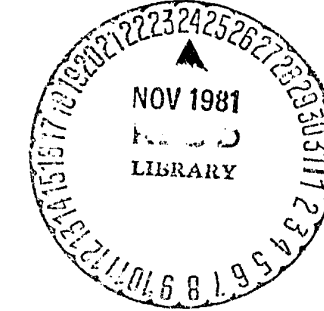


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THE
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**NATIONAL EVALUATION OF THE
LEAA FAMILY VIOLENCE
DEMONSTRATION PROGRAM:
PROCESS EVALUATION**

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Submitted to:
National Institute of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention
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NATIONAL EVALUATION OF THE
LEAA FAMILY VIOLENCE DEMONSTRATION PROGRAM

SECOND INTERIM REPORT:
PROCESS EVALUATION

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September 1980

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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 grassroots 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 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 initiative includes six projects funded under its Victim Witness Program in FY 78, and 11 additional projects funded under the Family Violence Program in FY 79. One FY 78 project was not refunded. Nine additional projects were funded in FY 80 for a total of 23 projects funded under the Family Violence Program over three years. 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 report is the second of three analytic reports from the National Family Violence Evaluation. The First Interim Report (November, 1979) analyzed the history and development of the LEAA Family Violence Demonstration Program, from its origins as the Citizens Initiative Program through early funding in the Victim Witness Program to categorical funding as the Family Violence Program. The report analyzed organizational development, structural features, and service components of the demonstration projects. Also, the report documented the initial effects on systems and communities of implementation of the Family Violence projects.

The Second Interim Report presents data and information to measure and describe project operations and services. The report presents data on project characteristics and inputs, including funding, staffing, organization, service components, client populations, and environmental characteristics such as domestic violence legislation and geographical area. Project services to clients are also described. The report concludes with an analysis of project and client characteristics which identifies the major analytical dimensions to represent project typologies and activities. These dimensions will be included as predictor variables in later analyses of client impacts and reductions in incidence of domestic violence.

Acknowledgements

This report reflects the individual and combined efforts of the entire staff of the Family Violence Evaluation Project. All staff participated in the development, design, review, refinement, and implementation of the instruments and methods which generated the data for this report. Linda Remy, D.S.W., was instrumental in developing the Program Monitoring System, the management information system which generated much of the data in this report. Sandra Wexler served as manager of the PMS. Steve Cortez was the programmer and analyst. Jeri Mersky and Gail Kaplan provided technical assistance to the Family Violence Projects, and also gathered, coded, and analyzed significant portions of the data in this report.

Bonnie Stallings, Lynne Thingvold, and Martha Cheek produced the report. In addition, Lynne serves as Administrative Secretary for the evaluation project. Sally Jo Jones is our editor.

We wish to thank the project directors and staff of the LEAA family violence projects for their patience, endurance, and cooperation in utilizing the PMS instruments. In particular, the Project Advisory Committee, including three family violence project directors, provided critical review and revision to the PMS. Committee members included Donna Medley, Jane Malpass, and Ann Sheperdson.

Pam Swain, our Project Officer at OJJDP, has made numerous contributions to the development of the evaluation design and analysis plan.

Finally, the Advisory Board of the Family Violence Evaluation project has made important contributions to the design and to this report.

JF

September 1980
April 1981

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

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

The LEAA Family Violence Demonstration program is a federal response to increased national awareness of the problem of domestic violence. As revealed in several epidemiological studies, the problem afflicts at least one-fifth of all American couples; using the broadest definitions, that figure reaches 50-60 percent. The considerable impacts of the problem include homicide and perpetuation of abuser/victim patterns in children of affected families. Despite such impacts and personal suffering, nearly 55 percent of all incidents go unreported. Although such underreporting impedes accurate profiling of victims and assailants, increasing research shows domestic violence occurring across all racial-ethnic and socioeconomic groups in correlation with alcohol abuse, generational patterns, economic and other types of stress, certain power relationships, and poor sexual relations. Institutional responses to the problem, complicated by the competing issues of privacy and protection, have tended toward increased protection for assaulted persons (through court-enforced temporary protection orders) and more stringent arrest and dispositional criteria for assailants. Implementation of legislative changes has, however, been frustrated by procedural, political, and attitudinal barriers in the agencies charged with enforcement and prosecution.

To impact on the problem of domestic violence, LEAA's Office of Criminal Justice Programs awarded action grants for the development of demonstration projects and technical assistance grants to support project development. Begun in FY 1978 under the auspices of its Victim-Witness Assistance Program, the LEAA initiative to develop programs and services for victims of domestic violence became a formal program in FY 79, when five of the pre-

vious year's six grantees were joined by eleven new projects. The addition of nine grantees in FY 80 brought the total to 25 projects,* which have received \$3 million over three years. Technical assistance supporting project efforts has included a newsletter and clearing-house, special conferences for criminal justice system agencies, the development of standards and guidelines for law enforcement handling of cases, training for justice and social system agents, cluster conferences for inter-project information sharing, and the development of public education materials. As set forth in the national program goals, project grantees are attempting to reduce community acceptance of family violence; increase reporting of incidents and documentation of the phenomenon; document violent families' needs; improve medical and social service agency collection and transmission of evidence to the legal system; reduce the number of repeat calls to police related to family disturbances; increase prosecution of several cases; establish diversion programs; and reduce intra-family homicides and serious assaults. Given these diverse goals, the 25 projects have set somewhat varying site-specific objectives and display an array of operational and organizational dimensions, types and combination of services, environmental contexts, and client characteristics.

To measure project achievement of these goals and impact on victims and families, as well as to study the effects of family violence on children and youth, NIJJDP awarded an evaluation grant to the URSA Institute. Designed to lead to the development of sound national policies on intervention strategies, the evaluation is developing information on epidemiological characteristics; examining case referral from the justice and social service systems; assessing the impact of family violence and intervention on youth; describing and analyzing project implementation; determining project impacts on social service response to victims; assessing the impact of project intervention on repeat incidents; and determining the cost effectiveness of interventions and goal achievement. Based on a flexible and diverse methodology to account for the range of policies being tested, the evaluation consists of three components: an analysis of the history and development of each project; a process study; and an impact study.

*Two projects focusing on child sexual abuse are being evaluated separately and are not, therefore, included in this report.

The present process study describes project efforts to alter institutional responses to domestic violence and to attain national program goals relating to client impacts. It also identifies key analytic dimensions (for later use as impact study variables) that distinguish the projects and empirically defines intervention models, concluding with recommendations on central and replicable elements of models being tested. Data for this report have been drawn from the Program Monitoring System (a management information system), site visit reports, key actor interviews, and from project grant applications and reports.

CHAPTER 2. FAMILY VIOLENCE PROJECT CHARACTERISTICS

Direct services provided by the 23 projects include, in descending order of frequency (noted parenthetically), information and referral (100%), non-formal legal advocacy (91%), nonlegal advocacy (83%), crisis intervention (70%), counseling (70%), childcare (57%), transportation (57%), shelter (52%), formal legal advocacy (52%), diversion counseling (43%), and mediation (9%). Childcare services, offered by all shelters and one non-shelter project, typically include provision of room and board, supervision and babysitting and, in one more elaborate program, have included structured recreational activities, counseling, and parent training. All projects provide information and referral to potential and actual clients in need of medical, social, or legal services. Nonlegal advocacy includes setting up and preparing clients for appointments, accompaniment and transportation to secure assistance from social service and other community agencies. In the 21 projects providing non-formal legal advocacy, paralegal staff commonly refer and set up appointments with justice personnel, advise clients on procedures, and accompany them to court. Formal legal advocacy is provided by attorneys in 12 projects; in addition, special prosecutors in two projects focus their efforts on domestic violence case prosecution, training, and linkage development. Crisis intervention, which varies across sites, includes hotlines and counseling either at the project site or scene of dispute. Counseling services may include individual, group, couple, or family formats and employ any of a variety of approaches, including client-centered, behavioral contracting, anger management, and problem solving, most often on a short-term basis. Diversion counseling, which may intervene at any of several points in the justice process, typically focuses on

the assailant, whether individually or in groups, although a few diversion projects offer couple and family counseling. Mediation services, an early-intervention strategy, rely on police-issued "notices to appear" and simple referrals to induce complainants to negotiate a contractual resolution of their problems. Transportation, typically provided by project staff or volunteers, has become a critical ancillary service to providing shelter, in-person advocacy, and crisis intervention, particularly in rural areas. Existing community services are providing 42 percent of these kinds of services (especially in the courts (13%).

Project indirect services include training of and service coordination with justice and service agency staffs and community outreach. Training activities have focused on project services and goals, the dynamics and legal issues of domestic violence, and techniques for case handling (including, more recently, counseling). Service coordination has involved service agency identification, linkage development, and information dissemination through informal mechanisms and conference/task force events. All projects engage in some form of outreach activity, which encompasses speaking appearances at schools, civic organizations, and other community agencies.

The statutory context in which these services are delivered includes both civil and criminal provisions. Among the most important civil remedies are temporary restraining/protection orders (TROs), which are available in 78 percent of the project states. There is considerable variation in TRO issuance criteria (35% are limited to spouses), duration (55% last up to one year), and violation contingencies (78% punish violations as criminal contempt or misdemeanors). Several states have enacted legislation to afford victims of domestic violence access to criminal remedies: 9 percent of project states have defined spousal assault as a felony/misdemeanor, and 30 percent have enabled probable cause arrest for misdemeanor.

In delivering these services, a majority of projects (54%) use 6-10 paid staff, most of whom are LEAA-funded. The projects display diversity in staff size as a function of organization and structure. Projects with a combined civil-criminal justice emphasis employ the largest and predominantly LEAA-funded staffs; those with a service-coordination emphasis or

system strategy employ the smallest staffs, and those with nonprofit auspices have the smallest LEAA-funded staffs. The proportion of LEAA-funded staff as a percentage of total staff is high across projects (the lowest being 46% in private nonprofit auspices). All staff of projects with a multi-service emphasis are LEAA-funded, which is virtually the case (90-92%) in projects with subcontractor structures, combined criminal-civil justice emphasis, a civil action service emphasis, or a combined client-system strategy focus. Annual budgets range from a low mean of \$73 thousand for private nonprofit projects to \$246 thousand for projects with a multi-service emphasis. The ratio of total budget to LEAA staff size achieves minimal values for projects with a combined criminal-civil justice emphasis or a consensus decisional structure (\$13,500+); it achieves a maximal value for those with a service-coordination emphasis or primarily system strategy focus (\$27,872). Thus, LEAA funds are used primarily to fund staff in public criminal justice and social service agencies and hierarchical organizations; other staff-funding resources are drawn on by private nonprofit agencies, consensus decisional organizations, and shelter programs. Service coordination projects are nearly 50 percent more expensive than any direct-service model, as are projects with a criminal emphasis or system focus, as contrasted to civil or combined emphases and client-only focus. The emerging typology is best expressed in terms of extreme values for budget-to-staff ratios: the low occurs for projects with a consensus decisional structure (small, grassroots feminist shelter/counseling/advocacy projects); the high, for service coordination projects (which are criminal justice system focused with highly skilled professional staffs). These measures do not, however, describe how projects use resources or address the questions of efficacy and impact.

CHAPTER 3. FAMILY VIOLENCE PROJECT CASE CHARACTERISTICS

Of initial project contacts, 13 percent are reported over the telephone as emergencies, 48 percent report physical violence, and 31 percent threat of violence. Clients are overwhelmingly female (95%), predominantly white (58%), and, to a lesser extent (36%), black; almost half (46%) are pregnant. Most (74%) have not attended college, and a large percentage (43%) are not employed outside the home. Almost half (48%) are in their twenties, with the median age at 27. While three-fourths do not have credit

cards, two-thirds have health insurance, and 70 percent have access to friends or relatives. Fifty-four percent report that they cannot return home.

The majority of victims have been previously threatened (73%), abused (58%), and/or injured (52%) by the alleged assailant, although they rarely report retaliatory threat or action (22%). Only 19 percent of complainants report any legal action (TRO, divorce, or child abuse action), in effect at the incident. Only 14 percent report having previously contacted a family violence project, although 57 percent have previously contacted the police. Two-thirds have undergone one or more separations from the assailant in the past.

