether.

Another important factor identified by project staff facilitated the development of referral mechanisms in the criminal court system and, thereby, the implementation of diversion services. Linkages and actual client referrals were both more

easily accomplished when a precedent had been established for diverting potential cases from criminal courts into compulsory counseling programs. For example, the post-arrest diversion unit in one project employed a model that had already been established in the court system. At another site, the family violence diversion program became a critical resource for an existing pre-trial diversion project that had had no real alternatives for diverting batterers.

All projects reported difficulties in enforcing diversion directives, regardless of when and by whom (DA or judge) they are issued. Difficulties stem, in part, from the fact that divertees often refuse to participate in the program, disclaiming responsibility for their domestic violence. All projects consider that the court response to recalcitrant divertees--reportedly a universal avoidance of sanctions--exacerbates this situation. Staff at one site observed that defense attorneys, aware of judges' nonenforcement, often advise clients that if they opt for diversion, their participation is essentially voluntary. In some areas, the actual sentence may be considered less punitive than diversion (e.g., a 10-day suspended sentence versus six weeks of counseling).

Despite these obstacles to implementing diversion programs, the projects have effected changes in the criminal court system by providing the courts with a heretofore unavailable option. They have also increased the system's awareness of domestic violence and the dynamics of abuse.

Prosecutorial Projects

Project involvement with the district attorney's office is prerequisite to providing prosecutorial assistance. Two programs subcontracted with district attorneys' offices for assignment of a special prosecutor. Another project is a specialized unit of the district attorney's office for dealing with the preparation of domestic violence cases. The ADA in this project rarely participates in prosecuting only cases presented before the grand jury; other cases, frequently handled as violations, are drawn up by project staff and then channeled through to the local court. In the fourth prosecutorial project, where an initial review of private criminal complaints by a trial commissioner is required, a paralegal helps women through this process. The project's concern has been to provide information and referral and/or supportive counseling after they have filed a complaint. The paralegal aids the victim by "prepping" her on how to present the complaint before the trial commissioner and briefs the ADA who will prosecute domestic violence cases.

Going beyond assisting women in filing complaints, all four projects are involved in actual case preparation and prosecution of batterers. Linkage with the DA's office helps them to connect with other agents of the criminal justice system that are intrinsic to the prosecutorial process (i.e., police, court clerks, probation, judges, etc.). All of these projects employ the services of an assistant (or deputy) district attorney either through direct contract or subcontract with a DA's office. The very existence of this organizational tie impacts on the structure of the district attorney's office.

The ADAs in all projects reported that they spend much of their time creating the interagency networks essential to the provision of prosecutorial services. All have worked with police on training and have developed police notification systems. They have also worked with court personnel to educate them about the project and the legal options available to battered women. The special prosecutor in one site has worked extensively with court clerks, who act as gatekeepers in deciding whether a case warrants civil or criminal action.

Project ADAs reported that often battered women have pursued prosecution because of the special attention received. Such attention and concern act to reduce the evidentiary problems associated with domestic violence case prosecution. Prosecutorial projects have helped domestic violence clients to obtain a clearer understanding of the legal process, answering their questions about procedural matters and referring them on other abuse-related problems.

Staff in all of the prosecutorial projects indicated that they have been able to effect some changes in case processing, despite numerous obstacles. Although most of the convictions and initial sentences in their domestic violence cases have not been upheld even when successfully prosecuted, the existence of a special prosecutor ensures that some judicial acknowledgement of domestic violence occurs. This is a necessary first step in the recognition of domestic assault as criminal behavior demanding sanction.

EFFECTS ON THE CIVIL COURT

Organization around the issue and media attention to domestic violence have made the general public, especially battered women, more aware of their legal rights. In some cities, the increasing demand for legal protection by abuse victims and their advocates has exacerbated the inability of criminal and civil court systems to handle the problem. In some instances, groups advocating for domestic violence services pressured local district attorneys to make a commitment to increase prosecutions and convictions of domestic violence offenders. An alternative strategy employed by domestic violence advocates circumvents the criminal court process and directs attention to the absence of civil remedies available to abuse victims.

Several state legislatures have recently enacted domestic violence legislation simplifying the process of obtaining Temporary Restraining Orders and strengthening the penalties for violations. (Many of these states are those where family violence projects emerged.)

The entire service system, particularly the criminal justice system, has been affected by these legislative changes.² For example, the new laws typically require law enforcement to serve abusers with summons to appear in court, enforce evictions, and permit probable cause misdemeanor arrest. Under these new laws, violators are prosecuted and/or supervised under the auspices of the criminal courts.

Increasing reliance on civil remedies to deter battering may represent a national trend. Legislation has been sponsored and in some cases adopted in several cities. One family violence project emerged in direct response to changes in domestic legislation. This project presents a unique opportunity to observe local institutional responses to the new laws and to project intervention.

URSA evaluators identified two important factors as impediments to the development of civil court resources for domestic violence victims:

- access to intervention in the civil court process and
- system response to project intervention.

2. See Appendix C for domestic violence statutes.

Access

A factor that inhibited the potential of influencing family court procedures was first introduced in one project during the screening process. Project staff believe that family court probation in one jurisdiction has restricted client access to the court process. The project was originally designed to intervene primarily in the family court system by providing support, counseling, and most importantly, advocacy for abused women seeking civil remedies. In this particular court system, family court probation intake staff make discretionary rulings on requests for civil actions, determining eligibility for protective orders and access to the family court judges. Consistent with the stated purpose of family court--"to keep families intact"--a 60-day conciliation period has often been used to effect an informal "adjustment," sometimes through referrals to social agencies, mediation, or family court conciliation counseling. Family violence project staff assumed that domestic violence cases would be identified by probation intake and referred to the project for assessment, referral, and other direct services. Among other factors, perceived ideological differences between the single-party advocacy orientation of the project and the family court's emphasis on joint-party conciliation led to turf disputes and other conflicts around the project's goals. As a result, only cases scheduled for a hearing in family court were initially referred to the family violence project.

System Response to Project Intervention

At another site, the placement of the project in a public agency resolved some initial obstacles. Operating under the auspices of the district attorney, this project was created as a mechanism through which civil petitions could be easily obtained under the Protection From Abuse Act. As gatekeepers, staff conduct the initial screening and determine client eligibility. Although the decision to file a civil petition is made by project staff, other source and procedural problems emerge once client eligibility is determined:

- obtaining legal representation for abuse victims
- the unpredictability of the judicial response (a function of the dramatic increase in numbers of petitions filed in family court); and
- ambiguity concerning the availability or strength of court sanctions for violations of protective orders.

Legal Representation. An obstacle that one project confronts in providing legal services to abuse victims is the dearth of attorneys to represent clients at family court hearings. At this site, legal aid is having difficulties and experiencing staff cutbacks and labor disputes. The state legislature has recently mandated a budget cut in appropriations for legal services. Community Legal Services is already overloaded by the volume of petitions generated through the family violence project. In June, the project's attorney director began to represent women in court because the community legal service office was closed to new clients. Additional budget cuts will likely further curtail the type of legal representation available to clients. Given the apparent difficulties in finding attorneys to represent clients, staff have increased the number of referrals to the private criminal complaint unit.

Family Court Response. The response of the family court system, combined with low staff and client overload, constrained the number of civil petitions filed on behalf of clients. A conflict initially arose between the project and family court over the number of petitions filed under the Protection From Abuse Act. The administrative judge of the family court felt that the high client no-show rate (approximately 50% of petitions) was the result of discretionary failures on the part of project staff. The project now, in less severe cases, issues a warning letter to an abuser at the request of the client. The client is told to return if this tactic fails to deter the batterer. Divorce, separation, and criminal complaints are also frequently recommended as alternative strategies for domestic violence victims requesting project services.

Sanctions. The number of civil petitions filed in family court under the Protection From Abuse Act has also had considerable impact on other aspects of the criminal justice system at the site discussed above. Violations of the protective orders issued by the court have led to procedural problems. Initially, sanctions for violation of court orders--for assault, trespassing, etc.--were not enforced by police or prosecuted by the courts. Law enforcement officers were unaware that the protective order allows them to arrest without a warrant on probable cause. The project has since worked with the police to revise the directives to officers on the enforcement of the protective orders. Another obstacle to enforcing sanctions was the ambiguity in the domestic abuse law over whether violations

of the petitions are to be prosecuted in municipal (criminal) court on charges of defiant trespass, assault, etc., or in the family court division of the court of common pleas for indirect criminal contempt. Similar problems with the sanctioning of violators have been observed at other project sites where domestic abuse legislation exists. At one of these, when the first restraining order under the new law was issued, the city police refused to enforce it, claiming no knowledge of its existence or procedures for enforcing it.

Summary

Over time, some of the problems confronting projects attempting to institute new legal procedures to assist victims will undoubtedly be resolved, or at least minimized, as new laws become institutionalized and procedures for arresting and prosecuting violators are established. However, other factors limiting access to and enforcement of civil remedies are likely to persist. In some project sites, legal aid to domestic clients is already restricted. If expenditures to legal aid continue to be cut back across the country, legal representation for obtaining restraining orders, divorce, separation, and custody will be further curtailed.

The effectiveness of civil remedies to domestic violence is related to the availability and strength of sanctions for violation. The cooperation of police and the criminal court is critical to successful enforcement. Procedures to expedite the judiciary process in obtaining and enforcing court orders can be improved. But upholding these laws is still the function of an already overloaded and to some extent uncooperative criminal court system. These issues become particularly salient in communities where the institutional response has been to decriminalize the problem or, in the interests of expedience, to divert domestic violence cases from the criminal courts.

EFFECTS ON SOCIAL SERVICES AGENCIES

The service agencies on which the projects depend for coordinated services appear to vary according to project service focus. The need to establish strong ties with departments of social welfare, mental health, hospitals, etc., is less critical in criminal justice-focused projects than in shelter projects. Field reports indicate that clients attempting to prosecute abusers have either already left home, have made plans to do so, or are hoping to evict the abuser. In mediation/arbitration projects, which frequently focus on reconciliation, the victim (as far as we are able to determine at this point in the evaluation) does not request refuge or financial aid.

In shelter projects, on the other hand, social service agencies are a critical resource to ensuring crisis intervention services to domestic violence clients. Thus, for the remainder of this section, unless otherwise specified, we will discuss the effects of shelter-focused projects on the social service system.

Department of Social Services (DSS)

Departments of Social Services (also referred to as Welfare and Social Rehabilitative Services, Department of Public Welfare, etc.) normally provide income allocations (Aid to Families with Dependent Children--AFDC), General Assistance (GA), food stamps and/or food vouchers, and some protective services (usually Child Protective Services and occasionally adult protection.) Title XX benefits, including transportation or childcare services, are available automatically to AFDC eligibles in most areas.

DSS is a critical resource for shelter projects, especially because many of the victim-clients have immediate financial and safety needs. Though they may wish to start a new life independently of a violent partner, victims of domestic violence--overwhelmingly women--are frequently either unemployed or without financial resources independent of the partner's control. Victims have two choices for financial aid if they choose to leave a violent home: welfare or employment. Many women with children turn to welfare (AFDC), if only temporarily, because assistance is available and the burdens of child-care and relocation make job seeking difficult. Thus, client needs compel project staff to expend time and energy in developing satisfactory relationships with DSS.

According to our fieldworkers, shelter projects have been quite successful in establishing good working relations with these agencies. Reportedly, their success is due, in part, to agency perceptions of the need for services that shelter projects provide at a particularly critical point in time. Another important factor in successful linkage efforts stems from the fact that social welfare eligibility criteria frequently encompass the situations in which many clients find themselves: without other means of support. Projects have managed to convince workers to bend and expand DSS regulations and to arrange for an agency contact person, neither of which greatly interferes with existing agency practices.