Forty-one percent of alleged assailants are said to drink daily, of which 58 percent drink heavily. In contrast, 5 percent of victims reportedly drink daily, and of that number, only 7 percent heavily. Very little other drug use is reported for either victims (4%) or assailants (18%), although the majority of both user groups do no more than once a week. Preferred drugs include marijuana (62%), tranquilizers (26%) and barbiturates (18%).

In 83 percent of cases, the instant incident occurs in the home of the victim and involves the spouse or partner. The median length of the relationship between participants is just over six years. Of the assailants, half are reported to have been drinking at the time and 16 percent to have been using drugs. Victims are frequently multiply abused. Such abuse is most often verbal (92%), but frequently involves pushing, slapping, etc. (74%); punching, kicking, etc. (57%); and, less often, sexual assault (6%). In contrast, the victim is reported to have verbally abused the alleged assailant in 20 percent of the cases; to have pushed, etc., in 15 percent; punched, etc., in 6 percent; and sexually assaulted in fewer than 1 percent. The alleged assailant is reported to have threatened to throw or smash an object in one-third of the cases; to have threatened the victim with a weapon in 31 percent of the cases; and to have actually used a weapon or object in 15 percent of the cases. These figures contrast with 6, 4, and 3 percent respectively for victim use of weapons/objects, although the few victims who threaten to use a weapon are more likely to

carry out the threat (94%) than are assailants (48%). Few victims fight back, although nearly two in three experience physical injury, most often bruises and lacerations.

The most common referral source to the domestic violence project is the police (22%), with other sources including the district attorney (13%) and an array of community contacts. Common client requests, usually multiple, include counseling (14%), shelter (15%), criminal legal representation (12%), and legal information (14%). Of client out-referrals to other agencies, 26 percent are to courts, 20 percent to legal assistance, and 8 percent to other legal offices/agencies. In half of these cases, the police were called, and in one-third, the victim filed a complaint. Nearly one-fourth of victims sought medical care, 10 percent of whom received additional medical care after the initial visit.

Although information on children is not widely reported, the data suggest that children of project clients may be themselves at risk. While children are present in 94 percent of the cases, child-related problems (e.g., neglect, abuse, incest) are reported in only 4 percent of the cases. Children are present in 80 percent of shelter cases and represent 63 percent of their population. In follow-up interviews, 40 percent of project clients report that their children were in danger at the time of the instant incident, and similar numbers report that their children had been previously threatened with abuse or had been abused. Twenty-six percent of these respondents reported that their children had suffered some injury, the most frequent (68%) being bruises.

An examination of relationships between selected case characteristics revealed that presenting problems do not vary appreciably as a function of length of relationship, although service request is related to both presenting problem and length of relationship. Client strategy (service request) is potentially a function of relationship length and presenting problem: those victims in shorter relationships and in fear of danger or physically abused seek shelter, while those in longer relationships who are harassed or threatened seek counseling or (increasingly with duration of relationship) legal assistance, irrespective of severity of abuse.

The most frequently requested services were shelter, general information, counseling, and legal information referral. The two most common of these requests (shelter and general information) are very uncommon in combination, as are counseling and legal services. An analysis of service request pairs suggest alternative hypotheses concerning service options being selected as strategies by project clients. The counseling-legal dissociation represents a range of strategies for intervention based on maintaining or dissolving the relationship. Clients requesting either of these services can be categorized as exploring intervention strategies within the family structure. The shelter-general information dissociation represents a range of uncertainty regarding intervention. Whereas general information requests reflect a diffuse perception of the problem, shelter requests indicate a strong client preference for strong intervention.

Multivariate analyses of service requests were conducted to further understand client help-seeking behaviors, and to inform the development of a typology of client service requests and needs. Two separate analyses were undertaken, the first on a set of past and present help-seeking behaviors. A principal components analysis resulted in identification of two factors or type of client help-seeking behavior. The first factor indicates that current and prior help-seeking behavior dictates current service requests. The second component infers the role of past behavior (prior incidents of violence) and severity of injury.

The second principal components analysis identifies and prioritizes the client and case characteristics predictive of help-seeking behavior, as defined by use of police, medical, or other formal services. Severity of injury is the strongest predictor of help-seeking, a finding which underscores the importance of the preceding analysis, and which also agrees with prior research. Surprisingly, race is also a strong predictor, as is age, employment, and educational attainment. Thus, we can state that help-seeking varies according to social structural variables, with poorer, younger, non-whites being prior help-seekers and more affluent older whites being first-time help-seekers.

Finally, a cluster analysis of services offered resulted in identification of two factors representative of project service types. The first factor is dominated by "traditional" domestic violence services associated with shelters, with a weak negative presence of batterer counseling. The second factor is dominated by batterer counseling and criminal justice system-focused services. The second factor may be interpreted as representing the range of diversity in services attributable to the entrance of LEAA into the field.

CHAPTER 4. ANALYSIS AND CONCLUSIONS

The identification of factors descriptive of family violence cases and client characteristics provides important information for case assessment and decision-making, program intervention strategies, and outreach/public education activities. The importance of severity of injury and medical help-seeking suggests the importance of outreach via hospitals and other medical service providers, an activity which the LEAA projects have not widely undertaken. Age and length of relationship are also factors relevant for outreach and intervention strategies. The contribution of social structural variables to help-seeking behavior suggest that current outreach strategies reach those already in services programs. However, outreach strategies are needed which aim at middle-class, white, younger victims in shorter relationships. That clients approach projects with varying needs and strategies underscores the importance of case assessment methods which include prior help-seeking efforts and detailed histories of prior abuse and injuries.

The findings on children involvement in domestic violence as both victims and witnesses clarifies the need for services to children including outreach, assessment, and crisis intervention services. The variability in services for children across the 23 sites further identifies the need for research and program development activities focusing on children's needs. These efforts can significantly affect future violence if, as other research suggests, children in violent homes go on to become aggressive adolescents and violent adults.

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

The Family Violence Demonstration Program (hereafter called the Family Violence Program) is a major federal initiative launched in 1977 by the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration to develop programs and improve services to victims of domestic violence and their families. The national program has unfolded over a three-year period, beginning in FY 78 with grants and contracts awarded for demonstration projects as well as technical assistance, training conferences and curricula, and a national newsletter to support the grantees. The national evaluation began in 1978 under a grant from the National Institute of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention. This chapter briefly reviews the problem of family violence, provides an overview of the national program, and also reviews the national evaluation.

REVIEW OF THE PROBLEM

The Family Violence Program is the first coordinated federal response to domestic violence and reflects increased awareness and visibility of domestic violence as a problem of national importance. An earlier report of the national family violence evaluation documented the origins and impetus for the LEAA response.* Four major loci of activism were identified as central to both problem emergence and the development of the LEAA initiative:

- feminist involvement in recognizing domestic violence and urging development of new services and changes in legislation and institutional response;

*URSA Institute, National Family Violence Evaluation First Interim Report: History and Development (San Francisco: November, 1979).

- the criminal justice system's growing awareness of domestic violence, due in large part to previous LEAA-funded research and demonstration projects;
- changes in domestic violence legislation granting criminal court jurisdiction over "family" offenses (e.g., New York, California), strengthening restraining orders by criminalizing violations (e.g., Pennsylvania, Massachusetts), and eliminating the witness requirement in misdemeanor assaults and providing for warrantless arrest (e.g., Massachusetts); and
- judicial mandates resulting from class action lawsuits which require that domestic violence be treated as alleged criminal conduct with arrests made in appropriate cases.

In addition, other procedural, legislative and programmatic changes over the past decade have resulted in improved and expanded services to victims of domestic violence and their families. Changes have been sought in responses by social institutions including medical, legal, and social service agencies. While changes in services and remedies have received primary attention, other efforts have been aimed at prevention through community education campaigns to alter those social traditions, such as the right to privacy and the "sanctity of the family," that have impeded effective intervention.

This section presents a brief review of both recent empirical research on domestic violence and the theoretical underpinnings of the Family Violence Program. Three topics are discussed: epidemiological research, criminal justice system responses, and legislative and statutory remedies for victims. Each topic represents a major policy focus of the LEAA initiative and a central area of inquiry for the national evaluation.

Incidence and Prevalence

Despite extensive activity to bring about changes in institutional responses and societal attitudes toward domestic violence, surprisingly few studies have attempted to estimate the parameters of domestic violence and spousal assault. Moreover, little data or information is available to weigh the relative effectiveness and consequences of various interventions.¹

During the mid-1970s, several studies documented the incidence and prevalence of domestic violence. These epidemiological studies^{2,3,4,5,6,7,8}

estimated that approximately 1.8 million women were being beaten annually by their husbands (or male partners in unmarried couples). In one large survey, 28% of the respondents reported spousal assault;⁹ a study conducted in Spokane County, Washington, placed that figure at 28%;¹⁰ and a telephone survey of 1,793 Kentucky women estimated the overall abuse rate at 21%.¹¹ Another study of women in the southwestern part of Pennsylvania found that 35% of the women randomly selected from various neighborhoods in this area had experienced some violence from their husbands.¹² Thus, the limited data on prevalence of spousal assault in the general population consistently show the phenomenon in at least one-fifth of all American couples.

Two cautions must be kept in mind in interpreting these statistics, however. First, most of the research considers any violence (from slapping or hitting through attempted murder) as spousal violence.¹³ Less than 15% of the couples in a national survey discussed earlier had "beaten one another up" or participated in more extreme forms of violence.¹⁴ However, it also appears that couples who are violent tend to be quite violent, while others are mildly violent on rare occasions or never violent.^{15,16} A second consideration discussed in many of these same studies is that these general statistics on the prevalence of spousal assault underreport the actual incidence of physical violence among couples. Many studies look only at married couples and, therefore, fail to account for divorced or separated couples who are currently experiencing violence or have in the past. Single people or remarried persons who were victims of violence in previous marriages or relationships are also omitted. As a result, according to one researcher, the actual percentage of couples with some violence in their relationship may be 50-60% of all couples.¹⁷

Other data portray a battering family with more than one victim of violence. Recent findings of the American Humane Association's national child abuse study show that in at least one in four reported child abuse incidents, there is some evidence of spousal assault as well.¹⁸ Although the data are inexact and based on non-random samples, evidence is emerging that sibling violence, sexual assault of children, and retaliatory violence (violence committed by domestic violence victims in retaliation to physical abuse) frequently occur.¹⁹

Studies of the potential impacts of domestic violence on children point to some alarming trends. One study has determined that violence as a problem-resolution method is learned, and that one does not necessarily have to be rewarded for violent behavior in order to learn it.²⁰ Recent research has identified a correlation between violent childhood experiences and experience as an adult of either being victimized or becoming an abuser.²¹ Based on previous research, we can conclude that children in violent homes are at risk either for victimization or for learning violent behavioral patterns that emerge in adulthood.

Violence in the family may be lethal to participants or to intervening police officers. Nearly 10,000 homicides occur each year among family members, with one-half being husband-wife killings.²² A 1977 Police Foundation study showed that in 85% of Kansas City homicides, police had responded to previous domestic disturbance calls at the address of the suspect or victim, and to five or more previous calls in half the cases.²³ Given the potential danger and injury that may accrue from an uninterrupted series of increasingly violent incidents, strong arguments can be made for effective and early intervention in domestic violence cases to protect the victim and provide family treatment.

An important source of information about domestic violence is derived from reports to police and police documentation of domestic disturbance calls. As noted above, these cases have, to date, been characteristically under-reported. National Crime Survey data from 1973-76 reveal that nearly 55% of all incidents of violence between intimates go unreported.²⁴ (These incidents included numerous disputes between estranged couples and/or disputes between adults and minors who were non-strangers.) The Kentucky survey found that only one in ten abused women ever called the police.²⁵ Child abuse reporting statutes mandate certain agencies to report suspected child abuse and neglect cases. In the instance of family violence, reports are usually not mandated,* and if reported to police, are reported in several categories. Most calls involving family violence are not recorded as

*The states of Michigan and Washington now mandate reports to law enforcement of domestic violence against spouses.

crimes and are reported as family fights or domestic disturbances. Even in the instance of more serious incidents, several categories--including for similar offenses, felonies or misdemeanors--are used. Also, most police record-keeping systems fail to distinguish stranger from non-stranger cases.

Because of these problems in reporting, patterns of victim and assailant characteristics are difficult to identify. The major epidemiological studies to date show that abused women come from diverse class, racial, ethnic, and socioeconomic backgrounds.^{26,27,28} Some are employed; many are socially isolated. Most women have at least one child. Spousal violence was reported in one study to be most common among young families with several children and in another, among non-white younger, urban families. Although alcohol abuse by assailants is present in many cases, there is no data to support alcohol abuse as any more than a correlate of domestic violence.

An increasing amount of research on spouse abuse has focused on the psychosocial characteristics of victims and their assailants and the nature of their relationships.^{29,30,31,32,33} This research has identified a number of correlates of violent behavior in the home, such as alcohol abuse, generational patterns, economic and other types of stress, particular types of power relationships in the couple, and poor sexual relationships. These factors are discussed later in this report in the context of the data reported here.

In spite of the growing number of studies of spousal violence, we still have a limited ability, at best, to articulate and test treatment models. The dynamics of battering are complex and difficult to measure and study. For example, generational theory dictates that children who are victimized or who witness spousal assault will become batterers or battering victims as adults. Yet, we know that this does not always happen. Thus, the complex interaction of individual, situational, and environmental factors involved in the battering phenomenon has frustrated the development of treatment technology.

Statutory and Legislative Provisions and the Criminal Justice System Response

Legal scholars and social researchers have failed to date to reach a consensus on the optimal role of the legal system in domestic violence situations. The writing and the application of the law become ambiguous when the parties involved are family members.³⁴ These situations inevitably involve conflicts between constitutional guarantees of privacy on the one hand and equal protection on the other. However, the trend has been toward more protection for the assaulted individual. Recent nationwide legislative changes have enabled victims to obtain temporary protection orders (TOPs) through family, civil or criminal courts. Although the rules may differ from state to state, the issuance of a protection order may require any or all of the following:

- petitioner must be represented by an attorney
- petitioner and respondent must be spouses, not merely cohabitants
- petitioner must have a divorce action pending
- petitioner must file a criminal complaint
- "immediate and present danger of abuse" must be shown

Many police officers regard the temporary orders as lacking "teeth" and generally ineffective as deterrents to continued spousal abuse.³⁵ However, numerous states have recently passed legislative initiatives to strengthen TOPs by increasing the penalties for violation. In Massachusetts and Pennsylvania, for example, violation of a protection order is a misdemeanor punishable by arrest and fine and/or imprisonment. In New York, violation of an order issued by the Family Court is civil contempt, punishable by fine and/or imprisonment. Police response to alleged violations was reviewed in a recent class action suit, which ordered police to make arrests upon an allegation by a plaintiff of a violation.³⁶

Other legislation, passed in some states, limits police discretion in using alternatives to arrest and clearly spells out the conditions for arrest. Designed to increase the use of arrest and to expand the number of situations where arrest can be made for spousal assault, these laws also grant criminal court jurisdiction to these cases and assign felony status to certain spousal assaults. The following are examples of these provisions:

- warrantless arrest for misdemeanor spouse assault (waiver of requirement for police witnessing of incident or filing of complaint);
- mandatory arrest for violation of restraining or protection orders;
- mandatory arrest and/or sentences for repeating offenders or repeat violators;
- concurrent jurisdiction of civil and criminal courts;
- mandatory arrest for felony spousal assault; and
- creation of new or special penal code section or crime category defining spouse assault as misdemeanor or felony.

These legislative changes and the statutory options they allow are becoming a major determinant of the institutional response to spouse abuse. However, traditional attitudes (e.g., that the family is sacrosanct) and intrinsic reward systems (e.g., police emphasis is on street crime) combine to create police resistance to requests for assistance from battered women. Repeated calls to the same address and victim reluctance to prosecute reinforce these attitudes in the police. Trained to apply broad discretion in handling these cases, officers are now confronted with these new laws which limit their options and may require arrest. However, some degree of discretionary decision-making still characterizes the police response in most states.

Police discretion begins with three police decisions: to intervene, to report a domestic disturbance as an official "crime," and to make an arrest. In deciding to make an arrest, police officers may apply strict legal criteria (e.g., an arrest for a misdemeanor cannot be made without witnessing the incident), but they usually intervene only in the event of severe injury. Often only cases that can stand as felonies result in an arrest.³⁷

Prosecutors, too, have broad discretion in these cases. Their options include both formal and informal mechanisms to resolve the dispute without bringing it to trial. Shelters and other support systems provide non-legal options for active intervention in family violence. When legal action is sought and convictions obtained, the sentencing discretion of the judge may result in minimal punishment--usually a promise on the part of the defendant not to repeat the assault. However, barriers to the prosecution of these cases remain formidable: intransigent attitudes, scarce resources, organizational constraints, and victim reluctance to prosecute.³⁸

In discussing the problems of criminal justice agencies attempting to intervene in domestic violence, several researchers have made specific recommendations. Citing the statutory, procedural, and political barriers that often interact as strong disincentives to the pursuit of criminal prosecution,³⁹ Parnas prescribes diversionary alternatives, such as mediation and conflict resolution techniques.⁴⁰ Others recommend reliance on civil remedies,⁴¹ including the award of damages in conjunction with immediate protections of the criminal justice system.⁴² Lazlo and McKean recommend the use of programs similar to LEAA's Neighborhood Justice Centers.⁴³

Summary

Several critical issues comprise the theoretical underpinnings of the LEAA Family Violence Demonstration Program, centering on the application of criminal and civil law protections and legal sanctions against assailants. Most important is the assumption that the traditionally held view of the family as a private realm immune from state intervention does not apply when crimes are committed between family members. That is, the right to privacy for the family does not supercede the individual's right to equal protection under the law when an act of violence has been committed. Within this perspective, application of criminal statutes and procedures in these cases should be implemented in cases where the disputants are family members. Also, civil remedies such as temporary orders of protection should also be available as an option in instances where a family member has endangered or abused another family member.

Statutory reform and judicial decrees have facilitated an increased emphasis on arrest and formal intervention by police in spousal assault cases. The options available to police are largely dictated by statute, and recent reforms have substantially changed the definitions, procedures, and criteria governing arrest in family violence cases. However, the application and enforcement of these remedies will depend on training programs and other reforms within police agencies. Prosecutors, too, have struggled to improve the prosecutorial response; but there remain numerous obstacles. The development of treatment resources and sentencing alternatives provides

greater incentive and discretionary options to prosecutors presented with spousal assaults.

Research and evaluative data on victims and assailants in domestic violence is still in its earliest stages. Much information generated to date has contributed toward theory construction and hypothesis-building, through expansion of the epidemiological data base and clinical reports. A few treatment paradigms have been developed and are currently being tested.

REVIEW OF FEDERAL SUPPORT TO THE FAMILY VIOLENCE PROGRAM

Federal support to the Family Violence Program, provided by the Office of Criminal Justice Programs of LEAA, has been of two types:

- discretionary action grants to public agencies and private nonprofit organizations to develop demonstration programs, and
- technical assistance grants and contracts to several organizations to generate activities and publications supportive of action grantee efforts and services in domestic violence.

In addition, OCJP developed a national goals statement and a background paper that established the legal and theoretical underpinnings of the national program. These documents served as the conceptual foundation for the national program and, as evidenced in the first national evaluation report,³² exerted considerable influence on project tactics and organizational development. Each of these three types of federal input is described below.

Action Grants

In FY 1978, the Special Programs Division of the Office of Criminal Justice Programs (OCJP) of LEAA awarded six grants under its ongoing Victim-Witness Assistance Program to develop programs and services for victims of domestic violence. Grants were awarded to four projects serving victims of spousal assault and two projects serving victims of child sexual assault and their families. Prior to FY 79, OCJP decided to develop a special program initiative specifically to address family violence, setting forth guidelines for an expanded federal demonstration program. Eleven new grantees and five of

the six FY 78 grantees were funded under the Family Violence Program in FY 79. In FY 80, nine additional grants were awarded under this program.

TABLE 1.1
OCJP Funds for Family Violence Grants

<u>Year</u>	<u>Funds</u>
FY 78	\$ 400,000
FY 79	2,100,000
FY 80	2,500,000
Total	\$ 5,000,000

In sum, demonstration grants totaling \$3.0 million have been awarded to 25 agencies and organizations over a three-year period.

Federally Sponsored Technical Assistance

Technical assistance to the grantees has been provided during this period by the Center for Women Policy Studies (CWPS). CWPS also publishes a newsletter and maintains the National Clearinghouse on Domestic Violence. These activities were supported initially by LEAA (OCJP) and later by both OCJP and the Office on Domestic Violence of the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services.

OCJP has also funded efforts to support and improve the response of criminal justice system agencies in each project jurisdiction. A conference was held in Memphis, Tennessee, in September 1978, to discuss the role of the prosecutor in spouse assault cases. Jointly sponsored by CWPS and the National District Attorney's Association, the conference was attended by prosecuting attorneys from each of the family violence project sites as well as representatives from victim-witness and dispute resolution programs. The conference had two major objectives: (1) to develop a consensus on strategies for prosecutorial management of domestic assault cases and (2) to exchange information on strategies and tactics for prosecutorial handling of the cases.

The conference results were reported in The Victim Advocate.⁴⁴ While reaffirming the LEAA premise that spousal assault is a crime and should receive the same treatment as other offenses, participants recognized that factors intrinsic to these cases often make prosecution difficult. In addition, attitudinal barriers among justice system staff often impede effective prosecution. The result is a reliance by prosecutors on a range of responses: filing of charges; diversion; victim support services; and referrals for services, including mediation, social services, and civil court remedies.

OCJP also supported the development of standards and guidelines for improved law enforcement handling of domestic violence cases. A grant to the Police Executive Research Forum resulted in a research monograph on current practices, the legal and traditional underpinnings of those practices, and documentation of recent advances in police handling of cases.⁴⁵ Focusing on domestic disturbances involving the threat or use of violence, the study included three phases: a study of the incidence and prevalence of domestic assaults and current police responses; field and survey research of 17 police agencies and 130 officers at the family violence project sites to examine policies and procedures for handling "violent" domestic disturbances; and the development of proposed policies and procedures ratified by a peer review panel of 20 criminal justice and social service professionals.

The research confirmed several previous studies of police intervention in domestic disputes. The study is critical of "alternative" police responses such as crisis intervention and reconciliation of the parties. Officers cited impediments to effective intervention, including poor training, ambiguous departmental policies, and a lack of incentives to devote more time and attention to spouse abuse cases. The researchers suggested that policies be developed to "impose sensible limits and structure on the range of available police intervention practices for these calls."⁴⁶ The report recommends increased arrests in felony spouse assault cases and in some misdemeanor assaults. Although these procedures seem contrary to the traditionally broad discretion of police officers, the designation of specific dispositions for specific types of cases is regarded as necessary given the

indiscriminate use of informal and largely ineffective "adjustments" for these potentially lethal situations.⁴⁷

OCJP has also taken steps to improve institutional responses to child sexual assault cases in 14 family violence project sites. A grant was awarded to the Sexual Assault Center of Harborview Medical Center in Seattle, Washington, to conduct community training conferences in case management and criminal justice system response to these cases. At the 14 family violence projects emphasizing spousal assault, SAC staff conducted one-day conferences of prosecutors, police administrators, and medical and social service agency staffs to discuss methods for adaptation of the technology developed under the SAC family violence grant.

Other OCJP-supported efforts have included technical assistance at project sites to develop treatment programs for batterers and conferences to foster linkages between the projects and clergy. In addition, over the past 18 months, OCJP has convened the grantees for three "cluster conferences" to exchange information and data on project service delivery and organizational development as well as to receive further technical assistance from CWPS. Finally, OCJP awarded a grant to the National Home Economics Association to generate public education materials to support local grantee efforts in altering attitudes toward domestic violence.