In an effort to expedite domestic violence cases, projects have attempted to institute the following procedural changes in social service agencies:

- promoting policies to expedite emergency allotments of cash or food vouchers to clients;
- developing a relationship with a contact person in the office who will work with project clients;
- eliminating the requirement of a home visit for shelter clients;
- arranging easy transfer of payments from one office to another if the client received AFDC or GA prior to project admittance;
- convincing agency staff not to divulge the whereabouts of the women (and children) to the husband nor to seek payments by the husband for child support.

Two projects have effected unique changes in DSS offices. A rural shelter receives an allotment (\$15.00/week lodging and \$24/week for food for all children of one adult) for all shelter residents until the adult receives her first regular check from Welfare and Social Rehabilitative Services (which may not arrive for four to six weeks.) DSS offices in a small city site now inquire about domestic violence during income-maintenance intake sessions and record this information on DSS forms.

Immediate emergency cash allotments or food vouchers are critical services for many domestic violence victims. Since battered women often leave home quickly and without money, emergency funds and food provide them with a real choice in deciding whether to return to the violent home or remain in a safe place. Only two of the shelter-based projects have succeeded in obtaining same-day emergency cash grants for clients through social welfare agencies. The other projects rely on a petty cash fund collected from donations or through solicitations from other agencies.

The issue of client and staff safety in shelters has been discussed by staff with the various DSS offices across sites. Since some shelter projects believe that a secret shelter location is necessary to protect staff and residents, they have requested alteration in various procedures. DSS offices have unanimously agreed to respect this privacy issue. In several projects, agency workers can, if the situation is dangerous enough, waive the procedure whereby husbands are contacted and required to contribute toward child support of AFDC children.

While, overall, DSS offices have been very cooperative, bureaucratic policies still appear to impede the delivery of services to battered women. As the director of one project noted, DSS helps "within the context of their regulations, but these regulations are not always advantageous to battered victims." The single woman, for example, is rarely eligible for General Assistance payments, which are typically geared toward the disabled or others unable to find work. These payments, if accessible through bending normal policy, are often so low as to be untenable. Even without children, battered women must locate jobs or an employment training program quickly (within the four-to-eight-week limit of most shelters).

Project staff indicated that another problem with DSS has been the considerable lapse of time before the first AFDC check arrives. In some sites, shelter clients may wait up to 65 days. Mothers must frequently rely on the skimpy shelter "petty cash" resources for bare necessities during the first month of residence.

Issues such as the above cannot be resolved on the local level. Although the time necessary to process AFDC checks may never be shortened, the availability of emergency moneys or General Assistance funds for non-mothers may be improved through lobbying on a statewide level. For example, through statewide lobbying, a state coalition of battered women's services eliminated a home visit regulation at one site.

Hospitals

Like the police, hospitals are a point of entry into the social service system for domestic violence victims. Shelters have developed linkages with local hospitals most frequently to recruit clients. To facilitate referrals to the project, hospitals have used project cards and brochures distributed to their

personnel by project staff and have participated in training sponsored by the project. Staff in some sites report that hospitals are now more likely to call the police or the project if a patient has obviously been abused. In some instances, hospitals have referred to shelters without prior contact.

One shelter-based project has developed a unique liaison with a city clinic that now provides special treatment to shelter clients. Women can receive free medical attention and prescriptions.

Although hospital emergency room (ER) or social work staff do sometimes learn that a patient has been the victim of domestic violence, the lack of systematic identification procedures severely limits improved handling of domestic violence cases. Hospital staff must be both willing and trained to identify or diagnose physical abuse in order to treat and refer the patient appropriately.³ Nevertheless, URSA field staff observations and published reports suggest that the medical approach, particularly in the emergency room, is not concerned with why an injury occurred but with how the injury can be treated.⁴ Crisis-oriented and extremely busy staff are reluctant to probe for the cause of an injury unless it is obviously relevant to treatment. A social worker in an ER rape treatment center phrased it quite succinctly, "ER staff don't get too involved in how it happened." Once hospital staff are made aware of the domestic violence problem and the availability of project resources, the projects have experienced little difficulty in recruiting domestic violence clients from hospitals. Recognizing the importance of this referral source, many projects have thus targeted hospitals for future training efforts.

3. Studies show, for example, that failure to correctly identify the causes of injuries may exacerbate the victim's "illness," leading to dependency on drugs, despondency, or alcoholism. See Anne Flitcraft and Evan Stark, "Notes on the Social Construction of Battering," in *Antipode* (March 1978), p. 83.

4. A notable exception is a hospital in Boston, not affiliated with an LEAA family violence project, that has instituted identification and treatment methods in its emergency room. Staff have been trained in information and referral sources, identification of the occurrence of domestic violence and of victims' needs, and documentation-gathering. Additionally, a domestic violence committee performs outreach and training activities in the community. See *Response*, vol. 2, 8 (published by the Center for Women Policy Studies).

Mental Health

Generally, projects refer to mental health agencies only for long-term therapy and specialized counseling (e.g., couples), possibly because some form of short-term counseling is usually included within the scope of project services. Given the limited use of services offered by mental health agencies, their handling of domestic violence clients has changed less than in DSS.

Some procedural changes in mental health agencies have, however, been effected through project efforts. One shelter obtained a mental health contact person within several months of beginning operations. This individual accepts clients referred for long-term counseling and consults regularly with project staff on case management. Workers in the mental health agency also now attempt to identify battering as a problem among their clients and to probe further if symptoms become apparent. Another project maintains linkages with mental health centers through subcontracting arrangements. At this site, the affiliated mental health program operates out of the same building as the project, a proximity that expedited subcontract agreements whereby mental health staff provide leadership to the shelter group. A criminal justice-based project relies heavily on the complementary services offered by a mental health abused-spouse services center. Persons who originally contact the project for criminal action and later decide to pursue their case in family court are referred to mental health for support and counseling.

Several factors, in addition to limited project use of their services, presented obstacles to interagency cooperation between the projects and mental health agencies. As noted by staff in two projects, the pervasive family-preservation orientation in mental health agencies discourages use of their resources because they would be inappropriate for women seeking separation, divorce, and criminal prosecution. In addition to such perceived ideological differences, the staff of one mental health agency expressed concern over the project's duplication of their existing services to domestic victims and asserted that referrals to the project were unnecessary. Another obstacle to the establishment of linkages with these agencies is the apparent reluctance of clients to seek long-term counseling. Since on-going counseling is always voluntary, clients may choose not to enter long-term therapy because of the stigma attached, particularly among working-class or poor women; because their immediate emotional/psychological needs are met by short-term counseling within the projects; because of a lack of

transportation; or because of resistance by a mate following reconciliation.

Employment Programs

Job placement, like welfare, can increase a victim's future alternatives. For violent families, job training for both spouses can alleviate economic stresses. In response to these client needs, shelter-based projects have established linkages with employment opportunity programs (e.g., CETA, Vocational Rehabilitation, Manpower). For example, clients in one rural shelter have found placements in both CETA and displaced-homemakers job training programs. Four other projects refer clients to various employment agencies. One shelter project draws on CETA training programs through Manpower, which features the extra advantage of paying small stipends (\$2.00 per hour) to trainees. Another project maintains job training relationships with Vocational Rehabilitation, which admits family violence clients under the emotionally disabled category.

Project linkage with employment centers rests primarily on the latter's eligibility criteria. For example, only CETA-eligible clients can be referred to those offices offering CETA training. Given that CETA criteria call for a certain period of unemployment prior to application, however, many project clients are eligible. It appears that projects are increasingly using the "displaced homemaker" category to obtain job training for battered women.

Other Social Service Agencies

Projects across sites have established working relationships with other types of services agencies that offer services through referral. Hotlines, drug and alcohol programs, the Public Housing Authority, rape crisis centers, Child Protective Services, the YWCA or Salvation Army, and many others are among the agencies used by the projects. Several examples illustrate some of the relationships established.

Hotlines. Several projects use other agency hotlines for screening and information and referral purposes. Typically valuable because they allow for the release of project staff time for other activities, hotlines can also, as in the case of one shelter project, provide staff with training in telephone crisis intervention methods. Conversely, the hotline agency's approach to domestic

violence can change as a result of linkage with a project. In one such case, staff of an affiliated hotline, only vaguely aware of domestic violence prior to contact with shelter staff, now understand how to counsel domestic violence victims and probe for abuse among callers. Consequently, domestic violence is more likely to be discovered, and the project has received an increased number of referrals from this source.

Housing. Projects have rarely collaborated with the Public Housing Authority (PHA). While their clients need cheap housing, staff in several projects reported that battered victims cannot be served under prevailing agency guidelines. In the single exception, a shelter project has succeeded in gaining assistance from the county HUD representative and in altering public housing policy toward battered women to make them a priority for available housing. In rural areas, public housing for shelter clients is completely inaccessible, given the one- to two-year waiting list. According to staff in several other sites, long waiting lists are a major impediment to relocating victims in public housing. In one project, PHA eligibility criteria, which allocate emergency housing space to families burned out of their homes or experiencing a similar disaster, exclude battered women leaving home as not being in a crisis situation. In order for battered women to attain priority on PHA lists, existing eligibility standards must be changed and domestic violence declared a "crisis" situation in need of priority placement.

Child Protective Services (CPS). Some tension has developed in shelter-CPS relationships, due, in part, to different client focuses. Although it is the explicit policy of most shelters to report suspected cases of child abuse, there also exists a desire to protect the adult woman (and the child) from the potential excesses of the courts. Fears that the family may be wrongfully separated, for example, make this issue especially complex for many shelter staff. However, shelter staff in some projects have on several occasions reported incidences of child abuse to Child Protective Services. In one project, the child-care coordinator meets regularly with CPS staff to confer about real or potential child abuse cases among shelter residents.

Substance Abuse Programs. Drug and alcohol treatment programs are a referral resource for criminal justice-focused diversion and shelter projects. One project depends on a drug and alcohol program for client referrals and, in turn, refers

divertees or batterers to alcohol or drug treatment as a condition of probation. In another project, whose relationship with alcoholism services revolves around referrals and training, a representative from Alcoholism Services recently trained police, probation and project staff in identification and treatment.

EFFECTS ON THE COMMUNITY

Another area of project focus is the broader community context in which both projects and service systems function. To the extent that existing social attitudes support or, at the very least, do not condemn domestic abuse, long-term family impact will be limited. For the purposes of evaluation, community attitudes about intra-family violence are generally reflected in the media and by local political leaders who draft domestic violence legislation, allocate local money for domestic violence services, and adopt anti-domestic violence platforms in local political campaigns. Local community support for a project in the form of donations and volunteers as well as ideological support for serving this constituency are other indicators of changing attitudes.

Legislative Changes

One way to measure changes in the sociopolitical climate of a community is to observe institutional actors; what does the legislature do in response to pressure from interest groups? Several of the projects have attempted to influence the legislative process through participation in political organizations and state coalitions. Of the projects actively involved in effecting change on a statewide level, several have facilitated drafting or amending and, in some cases, adoption of domestic violence legislation.

As a member of a state coalition, one rural project played an important role in ensuring the introduction of three bills into the legislature. The first bill requires that, during police response to domestic assault, victims be informed of their rights and transported to a safe place or medical facility. It also alters the criminal code to permit probable-cause misdemeanor arrests, simplifies the process for obtaining temporary restraining orders, and strengthens the penalties for violating a TRO. Finally, this bill will give victims of domestic

assault priority in securing low-cost housing. A second bill will establish a council on domestic and sexual assault that will receive and administer all allocated funds and set standards for facilities that provide services. A third bill would exempt shelters for battered women from regulations for dependent adults established by the Department of Health and Social Services.