National Program Goals

The original six and, later, the 25 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.⁴⁸

The theoretical assumptions underlying the national program goals have been operationalized into local project objectives which specify, first, improved and coordinated responses among legal, social service and medical agencies and second, expanded intervention by justice system agencies. These objectives, aggregated across the grantees, include the following:

- increased arrest, decreased use of informal or alternative dispositions by police in spouse abuse cases
- increased use and enforcement of civil remedies
- increased use of remedial early intervention and diversion in lieu of arrest and formal adjudication
- provision of protective services to victims
- increased use of support services and social service assistance
- increased prosecutorial involvement and threat/use of sanctions against batterers
- increased prosecutions for "serious" and repeat spousal assaults and other crimes committed within families

The national evaluation will measure and document at the national level the efforts and achievements of the grantees to achieve these objectives, and the impact of these interventions on victims and their families.

THE NATIONAL EVALUATION OF THE FAMILY VIOLENCE PROGRAM

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 several operational and organizational dimensions, type and combination of services, embedding environments, and client characteristics. Thus, the Family Violence 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 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, inci-

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

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

Components

Three major data-gathering and analysis components have been designed to attain the evaluation goals:

- (1) an analysis of the history and development of each project;
- (2) a process study; and
- (3) 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. The first report focused on a cross-site discussion of the origins of the national program and the projects, the variation in service approaches, and projects' experiences in operationalizing their service components. A discussion of project structural features --how they are organized to deliver services (e.g., subcontracting approaches, organizational affiliation)--and a comprehensive description of services provided across-site are included in the first report. In addition, the report summarized the immediate consequences or effects of project implementation in each community as observed in civil courts, criminal justice agencies, and social service systems. The report also discussed the barriers encountered by projects in attaining LEAA program goals, and issues in measurement and their implications for evaluation of project effects were described.

Process Evaluation. There are two components in the Process Evaluation: qualitative analyses of project services and approaches, and quantitative

FIGURE 1
FAMILY VIOLENCE EVALUATION ANALYSIS FRAMEWORK

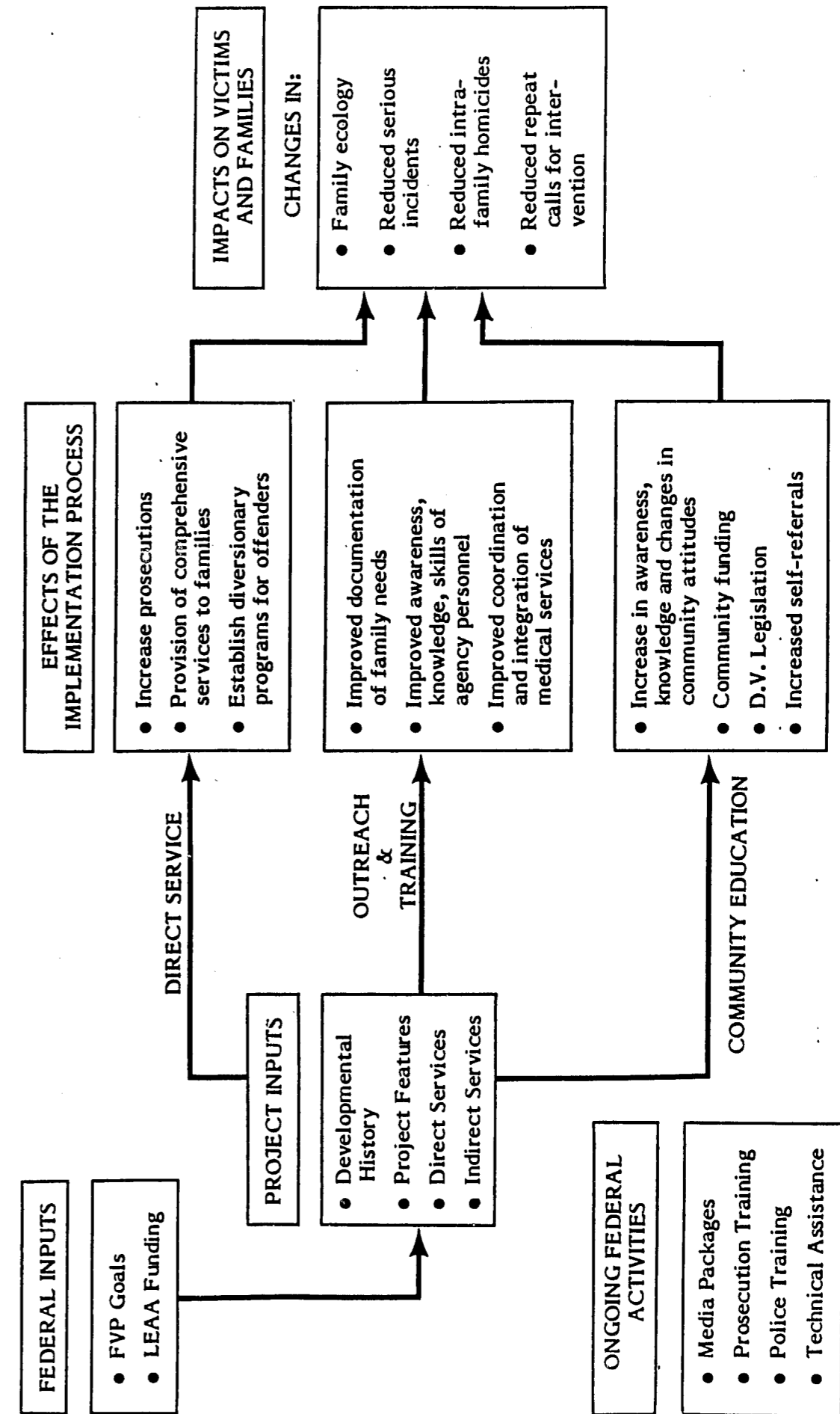
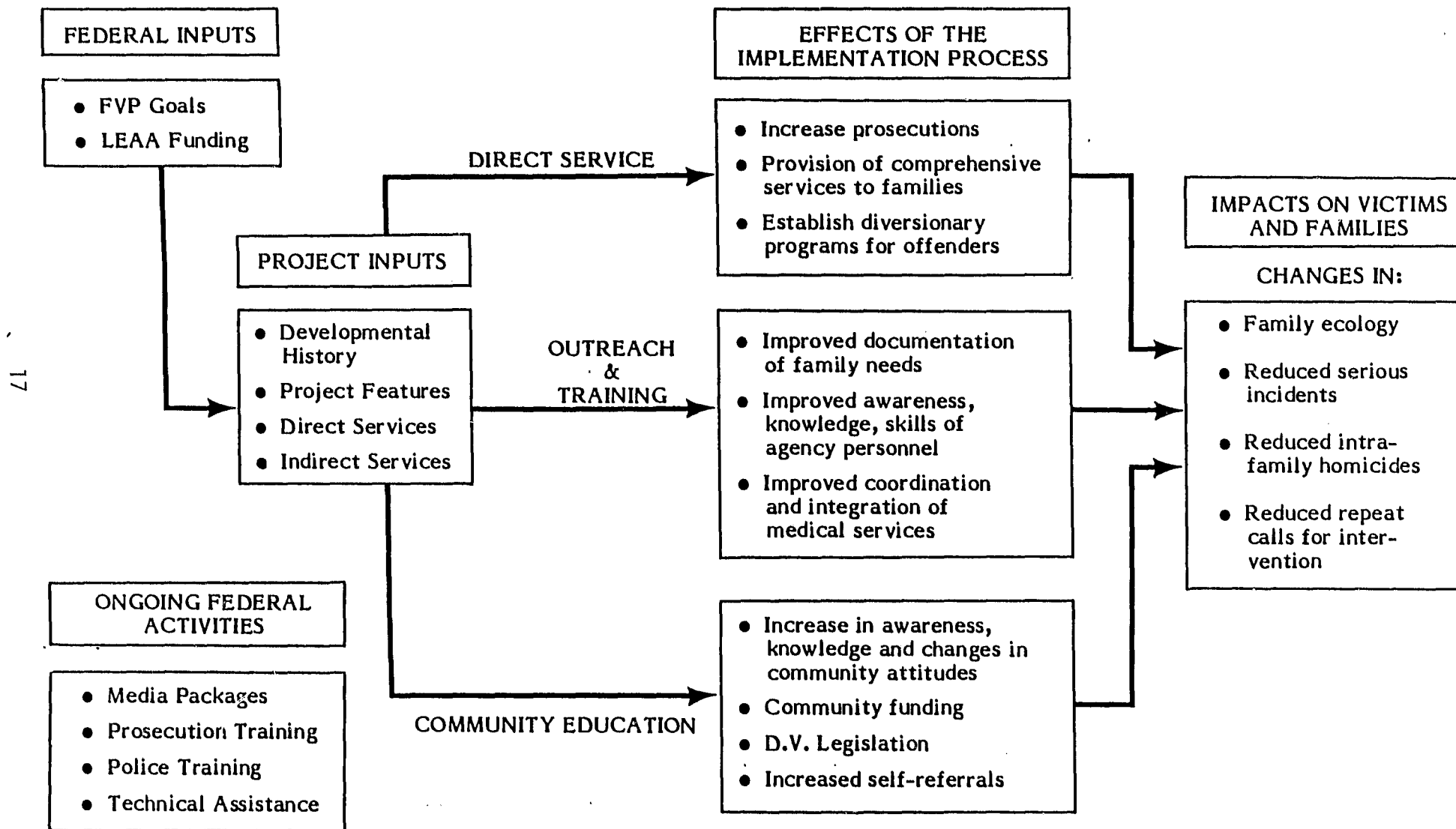


FIGURE 1
FAMILY VIOLENCE EVALUATION ANALYSIS FRAMEWORK



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data to measure and describe program inputs. This report features quantitative descriptive assessments of client characteristics, project services, and services through referral to other agencies, including civil court and criminal justice agencies. Documentation and measurement of project operations and approaches will be included as input variables for inclusion in subsequent impact analyses.

Impact Study. In the final report, 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. 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 PROCESS EVALUATION

The Process Evaluation is the second in a series of three analytic reports, and includes three major components. First, to describe project efforts to alter institutional responses to domestic violence, the report presents descriptive and quantitative data on project characteristics, inputs, and intervention (direct and indirect service) approaches. Second, to describe project efforts to attain national program goals regarding client impacts (i.e., reducing repeat calls for service and repeat "serious" intra-family assaults and homicides), the report presents quantitative data on case characteristics and services provided. Data are also included on legal, medical, and social service interventions. Third, the report identifies key analytic dimensions that distinguish projects from one another in terms of project characteristics, case characteristics, and service emphases. Derived from a data reduction task, these dimensions will serve as components of the independent (or treatment) variable in subsequent client impact analyses.

Rationale and Objectives

From the implementation process and the developmental phase of the demonstration program there emerged a cohort of projects that vary extensively along several dimensions of project structure, operation, and direct and indirect services. While the national demonstration will thus provide information over a wide perspective on efforts to alter institutional responses and impact on violent families, the absence of an experimental model and the variability in structure and operation of the demonstration projects complicate potential analyses of the efficacy of any single project or approach. In other words, there is no single "treatment" variable which could account for variations in client impact.

Each site displays interactive effects among various project characteristics as well as effects of local environments and contextual factors on project structures (e.g., the effects of a prosecutor's office on a special prosecution unit and, ultimately, on case outcomes). In addition, project clients and cases will vary widely in family backgrounds, relationship and abuse histories, and service needs. It is likely that individual projects will serve more than one "type" of client, and that several classes of clients will receive services across sites.

As a result, several variables are necessary to describe project and case characteristics. The relationships and interactions among these variables and their contributions to system change and client impact are central evaluation questions. There is also a need to reduce the extensive data base to a manageable and representative subset of project and client descriptors for use of inputs in analyses of client and system impacts.