In conjunction with NOW, a director of another rural project, also a member of a state coalition, successfully lobbied for a change in legislation to eliminate the requirement for legal representation in filing for a request for temporary restraining orders.

The legislative committee of the advisory board in one urban project is chaired by a state representative. This person drafted an amendment to an existing statute that reallocates revenues from marriage license taxes to shelters in the state. Similar legislation was enacted in another urban site, where a percentage of marriage license fees will be allocated to state shelters.

Allocation of Money

The willingness of state and county legislatures to appropriate expenditures to domestic violence services is likely to determine the extent of project institutionalization in communities. LEAA requires Family Violence Program grantees to substantially increase their percentage of local match in annual increments and, eventually, to become self-supporting. This stipulation is especially problematic for projects located in small communities, whose local governments may find the projects too expensive to support. Our observational data indicate that the situation becomes more problematic for these projects when they are community based and independent of local institutions.

According to project staff, the sociopolitical characteristics of communities affect allocation of funds. In several of these communities, neither feminist issues nor the allocation of local funds to social services are widely supported. A "Proposition 13" mentality, i.e., an unwillingness on the part of county and state governments to appropriate expenditures to special social services, characterizes the sociopolitical climate of these (and other) communities throughout the country. In the towns and cities surrounding one shelter project, funding for social services is systematically excluded from local budgets. Similar situations exist in other sites. One project director claimed that it is impossible to

obtain large allotments for social services in her state during this post-Proposition 13 period. Local officials in this community have responded by reducing social service expenditures and by avoiding possible duplications of effort.

In addition to the general conservatism about spending, projects have also encountered conservative attitudes about social intervention in areas traditionally considered private.

Community Support

Although large allotments for social services are becoming increasingly difficult to obtain, projects have managed to raise required match money within their local communities. The communities surrounding shelter projects were originally reluctant to allocate county expenditures for domestic violence services. One such project received \$2,500 of 1979 town tax roll monies from the county as well as a significant percentage of the United Way and Community Chest awards. The community also held a large benefit, putting on a performance of the "Belle of Amherst" at the performing arts center, with all proceeds donated to the project. Thus, fiscal 1979 was a turning point in project support at the county, community support, and citizen levels. In several project sites, local legislators have demonstrated their support by mandating a reallocation of tax revenues to domestic violence services.

Community responsiveness to the issue has also been demonstrated by increasing support from the private sector, individuals and community organizations. Many of the projects, especially the community-based shelters, are dependent on material support from the community. Some shelters could not operate without volunteers and donations of cash, furniture, toys and conference and training facilities from local groups and concerned individuals. Shelters have been furnished largely through donations from private citizens and sustained by volunteers from local community. At one shelter site, 40 volunteers recruited from the local community staff the hotline and respond to other requests for services. Volunteers play a particularly important role in rural projects, where geographical distribution and inadequate public transportation impair the project's ability to make resources available to victims of domestic violence. One rural project has recently attempted to establish a local volunteer coalition on battered women that would assist, support and plan services such as transportation.

The most common technique employed by all of the projects for publicizing services and recruiting volunteers and donations is the media (public service announcements, editorials, newspaper advertisements, etc.). Editorials on domestic violence and the projects are regularly written by community education workers and printed in local newspapers. In several of the projects, staff observed a direct relationship between media attention to the project and increases in client requests for services and community interest in the project.

Other efforts to increase project visibility and recruit support include:

- personal speaking engagements;
- organizing workshops, conferences, and training;
- designing and disseminating brochures, posters, and cards; and
- fundraisers (personal appearances for match funds).

The degree to which projects engage in such community outreach activities is primarily a function of the availability of staff. As they have evolved, projects have had to develop and address priorities based on emergent or situational factors. In several projects, community education assumed a low priority next to the needs to develop direct services for accommodating potential client demands and to establish functional credibility among other services providers in the communities. Thus, the majority of project outreach activities had to be directed at service agency professionals on whom project staff depend for comprehensive service delivery.

In some instances, particularly in those projects that rely on local support for match funds, allocating staff resources to community outreach has conflicted with the development or expansion of client services. During critical fundraising periods, for example, staff must allocate a significant portion of their direct service time to fundraising. As our field observer reported of one shelter project,

Personal appearances at local council meetings, preparation of grant proposals for submission to private foundations and local corporations, organizing raffles, selling ad books, and setting up dances are time-consuming activities. Project staff note that the time taken away from direct service combines with staff exhaustion to reduce worker effectiveness.

Summary

Among the numerous factors that seriously limit a project's ability to change community attitudes (as well as our ability to assess such changes) are the geographic dispersion and social isolation of much of the population in rural sites, the cultural diversity in urban areas, the tightly knit infrastructures of small towns, and the conservative social and political climate observed across sites. Given these and other variables outside project control, it is doubtful that the projects could achieve dramatic results even if they had greater staff resources.

6. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This chapter presents conclusions and recommendations that will assist policy-makers in developing programs and intervention strategies to better achieve the national goals. In some instances, our recommendations are directed toward re-focusing national goals. In other instances, we have commented on funding and implementation strategies. Finally, the recommendations include suggestions for further demonstration and research efforts to fill service gaps that have emerged during the period immediately following Family Violence Program implementation.

Our analysis of the history and development process across the 14 family violence projects has identified major issues with implications for the direction of the existing demonstration projects and for the development and implementation of future programs. (Again, the issues identified pertain to the implementation phase and should not be considered indicative of project impacts over the duration of the demonstration program.) These issues also bear heavily on the evaluation effort, both in defining input variables and issues for closer examination in other evaluation components and in developing indicators and methods for determining project impact. The central issues include:

- suggested changes in recordkeeping procedures of criminal justice agencies;
- the relationship of project organization, service mix, local objectives, and resources to the national program goals and project development; and
- recommendations for new program implementation of particular components or approaches to direct and indirect services.

CRIMINAL JUSTICE RECORD-KEEPING

Record-keeping formats and procedures in criminal justice and social service agencies across sites severely limit opportunities to monitor the incidence of domestic violence or to evaluate the responses of these agencies to domestic violence cases. As noted in Appendix C and throughout this report, existing records, procedures and systems, particularly in pre-arrest intervention, were established prior to the present high demand for information and records concerning "family disturbances." For example, the current Uniform Crime Report codes did not anticipate a significant number of intra-family crimes; as a result, the substantial numbers of assaults, harassments, disturbing the peace offenses, etc., involving spouses or family members cannot be distinguished from stranger-to-stranger assaults. Domestic violence and child abuse incidents necessarily coded within existing formats are therefore, "lost." These coding inadequacies are further exacerbated by the practice of gathering only rudimentary data at the pre-arrest stage--the stage at which the majority of domestic violence cases are disposed of. Although the level of information detail increases as cases proceed "deeper" into the justice system, designation of the victim-offender relationship still varies within and across sites.

At the outset of the evaluation, we anticipated that one impact of the family violence projects would be changes in record-keeping to document family violence cases. Our field work quickly revealed that effecting such change was more problematic than originally thought. For example, during a November 1978 visit to one site, the police department expressed its intention to begin coding the victim-offender relationship on incident reports at the start of the new year. One year later, the change had yet to be implemented. Resistance to changes in record-keeping is a common problem, particularly when new procedures are implemented or additional information is requested, as is the case for many of the family violence projects.

We are, therefore, recommending that, in developing national policy for family violence, LEAA consider two major record-keeping changes:

- Adoption of a data-collection format specified under 1979 Ohio Domestic Violence legislation. The Department of Justice should take steps to foster nationwide adoption of these formats, which require police to distinguish family violence and, most important, victim-offender relationships on all reported incidents. Under the UCR system, family offenses per se are indistinguishable from other reported misdemeanor and felony offenses (as derived from incident reports). Precluding the inadvisable creation of a new offense category for intra-family crimes, the only way to monitor the incidence of family violence and to facilitate case tracking and evaluation is by indicating the victim-offender relationship for all reported offenses.
- Adoption of procedures specified under the Ohio legislation. To monitor calls-for-service, requests for warrants, and other pre-arrest activity would require procedural changes. Since such changes can rarely be accomplished by statute, DOJ should develop the Ohio procedures into models for law enforcement reporting of domestic violence. Specifically, these procedures would require incident reports to distinguish between domestic violence and mere domestic disturbances, which would increase the probability of domestic offenses being reported as crimes.

Our emphasis on record-keeping reflects our concern and the concern expressed in the national program goals for improved documentation and reporting of family violence, particularly at the stage of law enforcement intervention. We also believe that record-keeping and information development is one measure of an agency's accountability for its policies, responses, and services to a client population. The national demonstration focuses on the improvement of institutional responses to victims of domestic violence, which includes the creation of new services, responses, and procedures for a previously unserved population. This implies increased responsibility and accountability on the part of public institutions, and record-keeping is a central feature of such accountability.

PROGRAM DEVELOPMENT ISSUES

Our survey of the history, development, and implementation experiences across the projects has identified several issues that have influenced the direction of the current demonstrations and that can be expected to impact on future programs. These issues include (1) feasibility of the national program goals in light of early project experiences; (2) resource constraints on the demonstration projects; (3) priority-setting and resource allocation by the projects; (4) the effects of institutional base on ability to obtain cash match and local funding; and (5) the effects of institutional base on linkage development.

National Program Goals

In our discussion of the barriers and constraints cross-site to attainment of national goals (chapter 2), several themes emerged. First, the period of the demonstration program is, perhaps, too short to either effect or observe the changes specified by these goals. For example, reducing "community acceptance" of family violence requires major undertakings in altering not only the attitudes of key actors and the broader community but also the sociopolitical organization of human service agencies, particularly the justice system. Second, some goals are contradictory: "increased reports" and "decreased repeat calls to police" may conflict with each other in reality. Third, goal attainment may be influenced by factors beyond the control of the projects. For example, intra-family homicides may be increased as a function of factors such as employment and economic trends, weather and seasonal variations, and population shifts and displacements. Fourth, resource constraints on other agencies (e.g., police, prosecutors, hospitals, social service institutions) can inhibit their development of new or improved responses to domestic violence clients. For example, the current "Proposition 13" environment, with its accompanying budgetary and service delivery belt-tightening, deter changes in methods or expansion of services.

At this stage, we are not offering judgments about the effectiveness of projects in realizing the kinds of system change specified in the national goals. We can say, though, that in some instances the goals are either quite difficult to attain or pose internal conflicts. As a result, projects have selectively adopted the national goals for implementation as local project objectives, often choosing to focus on a subset of more explicitly defined local goals. For example,

training law enforcement officers to use alternate dispositions for calls-for-service is a common local methodology to "reduce repeat calls" to police. The diversity of approaches cross-site to attaining each goal is, on the one hand, "healthy" field test but, at the same time, poses difficulties in measuring the effectiveness of a program model to attain any one goal. Therefore, although we will not be able to recommend program models, we will be able to specify more clearly which national program goals should be adopted, modified, or perhaps dropped in future program efforts and which methods to attain goals hold promise for local communities.

Resource Constraints

Considering the high expectations reflected in the national program goals, several projects are funded at minimal levels. Given the complexity of the direct service needs of domestic violence victims, the time and groundwork necessary to develop either service mechanisms or service linkages have been extremely demanding. Adding in the impact of providing indirect services it becomes easy to understand why "burnout" is a critical issue (across sites). In many projects, a few (four or fewer) direct service staff are expected to serve literally hundreds of clients and work with myriad community-based and public agencies.