The Process Evaluation will, therefore, serve two major purposes. First, it provides quantitative data along each of the critical measured dimensions of project and case characteristics to permit identification, description, and differentiation of projects and services. Second, it reduces these data to identify the principal component variables for use in subsequent impact analyses. These principal components, or analytic dimensions, serve first as descriptors of each project and will be tested for their contributions to varying client outcomes in the national sample. In addition, these components will represent specific aspects of an interven-

tion approach and will function as the units of analysis for comparisons in client outcomes across projects. Given inter-project variability, this analysis will yield policy-relevant information on the effects of discrete project features, rather than complex project models.

The specific objectives of the Process Evaluation are to:

- provide quantitative data and information to describe federal inputs and project resources, plus project and client characteristics at each demonstration site;
- measure and describe project direct and indirect services for achievement of system change and client impact goals;
- analytically identify salient principal components that represent domains of project and client characteristics, project sites, and project clusters, to serve as predictive variables in analyses of system and client impacts; and
- empirically define intervention models being tested and make recommendations regarding central and replicable elements of models under examination.

Methods

Data for this report were obtained primarily from the Program Monitoring System, the management information system from the national evaluation. Other data were gathered from site visit reports and key actor interviews at 23 domestic violence sites,⁴⁹ and from reviews of project grant applications and quarterly/annual reports.

Program Monitoring System. Providing data to describe and measure project input, the PMS is comprised of the Program Management Information System (PMIS) and the Case Management Information System (CMIS). The PMIS generates data on project staffing and organization, shifts in goals and objectives, indirect services (training, outreach, services coordination) and other project activities and resources. The CMIS generates information on case characteristics, direct services, and institutional responses. Case characteristics include client and family demographics, socioeconomic factors, family configuration, abuse history, current incident, and relationship history. Direct services include information and referral contacts, telephone counseling, shelter services, counseling and advocacy, diversion services, prosecutorial support, and other client support services. Insti-

tutional responses include interventions by medical, social service, criminal justice, and civil court agencies. In subsequent reports, CMIS data will include short-term outcomes of project and system interventions.

Key Actor Interviews. Data on project and community characteristics were gathered from interviews with project directors, project staff, and staff/administrators of criminal justice and social service agencies. These interviews were conducted several times over an 18-month period, both on-site and via telephone. For this report, data on project and community characteristics, legislation, and service/intervention approaches were gathered from field notes, site visit reports, and other evaluation and project documentation. This information was coded for purposes of describing and analyzing project descriptors.

Review of Grant Applications and Quarterly Reports. These sources provided data on costs and resource expenditures; information on critical events, community responses to the project and to the issue of domestic violence, and other contextual information was also gathered from these sources. Finally, shifts in project service emphasis, goals and objectives, or organizational structure and auspice were gleaned from the projects' internal documentation and external reporting.

Data Flow. Several units of analysis are used in this report:

- project clients,
- the instant incident that caused the client to contact the project,
- services requested and delivered, and
- the individual project.

The source of information concerning project clients and instant incidents is the Initial Assessment (IA), a six-page, precoded form intended to be completed for each potential client. (Additional detail on the IA is presented in the first section of the chapter concerning case characteristics.) Each IA is manually edited by UI research staff, checking for completeness, consistency and "sense." Where questions arose in any of these areas, family violence projects were contacted in attempts to rectify apparent deficiencies. The source of information concerning services delivered is the Client Services and Advocacy Log (S/A), which compiles in-

formation about services provided to each client/family. These include services provided directly to families as well as services provided on referral to another agency or project. Each S/A is manually edited by UI research staff, again checking for completeness, consistency and "sense." Data from IAs and S/As are then transferred to magnetic tape for computer processing.

Data elements descriptive of projects' structures and operations are generated through aggregation from site visit reports, interviews, and program documentation. Modal case characteristics are also incorporated into this data file as descriptive of project "inputs."

Report Structure

Chapter 2 of this report reviews project characteristics and embedding environments of the demonstration projects. These domains are the structural, environmental, and programmatic variables to be used in subsequent analyses of system and client impact.

Chapter 3 presents case characteristics and project services. National data (pooled), project comparisons, and weighted project comparisons are presented to provide comparative data on which types of projects serve which client populations.

Chapter 4 presents the results of the principal components analysis, which identifies salient project and case characteristics for subsequent impact analyses.

Chapter 5 concludes with findings and policy/programmatic recommendations based on the Process Evaluation results.

NOTES

1. Nancy Loving, in Responding to Spouse Abuse and Wife Beating (Washington, D.C.: Police Executive Research Forum, 1980), reminds us that "it is helpful to realize that societal response to spousal violence problems is embryonic and that no social institution has yet developed effective or adequate procedures for handling them . . . Already, LEAA, ACTION, SCA, and NIAAA are federal agencies funding demonstration grants to test various approaches to reducing domestic violence." In FY 1980, ODV will fund

demonstration projects to improve service coordination for victims of domestic violence.

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6. Murray A. Straus, "The CRT Scales for Measuring Conflict in Families," paper presented at the 1976 meeting of the National Council on Family Relations.

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10. Anna Kuhl, Unpublished doctoral dissertation (Washington State Univ.).

11. Mark Shulman, A Survey of Spousal Violence Against Women in Kentucky (Frankfort, Kent.: Kent. Comm. on Women, 1979).

12. Irene H. Frieze, Jaime Knoble, Carol Washburn, and Gretchen Zomnir. "Characteristics of Battered Women and their Marriages." Final Report to the National Institutes of Mental Health. University of Pittsburgh, 1980.

13. Irene H. Frieze, Jaime Knoble, Gretchen Zomnir, and Carol Washburn, "Types of battered women." Paper presented at the annual research conference of the Association for Women in Psychology, Santa Monica, California, March 1980.

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15. Ibid.

16. Frieze, Knoble, Washburn, and Zomnir, "Characteristics of battered women and their marriages."

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18. National Incidence Study on Child Abuse and Neglect Reporting (Denver: American Humane Association, 1979).

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21. Del Martin, Battered Wives (San Francisco, Glide, 1976).

22. Intimate Victims: A Study of Violence Among Friends and Relatives (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Dept. of Justice, January 1980).

23. G. Marie Wilt et al., Domestic Violence and the Police: Studies in Detroit and Kansas City (Washington, D.C.: Police Foundation, 1977).

24. Intimate Victims.

25. Shulman, A Survey of Spousal Violence Against Women in Kentucky.

26. Gelles, Straus, and Steinmetz, Family Violence.

27. Shulman, A Survey of Spousal Violence Against Women in Kentucky.

28. Straus, Gelles, and Steinmetz, Behind Closed Doors.

29. Frieze, Knoble, Washburn, and Zomnir, "Characteristics of Battered Women and their Marriages."

30. E. Hilberman and K. Munson, "Sixty Battered Women," Victimology, 1978, 2, 460-471.

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32. Maria Roy, "A Current Survey of 150 Cases," in Maria Roy, ed., Battered Women.

33. Lenore E. Walker, The Battered Woman (New York: Harper & Row, 1979).

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35. Loving, Responding to Spouse Abuse and Wife Beating.

36. Bruno v. Codd, New York Supreme Court Index #21946176.

37. URSA Institute, First Interim Report: History and Development.

38. Ibid.

39. Raymond I. Parnas, "The Relevance of Criminal Law to Inter-Spousal Violence," in Eckalaar and Katz, eds., Family Violence.

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43. Anna Lazlo and Thomas McKean, "Court Diversion: An Alternative for Spousal Abuse Cases," in Battered Women: Issues in Public Policy (Washington, D.C.: USCCR, 1978).

44. National District Attorney's Association (Chicago: 1978).

45. Loving, Responding to Spouse Abuse and Wife Beating.

46. Ibid.

47. Ibid.

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

49. Two of the 25 projects focus on child sexual assault and are being evaluated separately. The evaluation design for these projects is structured similarly to the approach described herein, and parallel reports will be issued.

2. FAMILY VIOLENCE PROJECT CHARACTERISTICS

The URSA First Interim Report identified and described qualitatively the structural and service features of the first 14 family violence projects. This chapter presents a quantitative review of these and some additional characteristics of both the original 14 projects and the nine projects added during the FY 80 funding cycle.

This chapter is divided into three sections. The first section focuses on project service components, describing the array of direct and indirect services provided across the 23 projects. The second section, on the legislative and statutory contexts in which projects operate, reviews the civil and criminal legislation that provides various remedies for victims and for intervening criminal justice agencies. The final section analyzes patterns of resource utilization--including budget and staff--within the national program.*

*In many of the displays contained in this report, associations among variables are represented and discussed in accompanying narrative. Whether simple bivariate cross tabulations or slightly more complex multivariate procedures are involved, the reader may question the lack of tests of statistical significance. These current analyses are exploratory in nature, and statistical tests of significance are inappropriate and potentially misleading. The adoption of this convention is dictated by the following thoughts:

"Thus, our main thesis is that statistical tests are out of order if we do not have a sample. (p. 364)

... if all findings are tested, then we shall frequently commit errors of type I, and if the findings are generated by a systematic search procedure that takes prior findings into account the level of significance will not generally be constant." (p. 387) (Galtung, J. Theory and Methods of Social Research, Oslo, Universitetsforlaget: 1967)

SERVICES

Direct Services

The First Interim Report described the service delivery, indirect service, and intervention approaches of the 14 projects. The descriptions were generated from ethnographic data and site visit reports during the first project year. This chapter presents elaborations on those descriptions, summarizing the treatment and interventions as operationalized during the second year in 23 family violence projects. Distributions of the services are also presented.

The family violence projects offer 11 types of direct services. Table 2.1 provides a summary of the extent to which each is provided in the national sample. The percentages indicate the frequency of each service in the 23 projects. The services provided by the greatest number of projects are information and referral; advocacy, non-legal (e.g., assistance with social service and community agencies); and advocacy, legal/non-formal (e.g., assistance with civil and/or criminal remedies provided by non-attorney project staff). Mediation is the service provided by the fewest number of projects. Almost half of the 23 projects offer diversion counseling, a service only recently available to domestic violence participants. The remaining services--shelter; childcare; advocacy, legal/formal; and transportation--are provided by slightly more than half of the projects.

TABLE 2.1
Direct Services Summary

<u>Service</u>	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Shelter	12	52
Childcare	13	57
Information & Referral	23	100
Advocacy: Non-legal	19	83
Advocacy: Legal/ Non-formal	21	91
Advocacy: Legal/Formal	12	52
Crisis Intervention	16	70
Counseling	16	70
Diversion Counseling	10	43
Mediation	2	09
Transportation	13	57

Shelter. Twelve of the 23 family violence projects provide shelter services. 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 projects 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. Programmatically, shelters attempt to help women restore and rebuild the self-esteem and self-worth often diminished by continuous physical abuse.

Children's Services. Some services to children, though limited in most projects, are provided by all 12 shelter projects (see Table 2.2). Only one of the non-shelter projects offers supervision/babysitting services while adult clients attend mediation sessions, appear in court or meet with project staff.¹ Children's services across shelter projects include the provision of room and board, supervision and babysitting. Six projects feature parenting instruction, and four projects offer children a more formalized daycare program.

The shelter project offering the most elaborate set of services to children allocates three staff members to this task. The children of shelter residents participate in structured recreational activities, including visits to the park and the zoo, etc. Staff counsel children experiencing less severe emotional difficulties and refer children with more severe problems to a Child Protective Services worker, with whom project staff work closely. The childcare coordinator in this project organized a committee consisting of project staff, CPS staff and local children's hospital staff. The committee coordinates community services relevant to children from families involved in domestic violence. Project staff also work with shelter residents--the mothers of these children--to help them develop parenting skills and noncorporeal disciplinary methods.