During the start-up period, organizational tasks were compounded by the need to make administrative decisions that also shape the direction and tenor of the projects. These decisions include office location, staff hiring, and general project operations and procedures. Again, such decisions took on exaggerated importance and time given the limited sources for operating projects.

The variability in funding across the demonstration program provides an opportunity to examine the effects of resource constraints. One project adapted to limited resources by having its staff double as both direct and indirect service providers (e.g., counselor and outreach worker). Other projects simply cut back on salaries. Nearly all projects paid salaries lower than civil service or "professional" positions, and in two sites, staff gave up cost-of-living increases for the projects second year. Without the "grass-roots" organizational orientation toward salary structure, many projects would have difficulty attracting and keeping qualified staff.

Projects with larger grants let subcontracts provide specialized out-stationed services. The staff remaining in the host, or core, agency were vested with direct or indirect service responsibilities, while subcontractors conducted training and community education, provided special treatment services, or served as special prosecutors. Again, the outflow of funds left behind a central domestic violence project with fewer staff at lower salaries but with final responsibility for monitoring the subcontracts, operationalizing service components, and attaining goals.

The theme here is that projects were often asked to undertake ambitious goals with insufficient resources. In one site, pre-grant award linkages were developed on the basis of anticipated funding and services, as specified by the national goals. When the actual grant award was made at about 40% of what was planned, the necessary service cutbacks resulted in breaches of agreements that eventually undermined the projects' credibility and effectiveness. Yet projects continued to work to achieve most, if not all, of the national goals, albeit on reduced funding. The experiences of the projects suggest that, given resource constraints, the national goals should be more narrowly focused in the tradition of a "research and demonstration project." The present model, which calls for broad and pervasive changes in institutional responses, might be too ambitious given the realities of small demonstration grants with a decreasing federal share.

Priorities

Given these resource constraints, projects necessarily prioritized goals and services, though such decisions were not always made systematically. Where subcontracts were in effect to implement direct or indirect service components, prioritization was generally not required to balance competing concerns. However, in projects responsible for both direct and indirect services, some prioritization took place. The basic question confronted by the projects was whether to re-allocate scarce resources (mainly staff time) away from indirect services (training, outreach, research, coordinating activities) to increase direct service capabilities (hotline, crisis intervention, counseling, advocacy). In most instances, direct services were given the higher priority. One "cost" of this approach is its potential negative impact on project ability to attain other program goals (e.g., institutionalization) that would result from indirect services.

The question of prioritization takes on increasing importance as the federal funding share decreases each year. The declining federal share requires either a continuous reduction in project scope or an increased local share. The latter is becoming increasingly unlikely as competition for local funds increases. Shelter projects, for example, must increasingly rely on third-party reimbursement or a fee schedule as federal and local support decreases. Prosecution and other projects based in public agencies generally set priorities so that direct services are institutionalized into existing units; indirect services receive a low priority. As a result, formal training, outreach, etc., are intensive project tasks during the first year but are relegated to a lower status in subsequent years. Unfortunately, this places a time limit on the attainment of system change goals. It also implies that projects are, perhaps, underfunded to achieve the kinds of impacts stated in the national program goals.

Institutional Base and Refunding

Projects hosted by public agencies encountered fewer difficulties and obstacles in obtaining second-year matching funds than did private "grass-roots," or community-based, organizations. This fact may hold important policy implications for developing funding strategies for future research and demonstration programs.

Initial resource constraints limited the projects' abilities to obtain local cash match. Fund-raising can divert the entire resources of a project for short (but intensive) periods of time, draining the time and energy of key staff (particularly project directors). Fund-raising activities appear to be a negative experience for project staff and contribute in several ways to staff burnout. For the smaller, grass-roots projects, the process of raising cash match presents a continual crisis situation.

Clearly, grass-roots organizations (which in this program are usually shelters) are at a disadvantage in two ways. First, they must attend simultaneously to refunding and institutionalization concerns immediately on receipt of initial funding. Second, unlike institutionally based projects, where services are more readily integrated into on-going agencies and units, grass-roots projects must survive independently. The current limits on categorical funding under government auspices inhibit planning for growth and survival in these agencies. Projects must either build in constant fund-raising activities or attach themselves to criteria for eligibility for reimbursement plans (e.g., Title XX).

One way to avoid this dilemma and obviate the handicap of being a community-based organization is to provide for a higher federal percentage share during years one and two of a demonstration. The advantage to the projects of such a policy are apparent from the above discussion. But advantages would also accrue to LEAA and other potential funding sources. Projects could, during their early years, grow and thrive without diverting attention, energy, and resources to issues of fiscal survival. Planning for institutionalization would still occur but not be tied directly to the requirement that projects annually raise an increasing local share. Given that prioritization of goals will occur nationally as projects test various approaches for direct services and linkage development, this process can occur more rationally for smaller projects absent the chronic diversion of resources and staff time. Projects can devote greater attention to indirect services and outreach, and the process of direct service and program development can continue unimpeded.

Institutional Base and Linkage Development--Justice System

Service mix and, to some extent, institutional base of a project affected the ease with which linkages were developed. Shelter projects have been able to effect linkages with police with little difficulty. Projects situated within the justice system--diversion and mediation projects as well as prosecution units--have encountered some problems in linking with the justice system to obtain referrals and clients. In future reports, we will be able to profile types of cases that are referred to projects with various service mixes. For now, we have been able to observe and document the types of problems encountered in project linkages with the justice system.

Unlike shelters which provide police with a dispositional outlet, criminal justice-based projects add to the burdens of law enforcement. Diversion and prosecution projects require police to make arrests, where before they used informal non-arrest disposition. The arrest requires documentation, a trip to jail to incarcerate the offender, appearance in court, and other aspects of formal processing.

Prosecution units, moreover, depend on judges (or court commissioners, magistrates, justices of the peace, etc.) to provide effective sanctions or dispositions so that domestic violence cases will not drop out of court. Prosecutors also need victim cooperation, which often may not be forthcoming. Within the prosecutor's

office, deputy prosecutors are asked to expand their caseloads by handling cases that previously dropped out of the system or were dismissed for lack of evidence. And domestic violence cases, always slow in resolution, remain on already crowded court calendars for some time.

All the prosecution units have proven to be problematic. Special prosecutors have not, to date, alleviated many of the problems historically associated with prosecution of domestic violence cases. Two projects have not renewed the special prosecution units in their second year. Problems remain in internal procedures and attitudes as well as in police-prosecutor linkages. Administrative exigencies in urban courts also constrain these units. Victim-support services have been augmented for the second year in each of the four sites involved, and we will focus attention on these sites to determine whether an expanded victim-witness approach is helpful in resolving these problems.

Diversion projects have had a somewhat easier task in working with the justice system. This is due, in part, to diversion being a new dispositional outlet for prosecutors for cases that have already come to their attention. It is due also to the fact that diversion projects have tapped into existing systems. In two sites, existing pre-trial intervention programs readily absorbed the domestic violence projects. New diversion components were added fairly easily in the two other sites, although their new procedures were met with resistance by police, who were the primary referral source.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR NEW PROGRAM IMPLEMENTATION

This report has documented the many, varied, and complex issues that projects addressed from start-up through implementation and the beginning of institutionalization in communities. Initiators of new programs who are only just beginning to organize and develop strategies of treatment and intervention will probably encounter similar obstacles as well as opportunities for innovation. For the benefit of such new ventures, we offer below a set of recommendations and insights based on our examination of the experiences of the demonstration projects to date. Of course, individual project differences in goals and characteristics of settings and communities ensure variation in the degree of applicability of these recommendations to other programs. But, timely response in anticipating and solving

problems at the operationalization stage will be facilitated to the extent that staff in new programs have such information at their disposal.

Organizational Issues

Program staff should consider the value of planning both for the short and long term. Initially, time should be allotted to set priorities and preliminary timetables for implementation of services and organizational strategies. Establishing a shared understanding of cooperative linkages and agreements with other service agencies and working out task-specific plans to implement services could be postponed until after grant award but should be accomplished before client demand precludes it. Program administration could profit from attending to the perceptions and responses of on-line staff as well as administrators in agencies where cooperation with the program is essential in attempting service delivery.

Administrators should re-examine the appropriateness of program design adopted at the grant writing stage. The delivery of services to family violence clients may require modification in original strategies--increased numbers of staff or staff with different skills--than initially anticipated.

Community-based programs, perhaps immediately after start-up should begin activities to locate potential sources of local funding and support, using advisory boards to help achieve goals of institutionalization. Contractor programs should stipulate the nature of relations with subcontractors and develop mechanisms to expedite cooperation. All programs should determine authority and decision-making roles of project directors, administrators, and staff members.

Staffing Issues

In creating staff policies, programs should consider the mix of functions likely to be required of staff members. Given limited resources, some thought could be given to the possible utility of the multi-role concept of staffing.

In determining salaries, administrators should develop schedules that reflect unusual, demanding, or unattractive features of certain positions. Higher salaries for such positions would probably increase the pool of applicants and decrease the likelihood of delays and other difficulties encountered in locating appropriate personnel.

In selecting advisory board members, staff should consider the potential for individual conflict-of-interest in terms of funding sources. If for example, chief administrators of service agencies are included to increase spheres of coordination, they should be excluded from fund-raising activities because they have to perform this function for their own agencies. Programs might avoid inadequate member performance if by-laws stipulating the requirements of participation were drafted before advisory boards were constituted.

Service Issues

Among the demonstration projects, certain forms of service appeared to require greater staff attention, time and effort to implement. In some instances, client needs were not always apparent to staff prior to project start-up, so mechanisms to provide, for example, civil court alternatives or child-care services were not considered in the initial project design. In projects offering diversion counseling or other treatment for batterers, impediments to services delivery (e.g., number or type of referrals) appeared to stem from organizational issues within the criminal justice system. New programs attempting to develop these services may find it helpful to consider some of the suggestions below.

Civil Court. The increasing demand for civil remedies to deter batterers and protect abuse victims has become a central concern in family violence demonstration projects. Client needs in this area became apparent when staff began to assist women in obtaining protective orders under newly enacted legislation and to advocate for them in family court.

The lack of available attorneys to represent clients seeking civil remedies--divorce, separation, child custody, and protective orders--created a major problem for staff in several sites, especially where legal aid was not available for such cases. New programs may need to spend time developing linkages with local attorneys who will represent battered women at affordable fees. One of the first set of demonstration projects was able to respond to client needs through re-training an attorney on staff to represent clients in civil actions.

Cultivating relationships, both formal and informal, with the decision-makers or gatekeepers in the civil court and legal aid offices is also worth staff attention. Key court officials (e.g., court clerks, intake workers, judges), in particular, can facilitate client access and referrals.

Staff experience in demonstration projects suggests that clients are likely to frequently request assistance in obtaining civil remedies. To respond to this demand, administrators would be wise to reconsider, at start-up, proposed staffing patterns and training procedures. It may be that paralegals will be more critical to this type of service than anticipated; or a more service-specific intake procedure may be demanded, which would necessitate specific training centered on those procedures.

Childcare. Projects offering shelter and counseling to battered women are confronted frequently with the need to deal with clients' children, and the effects of domestic violence on children are not well understood. Our qualitative data suggests that children of violent families may have problems of their own that require special attention, either within the shelter or through referral to agencies specializing in children's services. Shelter administrators would be wise to consider these contingencies in developing role descriptions. Although the client need for training in parenting skills is unknown, programs may want the capability of offering training in communication skills and non-corporal methods of sanctioning children. Hiring criteria reflecting requirements for expertise in children's services and parenting skills allow for the provision of services if the need becomes apparent. Programs are also advised to build relationships and coordination agreements with referral sources--Child Protective Services and/or other service or community agencies--to ensure care for children with special problems.

Diversion Components. Knowledge about effective treatment and counseling strategies for batterers is only just beginning to accumulate. The experience of project staff offering services for batterers through diversion suggests that client recruitment will take time and require strong, positive relations with criminal justice referral sources. Staff in new programs would arrange for referrals, with key persons in the civil court, an under-explored source of clients. Judges could agree to refer batterers to program services or (where possible) mandate their participation in the program as a condition of probation or in conjunction with the issuance of restraining orders. Staff attention to this referral source is likely to be productive since many family violence cases are processed in this sphere.

In determining and adopting actual treatment strategies for batterers, some time could profitably be spent on informal research. At start-up, staff could survey existing treatment approaches, considering the advantages and disadvantages of each (e.g., individual, couple, or group counseling structure; male, female, mixed or same-sex pairs of counselors).

Linkage with Social Service Agencies

Most shelter-based demonstration projects have taken some care to develop cooperative relationships with local departments of social services. Even so, long waiting periods between application for AFDC funds and receipt of the first check place some hardship on shelter clients, as many arrive with few cash resources. Programs could consider approaching DSS offices for interim stipends while the client waits for the check to arrive. If such monies are completely unavailable from DSS, early attempts to accrue an in-house cash source--through agency or individual donations--will alleviate some of the burden clients face while waiting four to six weeks without cash resources. Programs also might overcome the client "cash flow" problem by encouraging DSS offices to recognize the pressing need for emergency, same-day cash grants.

The identification and documentation of domestic violence in social service agencies is an extremely relevant issue for programs. Whether in hospitals, mental health centers, or departments of social service, recognizing and probing for incidents of family violence facilitate appropriate treatment and referral. Through outreach and training sessions programs could emphasize the need to develop appropriate measures. Regular, on-going contacts with agencies appear to enhance their receptivity to program requests as well as increase referrals.

Project staff in most sites have recognized both the unfortunate dearth of housing and its high cost. Across sites, Public Housing Authority guidelines and long waiting lists have appeared as almost insurmountable barriers to obtaining low-cost housing for victims of battering. Program staff might assess the possibility of pressuring local or state level offices to re-evaluate their current guidelines and assign battered women and their families higher priority for public housing.

The counseling of victims, batterers and couples involved in family violence is a relatively new mental health area. While some staff are becoming increasingly skilled in counseling techniques for these clients, other project staff feel a serious lack of experience and expertise in this area. It may be important for LEAA to undertake another national training and technical assistance effort that funds several experienced counselors to train staff in all LEAA-funded programs. In this way, the information and skill being developed in a few sites could be transferred to staff in other programs across the nation.

Training in Law Enforcement Agencies

Training in law enforcement agencies has been an important method of attempting to change police procedures in domestic violence situations. Demonstration project trainers encountered several difficulties in extending these services. Their experience suggests that the acceptance of training depends on the degree of credibility police are willing to extend project trainers. New programs should begin law enforcement training at start-up only if the qualities and expertise of the training staff are such to ensure easy rapport. If the trainers are former police officers or other experienced criminal justice officials, police acceptance is facilitated. Family violence trainers in demonstration projects have found that police seem receptive to trainers if staff stress the complementarity of project and police services and acknowledge the experience and expertise of officers. Our field observations indicate that police tend to react negatively to the introduction of psychological interpretations or conceptions of their roles.

In considering training tactics, demonstration project staff indicated that training to reach large numbers of officers in urban settings should be designed as on-going or continuous. If sessions are held only at roll call or during shift changes, only a certain number of police can be reached.

Formal access to on-line officers should be obtained initially through contacts with an upper echelon of law enforcement. Fieldworkers' observations suggest that the attitudes and actions of administrators can have important effects on the quality of subsequent relations with on-line officers. A cooperative police chief will be likely to support the program's efforts by encouraging line officers to accommodate staff requests. Without such support, on-line officers may assume a neutral or hostile attitude toward training, and requests for altered procedures

will not be honored. At the same time, staff should also be cognizant of the fact that on-line officers are most often responsible for implementing changes. Establishing linkages exclusively on the administrative level appears to be insufficient to effect changes in situational procedures.

Community Outreach

The availability of alternative resources for domestic violence victims will undoubtedly be a new program's major impact on the community during the early stages of development. Linkages with social service and criminal justice agencies are critical to the implementation of services. Given limited staff resources, program administrators should establish priorities in allocating staff time for outreach. It is important to consider the return on staff time and effort in establishing priorities and planning activities. Outreach efforts are demanding and often conflict with the need to provide direct services to clients. Administrators in emerging programs should be especially cognizant of these contingencies and should consider placing limitations on the kinds of audiences targeted during the first year.

The level of outreach should be appropriate to the developmental stage of program services. During the initial implementation phases, outreach efforts should be considered strategically and directed most often toward establishing relations with potential funding organizations or with other service providers. Once these relationships are cemented, wide-scale outreach endeavors could be undertaken.

Demonstration project staff found that their publicity efforts increased client demand for services to a point beyond project resources and capabilities. New programs should be particularly cautious in designing community outreach strategies involving media.

APPENDICES

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APPENDIX A: SERVICES CROSS-SITE

DIRECT SERVICES

The 14 family violence projects participating in the national LEAA evaluation provide a wide range of direct services to women, children and, in some instances, men. Following is a comprehensive list of services provided by the projects. Although each project does not offer every service, all projects provide a combination of services depending on the project focus. Inclusive in this list of services are:

- shelter
- child care
- information and referral
- hotline
- advocacy
- counseling
- crisis intervention
- legal assistance
- transportation
- mediation/arbitration
- diversion

Definitions and meanings attached to these services vary significantly among the 14 family violence projects. Table A-1 illustrates the client focus of project services. Following the table are brief descriptions of the service as described by family violence project staff and as observed by URSA Institute field staff.

TABLE A-1		CLIENT FOCUS OF PROGRAM SERVICES			
PROGRAM SERVICE	CLIENT FOCUS				
	VICTIM	BATTERER	CHILDREN	COUPLE	
Shelter	X		X		
Child Care			X		
Information & Referral	X	X			
Hotline	X	X			
Advocacy	X				
Counseling	X	X	X	X	
Crisis Intervention	X			X	
Legal Assistance					
File Petition	X				
Coaching/Prepping	X				
Prosecution	X				
Diversion		X			
Transportation	X		X		
Mediation/ Arbitration				X	

Shelter

Shelter care within the context of the family violence projects generally refers to sustenance--the provision of housing and food for women and their children who have recently experienced violence in their homes and are consequently seeking refuge. The length of stay that a woman and her dependents are allowed varies across projects. Most shelters offer a supportive environment for victims of domestic violence based on the notion of the value of exchange among "women in a common situation." Women are encouraged to share feelings, experiences, ideas and knowledge. A common strategy used to encourage sharing and foster a supportive atmosphere is a regularly scheduled group sharing/support session at which attendance is often mandatory.

Shelter staff may include professionals, volunteers, previous residents, and professionals who are all females or a mix of males and females. Some shelters have a full-time coordinator, resident or nonresident. Coordinators in some projects are responsible for housekeeping and meal preparation; other projects rely on or hold residents responsible for all domestic chores and duties; one has a housekeeper and a cook.

Shelter eligibility requirements are similar. Most projects will accept and provide services to any woman and her children who have been recent victims of physical abuse or who have recently been threatened with violence. Several shelters also accept rape victims. Rules regarding length of stay vary across sites. A rural shelter-based project, for example, has set a maximum length of stay at two months, while a statewide shelter network expects a woman to stay no longer than 30 days. Although the shelter programs enforce these rules to some extent, exceptions are made (i.e., extensions are given), and women are seldom evicted. House rules are generally outlined and enforced by shelter staff to protect residents and staff and to create and maintain a congenial atmosphere for all residents.

Historically, shelters have provided battered women and children with room, board, support and practical help. Programatically, shelters attempt to help women restore and rebuild the self-esteem and self-worth often diminished by continuous physical abuse.

Child Care

All of the family violence shelter projects provide room and board for children of their clients. Staff supervise children at some sites; at others, mothers are responsible for supervision. Two sites provide specialized child care programs consisting of planned recreational and educational activities. One project assess children's needs and makes referrals to appropriate agencies; the other has implemented an early childhood-parental educational program that teaches parents relational and interactional skills.

Information and Referral

All projects provide various kinds and amounts of information, including referrals for services, to both potential and actual clients. "I&R" is conveyed either in person or by phone. Referrals are generally made to social service agencies and medical or legal services within a community. Women in shelter projects are provided with referral information concerning temporary or permanent housing, financial aid, legal assistance, employment assistance, medical care and long-term counseling. In some instances, project staff have identified contact persons in certain agencies to whom clients are then referred directly.

Hotline

The term "hotline" refers to a 24-hour personed telephone line. The hotline is a mechanism to provide I&R and crisis intervention assistance. Most shelters maintain a hotline. Others use community hotlines staffed by other service agency representatives.

Advocacy

The connotation of the term "advocacy" varies among service providers across projects. The term may be used to explain one or a combination of the following:

- The actual setting up of client referrals--a call is made on the client's behalf and appointments scheduled or arranged for which a services is provided outside the project. Counselors often set up client appointments with established contact persons within an agency. Clients tend to receive better service in large bureaucratic organizations if an initial contact is made by a known family violence staff member.

- Preparing or coaching clients on the type of demeanor or behavior most likely to obtain desirable results in agency settings--advocacy services of this type are mainly provided to women who have had little or no contact with bureaucratic agencies and are unfamiliar with the procedures of these offices. Staff will prepare and coach clients in instances where criminal justice system involvement is anticipated. A number of clients are in contact with the police or the court system for the first time. This type of advocacy may include reviewing agency procedures and typical questions and responses and providing clients with an overview of what to expect.
- Escorting or accompanying specific clients to or through services or criminal justice agencies--staff accompany and assist clients in dealings with agency representatives who may or may not be responsive to clients needs. Projects find that the physical presence of a person more familiar with agency procedures appears to expedite case processing and reduce client fears.
- Speaking to services and criminal justice agency representatives on behalf of clients--as a group, in order to alter practices of individual workers, or policies or procedures unfavorable or detrimental to clients. Individual speakers (either project staff or other interested parties) appear at meetings of service or criminal justice agency representatives to discuss family violence issues. Speakers attempt to increase agency responsiveness to the needs of clients and request changes in documentation or case-processing procedures.

Counseling

Project staff provide a range of counseling services to clients including approaches with individuals, groups, couples and families. Counseling techniques and approaches vary across projects, but the importance of independent decision-making and self-reliance was apparent in staff discussions of counseling.

Some projects provide client-specific individual counseling referred as the client-centered approach. These projects place special emphasis on assisting the victim toward a greater understanding of emotional difficulties that battering experiences have produced. Other projects provide counseling based on a behavioral contracting model, in which counselors assist clients to establish realistic and measurable objectives with reference to perceived needs and to work toward goals on the basis of an agreement. Two projects use anger management classes to assist clients to understand and control violent behavior. Classes are taught by staff who have designed a curriculum of special relevance to disputants. Another project stresses a problem-solving approach, in which staff assist clients in determining the range of immediately-available options and encourage them to discover practical solutions to difficulties with housing, child care and employment.

Across projects, staff differentiate between long- and short-term counseling. Short-term counseling is most often provided by project staff. Clients who request more in-depth, long-term assistance are usually referred to mental health centers.