TABLE 2.2
Childcare Services

<u>Services Offered</u>	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Yes	13	57
No	<u>10</u>	43
Total	23	
<u>Type</u>		
Supervision/Babysitting	13	100
Parenting Instruction	6	46
Daycare	<u>4</u>	31
Total	23	

Staff at several shelter sites have discussed childcare issues with UI staff. One critical issue emanated from early definitions of the client. Clients were defined across sites as adult "victims," "assailants," or "victims and assailants." No project identified or targeted primarily children as client recipients of services. Those projects that considered the needs of children planned for and initially implemented supervisory services almost exclusively. As greater numbers of clients and children received project services, it became apparent to staff that clients' children were frequently experiencing considerable and painful difficulties. According to one respondent, children's problems appeared associated with involvement in crisis (e.g., the unsettling experience of removal from a familiar to an unfamiliar living situation) and with their experiences as observers and/or victims of parental violence.

Staff observations identified yet other issues, such as clients' deficiencies in parenting skills, particularly the sanctioning (i.e., punishment) of children. A third and especially sensitive concern was observed or suspected client abuse of children.

Shelter projects have addressed such child-related issues, where they have been raised, in both systematic and nonsystematic ways. Intra-project or through-referral child-directed treatment was created or expanded at some sites. As Table 2.2 reveals, services in addition to supervision now include specialized counseling for mothers and children, both individually and jointly, and parenting classes. UI staff were told that creation and expansion of child-oriented services is of great concern in several shelter projects, though budgetary constraints have been a constant source of frustration to the staff involved.

Nonsystematic, though critical, assistance to children has also been provided. Project staff have testified in court and worked with CPS and welfare agencies to assist clients involved in custody cases. In some of these instances, child abuse was an issue.

Non-shelter projects--civil action, criminal action and service coordination projects--have been less likely to detect child-related domestic violence issues, due, no doubt, to their limited direct access to children and

also to the reluctance of adult clients to reveal or discuss the impact of parental violence on their children.

Information and Referral. All 23 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.

Advocacy. The connotation of the term "advocacy" varies 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 service 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 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 responsive-

ness to the needs of clients and request changes in documentation or case-processing procedures.

Advocacy: Non-Legal. Nineteen of the 23 projects provide some type of non-legal advocacy assistance to clients. All of these projects set up appointments and offer clients referral help. Other forms of non-legal advocacy include accompanying clients in their dealings with agency and community officials and providing transportation to or from the settings in which interaction occurs.

Advocacy: Legal. Most projects provide some form of legal assistance to clients. Such assistance may be provided along with other forms of "I&R." Such assistance may include:

- Legal counseling and advocacy. Such assistance involves 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 of 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.

The legal advocacy offered by family violence projects may be further categorized as "formal" or "non-formal," depending on the characteristics and qualifications of staff performing the services.

Non-formal legal assistance is rendered by paralegals, law students and other paid and nonpaid staff knowledgeable in justice procedures. Nearly all (21) projects provide clients with this type of assistance, the most common form involving referrals and setting up appointments for clients--usually by phone--with criminal or civil justice personnel. Clients are

also provided with procedural information relevant to the type of justice system involvement. In-person court accompaniment by staff occurs in civil court matters-- including divorce, restraining orders and child custody cases--and in criminal matters, including prosecution and violation of restraining orders.

Formal legal assistance is available through 12 projects in the form of attorneys' services. Attorneys provide legal advice and/or representation in appropriate civil and criminal court matters.

Special prosecutors are a feature of two projects.² Attorneys performing this role prosecute domestic violence cases in courts within a project target area, train paralegal and law student volunteers, and develop linkages with probation officers, law enforcement agencies, judges, court clerks and other assistant district attorneys. They also determine which cases are more and less amenable to prosecution, advise clients on the advisability of pursuing prosecution, and support clients who decide to pursue this option.

Crisis Intervention. "Crisis intervention" designates a variety of activities across sites, which 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.³
- The 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.

Sixteen projects offer one or more forms of crisis intervention assistance. Of these, 15 maintain a hotline, nine offer staff intervention/counseling at the project site, and four at the scene of a dispute.

TABLE 2.3
Crisis Intervention

<u>Offered</u>	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Yes	16	70
No	7	30
Total	23	
<u>Type</u>		
Hotline	15	94
In-Person, Scene of Dispute	4	25
In Person, at Project Site	9	56

Counseling. Project staff provide a range of counseling services to clients, including approaches with individuals, groups (victim and assailant), couples and families. Though techniques and approaches vary across projects, the importance of such concepts as "independent decision-making," "self-reliance," and "taking responsibility for one's actions" was apparent in project staff discussions of treatment.

Some projects provide client-specific individual counseling, referred to 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 work toward goals on the basis of an agreement. Two projects use anger management classes to assist clients in understanding and controlling 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.

TABLE 2.4
Counseling

<u>Offered</u>	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Yes	16*	70
No	7	30
Total	23	
<u>Type</u>		
Victim (Individual)	16	100
Victim and Assailant (Conjoint)	8	50
Family--Self, Partner Children	3	19
Assailant (Individual)	7	44
Children (Individual)	4	25
Victims' Group	11	69
Assailants' Group	3	19

*Excludes projects offering diversion counseling.

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.

All of the 16 projects providing counseling to clients (excluding diversion projects) offer individual counseling to victims; the next most frequently offered service is victim groups. Fewer projects offer conjoint or family (individual couple or group) counseling, and still fewer offer individual or group counseling services to assailants. Some projects receptive to assailant clients have encountered difficulty obtaining their cooperation. The lower frequency of services to assailants may also reflect project policies limiting client target populations to victims, or to victims and children. The policy may emanate from a treatment philosophy stressing the advisability of separate treatment of domestic violence participants. Relatively few projects offer individual counseling to children, for reasons discussed previously (see Children's Services).

Diversion. As alternatives to formal criminal adjudication and sentencing, diversion projects are based on a dual philosophy of early intervention/rehabilitation and social control. 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. Sentencing can offer diversion as an alternative to punishment (e.g., fines or incarceration) or as a condition of probation.

Ten projects offer diversion counseling to clients. The legal connotation of the diversion label suggests a primary project concern with services for assailants. However, services in some projects are extended to other members of a client's family. Projects also utilize different approaches in dispensing services. Approximately the same number of projects offer individual (assailant), group (assailant), and couple counseling. Few projects provide family or victim counseling. Project staff, suggesting that victims are often unwilling to participate in these types of services, are hesitant to pressure victims toward involvement for fear that, if pressured, they will feel further victimized.

TABLE 2.5
Diversion Counseling

<u>Offered</u>	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Yes	10	43
No	13	57
Total	23	100
<u>Type</u>		
Assailant (Individual)	9	90
Assailant and Victim (Conjoint)	7	70
Family (Partner, Children)	1	10
Victim (Individual)	0	--
Assailants' Group	8	80
Victims' Group	1	10

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 related, components: the "notice to appear" (NTA), 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 an 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.

TABLE 2.6
Mediation

<u>Offered</u>	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Yes	2	9
No	<u>21</u>	91
Total	23	
<u>Type</u>		
Mediation Counseling	2	100
Total	2	

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.

Transportation. Thirteen projects are able to offer clients 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 can be great and public transportation (buses, trains, taxis) 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 exists.

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.

Indirect Services

Table 2.7 differentiates project indirect services activities--training, service coordination and community outreach--according to the audiences addressed by each approach. Training is directed mainly toward agency staff likely to deliver direct services to clients, such as social services, mental health, or health care services. Service coordination activities are undertaken with agency staff at administrative and direct service levels. Outreach and public information efforts are focused at broader

"public-at-large" audiences, including schools and community and civil organizations.

TABLE 2.7
Indirect Service Audience

Type	Audience
Training	Criminal Justice, Civil Court, and Service Agency Direct Service Staff
Service Coordination	Criminal Justice, Civil Court, and Service Agency Administrative and Direct Service Staff
Community Outreach	Public-at-Large, Schools, Community and Civic Organizations

Training. Training of both criminal justice and social service agency workers is a strategy that projects use to increase awareness of domestic violence, expedite case handling, and improve interagency coordination. Topics typically addressed in training social service and law enforcement personnel include:

- dynamics and legal issues of domestic violence;
- services and goals of the family violence project; and
- techniques for handling domestic violence cases.

Depending on the project and needs of the audience, project staff also discuss crisis intervention techniques, mediation, and ways to document domestic violence.

Techniques specific to counseling assailants have received recent trainer attention. In the effort to disseminate information concerning assailant counseling, the Center for Women's Policy Studies provided funds for experienced treatment personnel from both LEAA and non-LEAA projects to visit interested family violence projects. Staff, trained in the latest techniques, then transmit this information to local interested service providers.

Service Coordination. Projects have approached the development of coordinated services for domestic violence participants through a series of steps:

- identification of agencies currently providing services and those potentially able to provide services to domestic violence clients;
- development of mechanisms among existing service providers to include domestic violence clients and/or arrange for services in areas where service gaps exist; and
- information transfer and dissemination to service providers concerning services available in the target area to facilitate development and/or expansion of networks.

The projects also facilitate service coordination through sponsoring workshops, conferences, and adult and child abuse task forces. All projects have sponsored and/or participated in one or more of these indirect service activities.

Outreach. Outreach activities encompass speaking appearances in schools, civic and other community organizations. Project staff show films and distribute cards and brochures to publicize the issue and the range and type of services available to domestic violence participants. Some projects have set up speakers' bureaus to systematize outreach undertakings. Outreach also includes media efforts. Projects contact media representatives to arrange for public appearances on radio and television talk shows and the airing of public service announcements.

Some desired outcomes of these activities include recruitment of clients and volunteer workers, and increased financial and/or other material contributions such as facilities, furniture, etc.

Indirect Service. Table 2.8 displays the emphasis given indirect services across projects. Projects have been categorized as giving either primary or secondary emphasis to each form of indirect service on the basis of resources allocated to these activities (number and time of staff).

Seven projects feature training activities as a primary emphasis. These projects either directly employ or subcontract with staff to perform training functions. Training is a secondary emphasis of 14 projects, and two projects do not engage in this activity.

TABLE 2.8
Indirect Service Emphasis

Type	Primary	Secondary
Training*	7	14
Service Coordination	5	18
Community Outreach	7	16

*Two projects do not engage in training activities.

Service coordination is given a primary emphasis in five of the 23 projects. For three of the five, service coordination is the primary goal of the project, that is, these projects were funded essentially to perform service coordination tasks. One offers no direct client services, two provide only very limited client-focused services.

The remaining 18 projects engage in service coordination on a secondary level to the extent that they utilize agency services for their clients and so foster development of referral networks among service agencies. Seven of the 18 projects have subcontractor organizational arrangements. Services coordination was a feature of these seven projects to the extent that identification of service gaps, creation of mechanisms to fill service needs, and coordination of created services occurred during organization and implementation phases of development.

All 23 projects engage in some form of community outreach. Seven of these place a primary emphasis on outreach and designate one or more staff to perform outreach tasks.

STATUTORY AND LEGISLATIVE CONTEXT

The major premise of the LEAA demonstration program--that increased involvement of the criminal and civil justice systems is a primary means of reducing spouse abuse and family violence--can be implemented at the project sites only to the extent that domestic violence statutes, penal code sections, and civil procedures permit police intervention and create options

for victims. The options available to victims, including protection orders or criminal sanctions, vary widely across states. The options available to police and prosecutors, including the means to effectively intervene, arrest, prosecute, and otherwise sanction these offenses, are also dictated by such varying legislation.

Analysis of the impact of project intervention on violent families must include available criminal and civil court options as a major contextual variable. (This question is separate from police, prosecutor, and victim utilization of these remedies, which is a function largely of training and public education.) This section presents a state-by-state assessment of the key provisions in civil and criminal remedies for domestic violence in the family violence sites. In addition to the descriptions of the state statutes, these data will be used in subsequent impact analyses as "control" variables to determine the effects of such statutes on client and family outcomes.

Civil Remedies--TROs

Several forms of civil remedies are available to battered women, including protection orders, temporary restraining orders, divorce, damages, and alimony (Lerman, 1980). At the family violence projects, the most important and widely used remedies are temporary restraining orders and protection orders. A temporary restraining order (TRO) (or a temporary order of protection) is an emergency protection order, which may be issued on demand or within a few hours of an incident. A TRO is available in most incidents involving threat of violence or injury, and may not require the appearance of the assailant.