Crisis Intervention

Crisis intervention is another term designating a variety of activities across-site. Practices so designated can be differentiated according to:

- The point in time at which a project attempts to intervene in violent incidents--some projects are designed to intervene during the course of a violent episode, others subsequent to it, and some do both.
- The mechanisms or procedures through which an intervention is to be accomplished--some projects use hotline telephones to provide emergency help and counseling; others have procedures and resources allowing for direct on-the-scene intervention by workers or for relocation of a client to a safe place.
- The particular statuses of those designated to intervene--intervention in most projects providing direct on-the-scene assistance is accomplished by project personnel working with or without law enforcement involvement. One pre-arrest police diversion project attempted in vain to develop an on-site intervention strategy enlisting formal police cooperation.

Legal Assistance

Most projects provide some form of informal legal assistance. Such assistance may be provided along with other interactions designed as information and referral.

More formally specified types of legal assistance include:

Legal counseling and advocacy--coaching or training clients in terms of appropriate demeanor, informing a person of available legal options, and explaining legal procedures. Another dimension consists of accompanying clients through the court system, appearing as a witness on behalf of a client, and discussing client needs with various court officers, either privately or publicly.

Direct court action services--recent legislation in some sites allows the court to empower project workers to file restraining order petitions for clients. The bulk of one project's services consists in providing legal information and referral and filing petitions through its legal "clinic." Once in the legal clinic, the client is interviewed by a caseworker, paralegal or lawyer to gain a clear understanding of the client's most recent violent encounter. All information furnished is then recorded and analyzed, and the client is advised of her legal rights and options (e.g., whether a civil petition under the Protection from Abuse Act can be filed). If the client is not eligible for a civil petition (or a private criminal complaint), she is informed of other alternatives, including practical solutions, a letter to the abuser, and divorce or separation.

Special prosecutors are a feature of four projects, performing some or all of the following: prosecuting domestic violence cases in courts within a target area; training paralegal and law student volunteers; developing linkages with the probation office, law enforcement, judges, court clerks and other assistant district attorneys; and advising victims of domestic violence of civil rights and procedures.

Transportation

Although projects do not consider transportation, conceptually, as a project service, in practice it is a critically important element of delivering several other forms of assistance. In-person advocacy with clients, shelter services involving post-incident relocation of clients, dependents and their belongings, and of course, critical emergency intervention during the course of a violent episode are accomplished effectively and efficiently to the extent that transportation issues and policies have been considered. Transportation is especially critical in rural regions, where distances between cities or towns are great and public transportation (buses, trains, taxis) is nonexistent or unreliable. One rural shelter-based project, for example, covers a 25,932 square mile area encompassing seven counties with sparsely populated and physically isolated communities. Distances between population centers are great, and no adequate means of public transportation exist.

Most projects do not have an established transportation service component. Transportation of clients from a violent environment, to service agencies, to court, etc., is provided when possible by project staff or volunteers. Projects may have formal or informal agreements with other community and/or service agencies to transport shelter clients when needed.

Mediation/Arbitration

Only two projects offer mediation/arbitration services. Such services in one are designed to assist families with violence problems before they result in requests for formal court intervention or adjudication. The project is composed of two unique, but unrelated, components: the "summons" program, which allows police to recommend counseling for one or both parties in a domestic dispute, and the technique of mediation, used when both parties agree to draft a contract to end their violent conflicts. Ideally, the two activities occur in a smooth sequence so that the attending police officer could issue a summons or notice to appear (NTA) instead of arresting the offender or doing nothing at all. However, each component can stand alone as well as in tandem, because without the voluntary consent of both parties, the police could still make "simple referrals" to the project for individual counseling. Clients referred by agencies other than the police or through NTAs could also take advantage of the mediation process. That process

differs from post-arrest arbitration used in a prosecutor's office. In the former, a mediator brings the conflicting parties to a contractual agreement of their own design; in the latter, an arbitrator chooses the resolution based on information gained during a two-party hearing. At the conclusion of the mediation process, each party receives a summary of a written contract listing clauses derived from their consensus.

The second project, an urban shelter that has only recently begun to provide mediation/arbitration services, does not feature a summons component. At present, the decision to refer resides in the prosecutor's office, which files victim complaints, issues citations to both parties, and refers them to the project for arbitration/mediation. If either party fails to call the project or to show for their session, an additional citation is issued. In the event of further failure to appear, no legal charges are brought but the project is responsible for follow-up. If the complainant fails to appear at the mediation/arbitration session or does not contact the civilian investigator, all charges against the abuser are dropped.

Guidelines and policies on legal recourse for noncompliance following mediation/arbitration had not been completely worked out at the time of the last project visit.

Diversion

As alternatives to criminal adjudication and punitive sentencing, diversion projects are based on a philosophy of intervention and rehabilitation. Batterers may be diverted from the criminal court system at various points in time: post-complaint or pre-arrest, pre-trial, or post-conviction. Projects of the first type receive referrals of batterers for counseling from police as alternatives to arrest and from district attorneys as alternatives to prosecuting complaints. If an arrest is made or charges pressed, judges may divert as an alternative to trial or a conditional disposition of the case. Finally, sentencing can offer diversion as an alternative to punishment (e.g., fines or incarceration) or as a condition of probation.

INDIRECT SERVICES: TRAINING

Training of both criminal justice and social service agency workers is a project strategy for increasing awareness of domestic violence, expediting case handling of domestic violence clients, and improving interagency linkage and coordination.

Training in Criminal Justice Agencies

Training in criminal justice agencies has focused on law enforcement because of project dependence on police cooperation in referrals. The content of such training has usually included a discussion of the dynamics and legal issues of domestic violence, an inventory of project services and goals, and a demonstration of new techniques for handling domestic violence cases.

Some projects have developed training appropriate to their unique circumstances. The director of one prosecutorial project, for example, provides training in the details of the new Family Court Act to 48 law enforcement agencies. The approach involves "sensitization" to domestic violence issues followed by training on such legal issues as rights of election, when to arrest, temporary orders of protection, differences between family court and criminal court options/responses, and the DA's position and role. Workshops may include video presentations. One police force, for example, trains 106 people by film rather than through personal presentations; other departments require that the project director train officers.

Most police training in one prosecutorial project is conducted by a licensed police officer, who is the criminal investigator for the project. Recent training has focused on persuading certain agencies to better document domestic violence calls and forward reports to the DA unit. The two-stage training approach features (1) an overview of the project and a demonstration of police techniques in domestic violence situations and (2) a more detailed presentation on the circumstances of domestic violence cases (e.g., how to obtain a TRO). The training is intended to dispel traditional myths about domestic violence and to teach police to use innovative techniques. Project staff believe that explaining the district attorney's new approach to domestic violence has been an especially important element of training. The investigator has found that the officers respond well to the DA's intent to divert less serious cases and to obtain harsher sentences for more serious offenses.

Social Service Training

Project staff have trained personnel in a wide range of social service agencies, including mental health, social services, hospitals, hotlines and employment centers. Such training may be performed by outreach/training staff, other project staff, the project director, or a speakers bureau representative. Speakers bureaus consist of interested staff and/or volunteers willing to visit agency, school, or community groups and individuals to talk about domestic violence and the project. In a legal "clinic's" bureau, for example, one of the subcontracting agencies invited an experienced speaker from a woman's organization to a meeting specifically to train bureau members in presentation techniques. In a rural shelter, former residents participate in community and social service agency outreach/training sessions.

The content of project training sessions for social service agencies covers issues similar to those presented by one of the statewide shelter networks: profiles of family violence participants, dynamics of spouse abuse; resources available to battered women; services provided by the project; and requests for volunteers, volunteer host homes, and/or donations. Some project counselors--particularly those counseling abuser/divertees--have trained mental health staff in the relatively undeveloped area of family violence counseling. A prosecutorial project's counseling coordinator, for example, has established an eight-week program for counseling graduate students and mental health professionals.

APPENDIX B: CRIMINAL JUSTICE RECORDS

A focus of the evaluation's special studies in intensive sites stresses criminal justice records checks to examine, where possible:

- the reoccurrence of abuse among former family violence clients, as evidenced by repeat calls-for-service to police;
- the relationship of domestic violence projects to intra-family homicides;
- the relationship of projects to repeated incidents of intra-family assaults.

At the outset of the evaluation, we undertook a preliminary survey of record-keeping procedures of police in both intensive and nonintensive sites, allowing for consideration of a range of strategies for further investigation. In this appendix, we report on policies regarding records at each intensive site and conclude with a discussion of findings.

SITE POLICIES

CLEVELAND

The two police jurisdictions in the Cleveland project target areas both have computerized data but different reporting procedures. For the most part, the Cleveland Police Department requires extensive record-keeping only if an arrest occurs; incidents not resulting in arrest are logged, except where special situations demand further paperwork. In contrast, the Shaker Heights police use a full range of reporting procedures, including filing incident reports on all calls-for-service.

New domestic violence legislation in Ohio mandates all police departments to report incidents of family violence and institute record-keeping procedures to indicate victim-offender relationships. The state Bureau of Criminal Identification and

Investigation is now required to secure monthly reports from the municipalities and to publish an annual report of their findings. The local police chiefs' association opposes such reporting requirements due to the lack of staff assigned to record-keeping and data analysis.

Data collection and domestic violence case tracking will be facilitated when police implement legislation requiring that victim-offender relationships be recorded in incident reports. Because, however, court records will not be linked to calls-for-service, case tracking can only occur at the incident-report level.

Unlike police data collection system, criminal court documentation of misdemeanor cases is unsystematic. Each assistant prosecutor keeps his/her own records on index cards, and these data are never collected, summarized, or analyzed for the prosecutor's office.

Brattleboro, Vermont

Law enforcement records in Windham County are entered into a central statewide computer system. Standard FBI crime classification codes are recorded on calls-for-service, incident and arrest reports. While the computerized data collection system does not distinguish victim-offender relationships for domestic violence cases, the Bellow Falls Police Department maintains a separate card-sorted system that records the victim-offender relationship on incident reports. The county system subsumes domestic violence incidents under other categories such as "Family Disturbance," "Disturbing the Peace," etc. According to the Brattleboro police chief, no more than 25 percent of the "Family Disturbances" would be actual domestic violence cases (as opposed to "loud stereos," etc.).

Temporary Restraining Orders (TROs) are not recorded or stored on the computer, but rather, in a separate record-keeping system maintained at the district attorney's office.

PHILADELPHIA

The Philadelphia Criminal Justice Computer System stores incident, investigation, and arrest report data. Every police call-for-service dispatched results in the filing of an incident report. Except for homicide cases, the victim-offender relationship is not systematically recorded on any police reports, although it

is usually identified in the narrative section of the arrest report. The police department has been considering using a new code to indicate this relationship. In September 1978, the police department began collecting data on police calls by address. Family violence calls-for-service are most often denominated "disturbance-minor-inside," a classification that may include incidents other than domestic violence. When an arrest is made, the case is assigned a photo number, which can be used by the court system to track cases from that point onward.

Data for both the municipal court and the common pleas court are gathered and stored on computers by the data processing section of the deputy court administrator's office. Data on the incidence of family offenses such as spousal abuse or the relationship between victims and perpetrators of assault are currently not being gathered, except when a petition has been filed in family court under the Protection from Abuse Act.

Fayetteville, North Carolina

All incoming calls-for-service enter a central switchboard and are transferred to a dispatcher in the Fayetteville county and city police departments. Dispatch cards are used to record the disposition of all calls-for-service: whether an arrest was made, a report filed, the call unfounded, the offender "verbally warned," or some other action was effected. State field notes (incident reports) are generally written only when the officer has taken some action or the case requires further action. The county's record-keeping system, for both dispatch cards and incident reports, is manually "key-sorted" according to Standard Uniform Crime Report (UCR) classifications. Domestic violence calls are most often coded "10-79," "Family Disturbance," a general category used for all situations concerning the family (e.g., a cat in a tree, assault, trespass, etc.).

A new reporting procedure, adopted several years ago in both county and city police departments, allows officers to double code in situations where a single classification does not adequately describe the incident. For example, domestic cases involving physical violence are now coded for both "family disturbance" and "assault." Under this new system, the room for error or ambiguity is dramatically reduced.

Miami

The Miami criminal justice computer system (Computer Automated Dispatch System) assigns a number to each call-for-service, along with the location and type of incident. The majority of domestic violence calls are coded. Family disturbance calls are coded "34," a catch-all for all neighborhood disturbances, whether among family members or not. The more severe incidents of domestic violence would also be coded "assault," or "attempted murder" etc.

Police officers responding to a domestic violence call can make an arrest, file an incidence report, or radio for supervisory approval not to report the call. (These options apply to all calls-for-service.) Depending on the geographic area, between 20 and 50 percent of all calls are not reported. The police officials interviewed indicated their belief that most Code 34 calls, including domestic violence incidents, were not reported, although they could not state the percentage. If the police officer does not report a Code 34 call, the only information appearing on the computer is the code number and the location. An incident or arrest report, if made, is put into the computer. The computer does not have the capability to segregate cases by relationship between victim and suspect, because this information is not part of the report.

If an arrest is made, at the time of fingerprinting, an Identification Series (IDS) number and a Florida Department of Law Enforcement (DEL) number are assigned. If warranted by the seriousness of the crime, an FBI number may also be assigned. After the suspect is formally charged, he is assigned a court case number. If an arrestee has contact with the criminal justice system again, the same IDS, DEL, and FBI numbers are assigned to him/her as were assigned at the first contact with the system. Using an IDS number, it is possible to track the individual's further contacts with the Dade County criminal justice system as well as retrieve his past criminal record. (Information on whether the individual was the subject of a call for service but not arrested could not be obtained.)

Another feature of the system is its capacity to produce a Synmap, a readout of all crimes committed in a given geographic area over a given period of time (e.g., eight hours, a month, a year). It is specific to one-block areas, rather than addresses. One could, for example, retrieve a Synmap of the block containing an abuser's address and obtain information on all Code 34 calls (or assaults, or any other code that could include a domestic violence incident) in that area over

a given period of time. Synmap includes data on occurrences. Police officer log books, which are filed chronologically at local stations, could then be checked to determine whether the same abuser is involved. A less costly but also less accurate way to gather the same data is to ask police officers to report directly to domestic violence projects all cases of family violence to which they respond.

SUMMARY AND DISCUSSION

Our investigation of domestic violence indicators derived from criminal justice records indicated that record-keeping procedures in these sites prohibit or at least limit the access and availability of the data required to track domestic violence cases through the criminal justice system. The various procedural problems are summarized below.

Multiple Jurisdictions

Several of the intensive sites maintain relationships within multiple police jurisdictions. In Miami and Cleveland, different police departments have different systems for identifying, reporting and processing domestic violence cases. In the Miami/Dade County area, there are 24 different law enforcement departments. The Dade County Public Safety Department (the county sheriff) serves seven districts; two special Safe Street units have functioned within the unincorporated area since 1971. Collection and analysis of impact data across police agencies within a given jurisdiction would require extensive recoding of records to reconcile procedural and definitional discrepancies between departments. This is particularly true for calls-for-service not resulting in an incident report (i.e., a reported crime), a complaint or request for a warrant, or an arrest. This problem is compounded by the nonrecording of victim-offender relationships in most reporting systems. When the disputants are unmarried couples, reporting of the relationship may be unreliable across sites. Although sampling jurisdictions would help to overcome this problem, it might "short-change" projects whose impacts are felt community-wide or who experience special (unique or uncharacteristic) problems in the sampled sector.

Record-keeping

Across sites, "domestic violence" is not a standard, mutually exclusive crime classification. The only exception is Cleveland, where record-keeping and reporting procedures for domestic violence cases have been mandated by law since March 1979. The uniform crime code used most frequently cross-site is a catch-all for various domestic misdemeanor offenses and does not distinguish an incident of violence from other domestic disturbances. (This problem has been cited by other researchers investigating criminal justice impacts at the pre-arrest point of intervention, e.g., the Neighborhood Justice Center Evaluation.) Thus, fluctuations in the number of these incidents will not accurately reflect project impact on incidences of family violence.

In some instances, communities have adopted surrogate measures to monitor domestic violence or have instituted new record-keeping procedures. The Santa Barbara Police Department now gathers data on domestic violence on their field cards, and this data is available to the family violence project. Surrogate measures might include all domestic disturbance calls or all misdemeanor assaults. In nearly all the project sites, however, arrest record-keeping procedures fail to designate victim-offender relationships, which precludes precise measurement of domestic violence incidence or monitoring of institutional responses by police, prosecutors or the courts.

Case Tracking

The absence of standardized reporting procedures for domestic violence incidents inhibits tracking these cases from one level of case processing in the criminal justice system to another. Domestic violence is not systematically distinguished at every level in the decision-making process. In the Miami, Brattleboro, and Cleveland criminal justice data-collection systems, domestic violence is distinguished at the "incident report" level. When domestic violence calls-for-service are informally resolved, requiring no further action, the incident goes unreported and undistinguished from other noncriminal calls. Informal dispositions at other points in the criminal justice system are also lost. (For example, a case will not be entered into the record-keeping system if a criminal complaint is filed but a warrant is never issued.) Changes in processing cases at these points of entry into the system could have a dramatic impact on the number

of domestic violence cases that are reported. For instance, increases in the number of informal, pre-arrest adjustments would show up in these record-keeping systems as decreases in the incidence of domestic violence. Crime statistics are always sensitive to procedural changes throughout the entire criminal justice system, and fluctuations often do not reflect actual changes in criminal behavior.

Data Collection Systems

In addition to the procedural problems discussed above, an unautomated data-collection system further limits use of criminal justice data. In Fayetteville, where domestic violence cases are systematically distinguished and reported at all levels of case processing, the data are manually key-sorted. Searching through their thousands of calls-for-service involving domestic violence for an address is an extremely exhausting, time consuming and, perhaps, unproductive enterprise.

APPENDIX C: LAWS

The 12 states with LEAA-funded domestic violence projects have adopted various responses to spousal abuse. Several states have statutes dealing specifically with this problem, while others provide protection only through statutes dealing with violence between strangers and with marital relations. This appendix reviews the various legal remedies available within these states.

BASIC LEGAL REMEDIES

A person injured or threatened with injury by his/her spouse has several possible legal remedies: divorce or separation, money damages, injunction, or criminal prosecution. The brief description of these four types of remedies will be followed by a detailed explanation of the legal systems of the 12 states in the evaluation.

A divorce is a civil court action to dissolve the marriage. In addition, the collateral issues of child custody and visitation, child support, spouse support, division of marital property, and use of property by one spouse are decided. A legal separation judgment does not end the marriage; it merely establishes that the parties, although still married to each other, live apart. In a separation action, the court may decide the same collateral issues resolve in a divorce action.

Some states permit a person to sue his/her spouse for money damages for injuries either intentionally or accidentally caused by the spouse. Other states adhere to the ancient common law rule that one spouse may not sue the other for damages, because they are regarded as a unity for legal purposes--a legal concept called "interspousal tort immunity." (A "tort" is an act causing injury to person or property). The remedy of civil suit for money damages can benefit the injured spouse only when the abuser has income or owns things of value that can be taken by the court to provide the money recovery.

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An injunction action to restrain the abusing spouse has been created by the legislatures of many states. This civil proceeding may occur independently of any remedy the injured spouse may seek, or the statute may require that a divorce or separation action be brought, or that it is an alternative to a criminal complaint. An injunction is known variously as an "order of protection," restraining order" or "peace bond." In this proceeding the court, may order the offending spouse to move out of the marital home; stay away from the home, school and work place of the injured spouse and the children; establish custody of children; set child and spouse support; compel the abusive spouse to participate in counseling or an educational program (like a course for the drunken driver); direct the offending spouse to pay the legal expenses of the injured spouse; and order the abusive spouse to observe certain rules of conduct (for example, not to be in the home while intoxicated). This type of injunction lasts for a period of time, which is specified in the court's order. The statutes provide the maximum duration, which is most states is one year.

The final possibility for the injured spouse is a criminal complaint, which differs from civil relief in that the victim is not in control of the legal process. Criminal prosecution is initiated by an arrest at the discretion of the police. In most jurisdictions, an officer may arrest without a warrant only when s/he has "probable cause" to believe that a felony has been committed, or when a misdemeanor is committed in the officer's presence. Probable cause consists of facts that would justify the belief by a person of reasonable caution that a crime has been committed. The test is one of probability; i.e., from the facts known to the police officer, is it reasonably probable that a crime has been committed. Probable cause may be the statement of a victim in combination with physical injury, property damage, another witness's statement or actions, or actions of the accused. Several states authorize arrests for misdemeanors based on probable cause, and some states have limited probable cause misdemeanor arrests for crimes committed against family members or in the family home.

After an arrest, or if there has not been an arrest, the district attorney has the sole discretion to determine if the case will be prosecuted. Since the district attorney represents the people of the state and not the victim, the decision whether or not to prosecute is based on factors other than the victim's needs: the quality of the evidence, the volume of pending cases, the seriousness of the injury, and prevailing attitudes toward family violence and female crime victims.

In addition, the victim may find the criminal legal system unsatisfactory because it does not provide protection from subsequent attacks and intimidation. These limitations of prosecutor attitude and lack of victim services are overcome by specialized prosecution units.

STATE LEGISLATION

Massachusetts

Massachusetts has enacted several statues dealing with spouse abuse. Chief among them is the Abuse Protection Act (Chapter 209A), July 1978, which seeks to protect all family members from abuse. The act defines abuse as the occurrence of one or more of the following acts between family members or members of the same household:

- attempting to cause or causing physical harm;
- placing another in fear of imminent serious physical harm; and
- causing another to engage involuntarily in sexual relations by force, threat or force or duress.

Any abused family member may request an order of protection in a district, superior or probate court. The court is empowered to order the defendant to refrain from further abuse of the plaintiff, to vacate the family home, to award custody of minor children to the plaintiff, to pay temporary support for the plaintiff and any minor children, and to compensate the plaintiff for any monetary loss caused by the abuse, including lost earnings, medical expenses, moving expenses and attorney fees. No fee is charged for filing the petition. An order is issued to the defendant after notice and hearing. The court may, however, grant an ex parte order if necessary to protect the plaintiff. On weekends, a judge of any court may issue a temporary order of protection. Relief under the act may be granted for up to one year.

The act also specifies that law enforcement officers must "use all reasonable means to prevent further abuse." Specifically, officers are required to remain at the scene of a domestic incident as long as necessary to ensure the safety of the victim. Officers must see that needed medical assistance is obtained and transport the victim to a hospital if necessary. If the abuser is found, officers

must make an arrest if there is probable cause to believe a felony has been committed, or if a misdemeanor has been committed in the officer's presence. The officer may also arrest the abuser for violating a protection order. The officer is directed to inform victims in writing in English and Spanish of their rights under the act and the criminal law.

Section 34C of Chapter 208 requires courts issuing orders under the act to file them with the appropriate law enforcement agency. The police agency must establish procedures to ensure that patrol officers at the scene of a domestic incident have ready access to the orders. Under Section 34C, violating an order of protection is a misdemeanor punishable by a fine of up to \$5,000 and/or imprisonment for up to two and one-half years.