In the domestic violence sites, 18 of 23 (78%) have provisions for a TRO. This legislation is recent in nearly all states; 88% have been passed since 1977.

TROs are usually available ex parte, that is, the order may be issued after a hearing at which the victim is present but not the abuser, and usually the same day she files the petition. Of the 18 states with civil TRO provisions, 17 (94%) provide for ex parte relief.

TABLE 2.9
Project States with Temporary Restraining Orders

Available	Frequency	Percent
Yes	18*	78
No	5	22
Total	23	
<u>Since</u>		
1980	1	05
1979	8	44
1978	3	17
1977	4	22
1976	1	06
Unknown	1	06
Total	18	

*The sample includes three states--New York, Florida and Massachusetts--that have two projects each and, hence, are represented twice.

The rules on who may obtain a TRO, however, differ from state to state. In some states, anyone abused by a spouse, former spouse, household member, family member, or former household member can obtain a TRO ex parte. Other states limit TROs to women married to the abuser, and others require that the victim file for divorce to obtain a TRO. Among the 17 family violence sites with ex parte TRO provisions, six (35%) are limited to spouses only. Of these, two require that another civil action (e.g., filing for separation or divorce) be pending or in effect.

One of the major remedies available under a TRO is a vacate order, where the abuser is required to move out of a residence shared with the victim even if the title or lease is in the abuser's name. Among the 18 sites with TRO provisions available, 13 (72%) have vacate orders available as components of protection orders. Three sites (17%) do not permit vacate orders, while two sites are not specific.

Temporary protection orders remain in effect for a limited period of time until a full hearing can be held or until the court re-opens. After the

TABLE 2.10
Effective Duration of Protection Orders

Duration	Frequency	Percent
30-45 days	2	11
60-90 days	3	17
One year	10	55
Discretionary	3	17
Total	18	
<u>Renewable</u>		
Yes	3	17
No	15	83
Total	18	

hearing, the TRO becomes a Protection Order and may remain in effect for a period of up to one year. Protection Orders are renewable in three (17%) of the 18 states.

Enforcement of a Protection Order is a critical determinant of the effectiveness of domestic violence sanctions and statutes. In New York, the failure of law enforcement to enforce arrest provisions for violations of restraining orders was the subject of a class action lawsuit and subsequent consent decree (Bruno v. Codd, NY Supreme Court Index #21946176). In 78% of the states where protection orders are available, a violation is punishable either as criminal contempt or a misdemeanor.

TABLE 2.11
Sanctions for Violation of Protection Orders

Type	Frequency	Percent
Misdemeanor Violation	7	39
Civil Contempt	4	22
Criminal Contempt	7	39
Total	18	

Civil contempt is generally punishable by a jail sentence (up to six months) and/or a fine of \$500, or a term of probation supervision. Only one state has a provision for a minimum or mandatory jail sentence. In criminal contempt or misdemeanor violations of protection orders, four states (17%) permit a police officer to make an arrest without first obtaining a warrant or observing the violation. Unlike other misdemeanors, the officer can make a warrantless arrest if he believes there is "probable cause" that a violation has occurred, even where there is no visible injury. (Probable cause arrests are usually reserved for felony violations involving stranger-to-stranger offenses.) Two states (19%) have established mandatory arrest for violations of protection orders.

Criminal Remedies

While most states have statutes prohibiting physical assault, law enforcement and the courts have historically treated violence among spouses as a family matter and have failed to apply criminal sanctions in other than the most brutal cases. Application of criminal sanctions has been selective and discretionary, and even in convictions sentences have been lenient.

Recently, several states have enacted legislation to overcome many of the barriers to criminal justice intervention. Warrantless arrest for misdemeanor spousal assaults, special chapters defining spousal assault as a criminal offense separate from stranger assault, and mandatory arrests for violations of criminal orders or repeat offenders are options created by recent legislation. All these measures are designed to afford victims of domestic violence access to criminal remedies traditionally inaccessible due to procedural, attitudinal, and political barriers (Loving, 1980). In the 23 domestic violence project sites, only two (9%) have created special penal code sections defining spousal assault as a felony or misdemeanor. Seven (30%) have enabled probable cause arrest for misdemeanor spousal assault. As mentioned above, 17% have enacted statutes providing for probable cause arrest for a violation of a TRO or a Protection Order and 9% have established mandatory arrest for such violations.

Overall, these new statutes have created opportunities for increased criminal justice involvement in spousal assault cases. However, the utilization

and application of these provisions remains a function of victim choice and police officer discretion. Training programs for officers are part of a policy development and implementation process to assure consistent and comprehensive application of these statutes.

Summary

Within the sample of states hosting the family violence projects, there is a trend toward statutory reform enhancing civil remedies for domestic violence and spousal assault. Included in this trend is the criminalization of violations of civil remedies. Reforms in the criminal statutes (i.e., penal codes) are not nearly as prevalent, however. No more than 30% of the states has undertaken any of the reforms surveyed by UI in penal code definitions or criminal procedure.

The legislative and statutory reform activism is largely the result of the same activism that resulted in the emergence of domestic violence as a social issue. Feminist attorneys and professionals, grassroots women's organizations, and criminal justice officials were driving forces behind the creation of funding, programs and services, as well as the reforms in statutes and procedures. What is not evident are the reasons why reform appears to have been concentrated in the civil arena.

Several plausible hypotheses for this trend can be set forth. First, the emphasis on civil remedies may result from recognition of the substantial barriers in criminal justice processing of domestic violence and non-stranger violence cases. These barriers are numerous and complex, involving issues such as time to response or case resolution, quality of response, difficulty in accessing agencies for relief or service, and ineffective or irrelevant case dispositions and sanctions. Civil remedies, on the other hand, are more accessible and timely (although there remain questions about the effectiveness of current sanctions for violations of protection orders).

Second, it is possible that less resistance would be encountered in attempts to alter civil codes. Revisions of the penal code must be deliberated by several highly visible legislative committees subject to lobbying by numerous interest groups with strong ideological positions. It is in

this arena that attitudinal variables are operationalized into code and procedure. The civil codes, with jurisdiction over "family matters," are subject to less intense debate by fewer interest groups or lobbies. Reform of the civil code would generate less resistance than criminal code revision since it might not involve reordering of priorities with potential political impact as well as major impacts on criminal justice agencies.

Finally, the emphasis on reform in civil code and procedure might reflect the political and ideological positions of activists in domestic violence, as well as victim preferences in service requests. That is, one view of the role of the justice system in these cases is that it should provide protection and service to victims. In this view, the criminal justice system should be accessible and responsive to the service needs and requests of the victim, but perhaps is not best equipped to exercise other functions such as case management. Case management and decision-making, in this view, should largely be the responsibility of individuals or agencies outside the justice system. Civil remedies are then viewed as a service adjunct to case management, as is the option to file criminal charges. The emphasis on civil reform may in fact reflect the experience of activists and program staff in responding to the service requests of clients.

Criminal justice remedies are largely already in place (e.g., it is a crime for one individual to physically assault another, regardless of their personal relationship); however, there are well-documented barriers to their use. Civil remedies, such as those pioneered in New York (N. Y. Family Court Act, Article 8) and Pennsylvania (Act 218, Law of Pennsylvania) were until recently unavailable in most states. The efforts to expand civil options while improving available criminal options, together with other efforts to expand and improve medical and social service responses, may be part of a comprehensive effort by activists to create a broad and responsive network of service options for victims of family violence.

RESOURCE DISTRIBUTION: STAFF AND BUDGET

The two primary categories of program inputs identified thus far include project descriptors and case characteristics. Project resources constitute another especially important program input. For the national evaluation, resources are defined as budget and staff. Cross-site variations in the manner in which resources are distributed can be expected, and examination of these variations is important to measuring and analyzing differences in project approaches and operations.

Resource categories typically identified by economists include funds, facilities and labor. In this section we use accessible (though admittedly limited) measures of funds and labor: project budgets and staff measures. Also, we derive two additional indices. These measures and the project characteristic that each describes are:

- Total staff: absolute size
- LEAA-funded staff: LEAA input
- LEAA-funded staff/total staff: LEAA contributions to project inputs
- Budget: LEAA input
- Budget/LEAA-funded staff: a per capita index of utilization of LEAA resources

Project Characteristics and Resource Utilization

Tables 2.14-2.18 array these staff and budget resource indicators across projects in relation to the domains of project descriptors. The findings below do not represent "causal" effects. A Pearson Product-Moment Correlation coefficient of $-.20$ is obtained between two of the indicators: LEAA-funded staff to total staff, and total budget to LEAA-funded staff. This correlation coefficient indicates that relationships among resource utilization indicators are non-linear and complex, requiring careful and cautious interpretation.

Total Staff. Table 2.12 indicates the range of staff size across projects. Paid staff have been drawn from a number of different sources: LEAA, CETA, VISTA and Work Study programs. Twelve projects (54%) are represented in the modal size category of 6-10 persons. The project with the largest

staff (214) operates through components located in various parts of the state it serves. Table 2.13 shows the number of LEAA-funded staff in each project.

TABLE 2.12
Total Paid Staff

Number of Persons	Frequency	Percent
1-5	3	14
6-10	12	54
11-15	3	14
16-20	3	14
21+	1	04
Total	22*	

*One project missing values.

TABLE 2.13
LEAA-Funded Staff

Number of Persons	Frequency	Percent
1-5	8	36
6-10	8	36
11-15	5	23
16-20	0	--
21	1	05
Total	22*	

*One project missing values.

Table 2.14 indicates a broad range of diversity in staff size across projects, as a function of project organizational and structural characteristics. Projects with a combined civil and criminal justice emphasis employ the greatest number of staff (16.2 staff positions). Projects with a services coordination emphasis and those with primarily a system strategy employ the fewest staff (5.7). The strongest contrasts in mean numbers of staff occur between projects with a combined criminal and civil justice emphasis (16.2 staff), a primarily civil justice emphasis (8.0 staff), and a primarily criminal justice emphasis (8.2 staff).

TABLE 2.14
Total Staff

Project Characteristic	Total Staff (Mean)	Number of Projects
<u>Decisional Structure</u>		
Consensus	14.5	2
Hierarchy	8.9	21
<u>Organizational Arrangements</u>		
Subcontractor	11.3	7
Single Agency	8.6	16
<u>Auspices</u>		
Private Nonprofit	9.6	5
Public Social Service	7.5	11
Public Criminal Justice	12.3	7
<u>Justice Emphasis</u>		
Criminal	8.2	11
Civil	8.0	4
Both	16.2	4
<u>Service Emphasis</u>		
Shelter/Advocacy/Counseling	8.8	13
Criminal Action	12.0	3
Civil Action	10.5	2
Service Coordination	5.7	3
Multi-Service	14.0	2
<u>Client Focus</u>		
Victim	8.0	10
Assailant	13.5	2
Both	10.7	10
<u>Strategy Focus</u>		
Client	10.4	10
Client and System	9.5	10
System	5.7	3
<u>Organizational Orientation</u>		
Women's Organizations	9.9	9
Justice Agencies	10.7	7
Social Service Agencies	7.4	7
<u>Geographical Target Area</u>		
Single County	9.3	11
Multiple County	9.5	12

TABLE 2.15
LEAA Funded Staff

<u>Project Characteristic</u>	<u>LEAA Staff (Mean)</u>	<u>Number of Projects</u>
<u>Decisional Structure</u>		
Consensus	7.0	2
Hierarchy	7.4	21
<u>Organizational Arrangements</u>		
Subcontractor	10.4	7
Single Agency	6.1	16
<u>Auspices</u>		
Private Nonprofit	4.4	5
Public Social Service	6.5	11
Public Criminal Justice	11.0	7
<u>Justice Emphasis</u>		
Criminal	6.4	11
Civil	7.0	4
Both	14.8	4
<u>Services Emphasis</u>		
Shelter/Advocacy/Counseling	6.1	13
Criminal Action	10.0	3
Civil Action	9.5	2
Service Coordination	4.7	3
Multi-Service	14.0	2
<u>Client Focus</u>		
Victim	5.9	10
Assailant	9.0	2
Both	9.1	10
<u>Strategy Focus</u>		
Client	6.8	10
Client and System	8.8	10
System	4.7	3
<u>Organizational Orientation</u>		
Women's Organizations	6.8	9
Justice Agencies	9.0	7
Social Service Agencies	6.6	7
<u>Geographical Target Area</u>		
Single County	7.4	11
Multiple County	7.4	12

LEAA-Funded Staff. Table 2.15 shows the distribution of LEAA-funded staff, again as a function of project characteristics. With respect to the LEAA funded staff, the combined criminal and civil justice emphasis yields a mean of 14.8, contrasted with a mean of 6.4 for primarily criminal and 7.0 for primarily civil. The lowest mean LEAA-funded staff size (4.4) occurs in projects operating under private nonprofit auspices. Under the multi-service emphasis the mean is 14.