Section 34B of Chapter 208 authorizes courts hearing actions for divorce or separate maintenance to order a spouse to leave the family home for 90 days, if it finds such an order necessary to ensure the safety of one of the parties or any children. As long as the court determines that there is a "substantial likelihood" of danger to the safety of the requesting spouse, actual abuse need not have occurred.

A 1977 statute, Chapter 209, Section 32, is applicable to all spouses, whether abused or not. Under this statute, probate courts are empowered to order husbands or wives to provide support for their spouse and minor children without the requirement of first filing a divorce or separation action. The court may thus order support under either Chapter 209 Section 32 or Chapter 209A.

Abused spouses may not sue abusive mates for assault and battery, because the doctrine of interspousal immunity still applies. A recent court decision however, permitted a wife injured in an auto accident to sue her husband for negligence. Although the court limited its decision to auto accidents, the case may indicate that suit by one spouse against another based on assault and battery may be permitted in the near future.

Pennsylvania

In 1976 the Pennsylvania state legislature passed the Protection from Abuse Act authorizing the court of common pleas (superior court) to issue orders of protection to adult and child victims of domestic abuse. Petitions are heard by

judges of the family court division of the common pleas court. The act defines abuse as:

- attempting to cause or intentionally, knowingly, or recklessly causing bodily injury with or without a deadly weapon;
- placing by physical menace another in fear of imminent serious bodily injury;
- sexually abusing minor children.

Remedies accorded under the act extend to individuals abused by members of their family or household. A victim need not be married to an abuser to obtain an order of protection, as long as they are living together. The act empowers the court to issue an order to the defendant after notice and hearing, the latter to be held within 10 days after the filing of the petition. The court may grant a temporary order without notice and hearing if it determines that the plaintiff is in "immediate and present danger" of being abused. The order may include the following:

- directing the defendant to refrain from abusing the plaintiff;
- evicting the defendant from the family home if it is jointly owned or leased;
- if the defendant is the sole owner or leasee of the family home and refuses to leave, ordering him/her to provide suitable housing for the plaintiff;
- awarding custody and establishing visitation rights with regard to minor children.

Violating an order subjects the abuser to six months in jail and/or a \$1,000 fine. The act requires that a copy of the order be filed with the appropriate police department. Orders may be granted for up to one year. When the common pleas court is not in session, a municipal court judge may grant temporary relief under the act. Temporary relief may be granted for 72 hours or until the next session of the common pleas court, whichever occurs sooner.

New York

Passed in 1962, New York's Family Court Act provides, in part, a mechanism for abuse victims to obtain protection. The family court was given exclusive original jurisdiction over family offenses as well as child abuse and neglect, support, custody, and juvenile delinquency proceedings. ("Exclusive original" means that only family court may hear cases involving these issues.)

A 1977 amendment to the act gave the criminal court concurrent jurisdiction with the family court over family offenses. An abuse victim may file a criminal complaint or seek an order of protection from the family court, but not both. "Family offenses" are defined as acts committed by an individual against family members that would constitute disorderly conduct, harassment, menacing, reckless endangerment, assault, or attempted assault if committed against a nonfamily member. "Family member" is defined as persons related by blood or marriage. The family court does not have jurisdiction to entertain petitions filed by unmarried cohabitants.

The family court is authorized to issue an order of protection directing a defendant to:

- stay away from the family home, the other spouse or their children;
- refrain from offensive conduct against the other spouse and children;
- refrain from acts of commission or omission that tend to make the family home an unfit place for the children;
- give proper attention to the care of the house; and
- allow reasonable child visitation rights.

The court may grant temporary ex parte orders on a showing of good cause, or permanent orders after notice and hearing to the defendant. Orders of protection are valid for up to one year. Presentation of an order of protection to a police officer authorizes the arrest of the abuser if the officer has probable cause to believe the order has been violated. The family court is required to file all orders of protection with the appropriate police department.

The statute instructs the probation department to interview all persons desiring to file a family court petition to ascertain whether a petition is advisable and to attempt to reach an internal disposition of the case that would obviate the necessity of a petition. Efforts at adjustment may not extend for more than two months without court approval. The petitioner has the statutory right to file a family court petition at any time notwithstanding probation department disapproval. All agreements reached by the department with spouses must be approved by the court and incorporated into the order of protection.

If the defendant violates an order of protection, the plaintiff may elect to file a notice of violation with the family court, petition for a new order of protection, or file a criminal complaint based on the new offense. Any person convicted of

violating an order of protection may be jailed for up to six months. Judges have the discretion to order the sentence to be served on weekends and/or evenings.

Ohio

The Ohio state legislature has recently enacted a comprehensive series of statutes aimed at impacting on family violence. The penal code has been amended to make domestic violence a crime. The offense of domestic violence is defined as knowingly or recklessly causing or attempting to cause physical harm to a family or household member. A first offense is classified as a misdemeanor; subsequent offenses are classes as felonies. Arrests without warrant may be made for misdemeanor domestic offenses not committed in an officer's presence. During the pendency of a criminal proceeding, a victim may obtain an order of protection from the criminal courts directing the defendant to refrain from entering the residence or place of business or employment of the plaintiff. Requests for such orders must be heard by the court within 24 hours of filing. Defendants who plead or are found guilty of a domestic offense and released on probation are required by statute to attend counseling sessions.

The civil provisions of the new statute require courts to hold ex parte hearings on the same day that a petition for an order of protection is filed. If the court finds that it is necessary to protect the requesting party, it may issue an order containing any of the following provisions:

- ordering a defendant to refrain from further abuse, evicting the defendant from the family home or requiring that person to provide housing to the abuse victim;
- awarding temporary custody and visitation privileges with regard to children;
- ordering the defendant to pay support; and
- ordering the defendant not to enter the residence or business or place of employment of the plaintiff.

One new statute mandates that all police officers receive a minimum of 15 hours of training in handling domestic disputes. Another requires that localities keep records of domestic incidents and report them monthly to the State Bureau of Criminal Identification and Investigation. However, no additional funds have been allocated to implement the training and reporting requirements.

In addition to these recently enacted statutes, the city of Cleveland has instituted an arbitration program in several areas of the city to deal with domestic violence. Program police officers responding to domestic disputes may issue a nonenforceable summons requesting that the disputing parties attend arbitration sessions as an alternative to arrest or non-action.

California

California is in the process of enacting several new statutes to address the problem of family violence. The bill will expand the power of courts to provide protection to victims of family battering. Courts may grant orders of protection, ex parte or after notice and hearing, to any victim of domestic abuse. "Abusive" is defined as causing, attempting or threatening to cause bodily injury to a family or household member. "Family" or "household member" means spouse, former spouse, parent, child, person related by blood or marriage, and cohabitants who reside or have resided in the same household in the six months prior to the request for the protection order. A divorce or separation action is not a prerequisite to obtaining an order. A protection order issued during the pendency of an action for divorce or separation may remain in effect for as long as a year after the termination of the action.

With unmarried individuals or where the request for an order is made without a pending divorce or separation action, courts may grant orders that remain in effect for up to 90 days. The court at its discretion may grant extensions. Orders granted in nonmarital situations may contain any of the following provisions:

- enjoining one party from contacting or in anyway molesting the other party;
- determining the use or possession of any property and directing one party to make loan payments on any property;
- directing one party to pay child support;
- directing one party to make restitution for loss of earnings, out-of-pocket expenses (e.g., housing, medical), and attorney fees; and
- requiring any party to participate in counseling or medical treatment.

Orders granted to a married spouse may contain the following additional provisions:

- restraining one party from in any way selling or transferring property;
- excluding one party from the family dwelling or the dwelling place of the other; and
- determining the temporary custody of children of the marriage.

If requested, the court will direct that a copy of the protection order be filed with the appropriate police departments, which will be mandated to set up a mechanism to give officers at the scene of a domestic incident ready access to the content of the order. Violating an order will be made a misdemeanor. In a contempt action based on a violation of an order, a court may provide the victim with an attorney or request that the district attorney provide legal assistance.

North Carolina

North Carolina has two statutes dealing with spouse abuse. Ex parte and protection orders issued after notice and hearing may be granted as part of suits for divorce, separation or child custody. Orders may contain provisions restraining one spouse from in any way molesting the other. A provision of the penal code defines aggravated assault as an assault committed by a male against a female. Aggravated assault is a misdemeanor punishable by a fine of \$500 and/or up to six months in jail. The penalty for simple assault is a fine of \$50 and/or 30 days in jail.

Delaware

Criminal statutes in Delaware give the family court exclusive jurisdiction to try all misdemeanor offenses committed by one family member against another. "Family" is defined as persons related by blood or marriage who cohabit, or a man and woman who live together with children of either or both. Felony family offenses are tried in the superior court. The grant of jurisdiction to the family court is absolute and includes all offenses whether one member of a family is a complainant and another the victim.

Victims of domestic abuse may file a criminal complaint at a justice of the peace court or the family court. Misdemeanor complaints filed at a justice of the peace court are transferred to the family court; felonies, to the superior court. Complaints going directly to the family court are interviewed by an intake worker who decides whether the complaint should be accepted for filing.

A complaint may appear an intake worker's decision to the attorney general's office. Intake workers do not review complaints filed by an attorney on behalf of a client. All complaints filed by an attorney on behalf of a client must be approved by the attorney general's office, whose decision is final. The court's intake unit, at its discretion, may hold informal arbitration sessions with family disputants in an attempt to resolve the problem without court intervention.

Delaware statutes also provide civil remedies to victims of domestic abuse. Relief may be obtained by filing an "imperilling the family relationship" petition in the family court. The court is empowered to grant orders of protection directing the defendant to refrain from further abuse, vacate the family dwelling, and attend counseling sessions. The same relief may be granted by a court hearing a divorce or separation action. If the victim presents a certified copy of a protection order and proof that it was served on the defendant, police officers are authorized to arrest an abuser for violating an order of protection.

Indiana

Indiana has enacted only one statute to deal with spousal abuse. It authorizes courts to grant protection orders during the pendency of a divorce or separation action. The order may enjoin the defendant from committing further abuse and evict or exclude the party from the family dwelling. It may also contain provisions ordering a party not to sell or otherwise transfer any property and to provide financial support to or to establish temporary custody of children.

Vermont

Vermont has not adopted specialized legislation to address the problem of spouse abuse. Orders of protection can be obtained by an abused spouse only as part of a divorce or separation action. Courts have a nonspecific grant of authority empowering them to "prohibit either party from opposing restraint upon the personal liberty of the other party."

Alaska and Utah

In addition to an assault and battery suit by one spouse against another, the only civil protection available to abuse victims in these states is a peace bond. The maximum amount of bond is \$2,000 in Alaska and \$3,000 in Utah.

Florida

The Florida legislature has enacted several statutes to deal with spouse abuse. A 1977 statute empowers police officers to arrest without a warrant for misdemeanor assault when the officer has probable cause to believe that someone has physically abused his/her spouse and "finds evidence of bodily harm" or reasonably believes that the abuse will continue unless the abuser is arrested.

Florida has also enacted statutes to provide services to abused spouses. Section 409.601 of the Florida codes gives the Department of Health and Rehabilitative Services the authority to fund and monitor the operations of spouse abuse centers throughout the state. These centers will provide shelter and related services to spouse abuse victims. Money to fund the centers is being raised through a \$5.00 increase in marriage license fees.

Florida does not have statutes authorizing orders of protection; however, a bill has been recently introduced to remedy this situation.

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