LEAA-Funded Staff as a Percentage of Total Staff. Numerous strong contrasts can be seen in the index displayed in Table 2.16. The multi-service emphasis, for example, shows a value of 100%, i.e., the entire reported staff is LEAA-funded. Only 69% of staff in projects with a shelter/advocacy/counseling orientation are reported as LEAA-funded. The lowest percent of LEAA-funded staff (46%) is reported as operating under private nonprofit auspices, and the consensus decision-structured projects report only a slightly higher 48%. Additional high percentages of LEAA-supported staff are reported for projects with subcontractor structural arrangements (92%), for projects with a combined criminal and civil justice emphasis (91%), for projects with a civil action service emphasis (90%), and for projects with a combined client and system strategy focus (91%).

Annual Budget. Annual budgets range from a low mean of \$73,000 for projects operating under private nonprofit auspices, to a maximum of \$246,000 for projects with a multi-service emphasis.

Ratio of Total Budget to LEAA-Funded Staff. A second index useful in differentiating projects is the ratio of total budget to LEAA staff size. This ratio achieves minimal values for projects with a combined criminal and civil justice emphasis (\$13,649) and with a consensus decisional structure (\$13,714). The maximal value (\$27,872) was for projects with a service coordination service emphasis as well as those with a primarily system strategy focus.

TABLE 2.16
LEAA-Funded Staff as a Percent of Total Staff

Project Characteristic	LEAA Staff as % of Total Staff (Mean)	Number of Projects
<u>Decisional Structure</u>		
Consensus	48%	2
Hierarchy	83%	21
<u>Organizational Arrangements</u>		
Subcontractor	92%	7
Single Agency	71%	16
<u>Auspices</u>		
Private Nonprofit	46%	5
Public Social Service	87%	11
Public Criminal Justice	89%	7
<u>Justice Emphasis</u>		
Criminal	78%	11
Civil	88%	4
Both	91%	4
<u>Services Emphasis</u>		
Shelter/Advocacy/Counseling	69%	13
Criminal action	83%	3
Civil Action	90%	2
Service Coordination	82%	3
Multi-Service	100%	2
<u>Client Focus</u>		
Victim	74%	10
Assailant	67%	2
Both	85%	10
<u>Strategy Focus</u>		
Client	65%	10
Client and System	93%	10
System	82%	3
<u>Organizational Orientation</u>		
Women's Organizations	69%	9
Justice Agencies	84%	7
Social Service Agencies	89%	7
<u>Geographical Target Area</u>		
Single County	80%	11
Multiple County	78%	12

TABLE 2.17
Annual Budget

Project Characteristic	Annual Budget (Mean)	Number of Projects
<u>Decisional Structure</u>		
Consensus	\$ 96,000	2
Hierarchy	146,000	21
<u>Organizational Arrangements</u>		
Subcontractor	202,000	7
Single Agency	115,000	16
<u>Auspices</u>		
Private Nonprofit	73,000	5
Public Social Service	133,000	11
Public Criminal Justice	206,000	7
<u>Justice Emphasis</u>		
Criminal	151,000	11
Civil	112,000	4
Both	202,000	4
<u>Service Emphasis</u>		
Shelter/Advocacy/Counseling	117,000	13
Criminal Action	174,000	3
Civil Action	169,000	2
Service Coordination	131,000	3
Multi-Service	246,000	2
<u>Client Focus</u>		
Victim	123,000	10
Assailant	197,000	2
Both	157,000	10
<u>Strategy Focus</u>		
Client	118,000	10
Client and System	169,000	10
System	131,000	3
<u>Organizational Orientation</u>		
Women's Organizations	134,000	9
Justice Agencies	185,000	7
Social Service Agencies	109,000	7
<u>Geographical Target Area</u>		
Single County	144,200	11
Multiple County	139,600	12

TABLE 2.18
Ratio of Total Budget to LEAA-Funded Staff

Project Characteristic	Per Capita Expenditure	Number of Projects
<u>Decisional Structure</u>		
Consensus	\$ 13,714	2
Hierarchy	19,730	21
<u>Organizational Arrangements</u>		
Subcontractor	19,423	7
Single Agency	18,852	16
<u>Auspices</u>		
Private Nonprofit	16,591	5
Public Social Service	20,462	11
Public Criminal Justice	18,727	7
<u>Justice Emphasis</u>		
Criminal	23,594	11
Civil	16,000	4
Both	13,649	4
<u>Service Emphasis</u>		
Shelter/Advocacy/Counseling	19,180	13
Criminal Action	17,400	3
Civil Action	17,789	2
Service Coordination	27,872	3
Multi-Service	17,571	2
<u>Client Focus</u>		
Victim	20,847	10
Assailant	21,889	2
Both	17,253	10
<u>Strategy Focus</u>		
Client	17,353	10
Client and System	19,205	10
System	27,872	3
<u>Organizational Orientation</u>		
Women's Organizations	19,705	9
Justice Agencies	20,555	7
Social Service Agencies	16,515	7
<u>Geographical Target Area</u>		
Single County	19,486	11
Multiple County	18,865	12

Indices of Resource Utilization

Given the purpose of this report--to identify project characteristics that describe and discriminate projects and that can be introduced as predictors in later impact analyses--the resource utilization ratio indices are central to differentiating projects and identifying salient variable domains. Analysis of each domain is based on the differences between high and low means among the variables within each domain.

Staff Utilization. Mean differences in the staff utilization index--or the ratio between LEAA-funded staff and total staff--within domains are shown in Table 2.19. The mean differences within domains were categorized as high (over 25%), medium (10-25%), or low (less than 10%). Given these categories, only Geographical Target Area shows a "low" difference between means within the domain. Mean differences within the remaining domains range from 13% (Justice Emphasis) to 43% (Auspices). Those domains with "high" intra-domain variability include Auspices, Decisional Structure, Services Emphasis and Strategy Focus.

TABLE 2.19
Staff Utilization Index:
Differences Within Variable Domains

Variable Domain	Intra-Domain Difference	
Decisional Structure	35%	(High)
Organizational Arrangements	21%	(Medium)
Auspices	43%	(High)
Justice Emphasis	13%	(Medium)
Service Emphasis	31%	(High)
Client Focus	18%	(Medium)
Strategy Focus	28%	(High)
Organizational Orientation	20%	(Medium)
Geographical Target Area	02%	(Low)

Interpretation of these data is fairly straightforward. Public criminal justice agencies and social service agencies utilize LEAA funds as the primary source for staff support, while private nonprofits utilize other resources. Consensus decisional structures utilize staff in addition to LEAA-supported staff, while hierarchical organizations use primarily LEAA-funded staff. Consistent with this finding is the utilization of staff

resources other than LEAA in shelter programs, while other programs again primarily utilize LEAA resources to support staff.

Budget Utilization. Mean differences in the budget utilization index--the ratio of total budget to LEAA-funded staff--show similar findings. Table 2.20 displays and ranks data on differences between high and low variables within each domain. Three domains (Service Emphasis, Justice Emphasis, and Strategy Focus) show differences within domains of about \$10,000, or nearly 40% of the maximum budget-to-staff ratio.

TABLE 2.20
Budget Utilization Index:
Differences within Variable Domains

Variable Domain	Intra-Domain Difference	Rank
Decisional Structure	\$ 6,016	(4)
Organizational Arrangements	571	(9)
Auspices	3,871	(7)
Justice Emphasis	9,945	(3)
Service Emphasis	10,472	(2)
Client Focus	4,636	(5)
Strategy Focus	10,519	(1)
Organizational Orientation	4,050	(6)
Geographical Target Area	621	(8)

These data also indicate a typology segregating "public" from "private" programs and shelters from other programs. Within Service Emphasis, service coordination projects are nearly 50% more expensive than any of the direct service models. These projects are all publicly sponsored criminal justice coordinating projects. These findings are also duplicated within the domains of Justice Emphasis and Strategy Focus. Within the former domain, the most "expensive" projects are those with a criminal emphasis, while projects with a civil or combined emphasis cost nearly \$10,000 per LEAA staff person less. Within Strategy Focus, projects focusing primarily on the system cost again nearly \$10,000 per LEAA staff more than projects focusing on clients only or on clients and systems.

These findings point to an emerging but clear trend: private, nonprofit organizations whose primary emphasis is on direct services (e.g., shelter/

advocacy/counseling) to clients can be differentiated from public, criminal justice system-focused projects emphasizing service coordination and system change. The distinctions between projects are evident in utilization of LEAA resources to support staff positions.

The differences can best be seen in examining the extreme values for the budget-to-staff ratios across all variables and domains. Table 2.21 shows that the low and high values for budget resource utilization occur for projects with a consensus decisional structure and service coordination projects, respectively. Consensus projects are small, grassroots feminist organizations providing shelter, counseling, and advocacy services. They utilize to a greater extent additional resources to support staff positions. Service coordination projects are criminal justice system-focused projects using a small, highly skilled professional staff that is almost exclusively LEAA-funded.

TABLE 2.21
Resource Utilization:
Extreme Values in Budget Resource Utilization

Budget/LEAA Staff Ratio	Project Descriptor	Mean Total Staff	Mean LEAA Staff	Percent LEAA Staff	Mean Annual Budget
Low: \$ 13,714	Consensus Decision	14.5	7.0	48%	\$ 96,000
High: \$ 27,872	Service Coordination	5.7	4.7	82%	\$ 131,000

A consensual decision-making structure evolved in both the low index projects because of staff commitment to principles of grassroots feminist organizations (the organizational orientation of both projects), which stress the benefits of egalitarian work relationships and the importance of providing direct assistance to clients. UI field observations indicated that the emotional involvement of project staff reflects a blend of lifestyle and occupational commitments. Material compensation may, therefore, assume a less critical role in attracting staff.

The fact that both of the consensual projects are shelters suggests another explanation relevant to cost. The demands of shelter work are such that in all but a limited number of staff positions, special, expensive expertise is not a job skill requirement. The labor pool from which shelter staff and volunteers can be drawn is thus potentially large, and salaries in shelter projects appear to reflect both these market conditions and the ideological rewards of this labor. Given equal funds, shelter as opposed to other types of projects can be expected to employ greater numbers of both unpaid and relatively low paid staff.

In contrast, service coordination projects operate under an approach that utilizes a small, somewhat specialized (and comparatively expensive) staff to identify and coordinate existing community services. Direct services work-- the type of work most likely to attract volunteers and less expensive paid staff--is extremely limited, if offered at all, in such projects. Their job prerequisites may thus result in a more limited labor pool and necessitate greater material incentives to attract staff with the appropriate skills levels.

Summary. This analysis, while demonstrating the usefulness of resource utilization measures in classifying projects, should be viewed with caution. For example, these measures do not describe how projects utilize resources, (e.g., for which staff positions or how many part-time staff). Nevertheless, these findings do validate the conventional wisdom that small, grass-roots organizations--in this case, shelters--are more efficient in using fewer monetary resources and stretching them further. Criminal justice and social service system projects are expensive, dollar for dollar: they use fewer staff and, on the average, cost more.

These measures do not address the dual questions of efficacy and impact. While shelter projects may cost less and use more staff at lower salaries, the data do not indicate whether such projects achieve greater or ultimately better impact on domestic violence. Nevertheless, this clear typology will be useful in later impact analyses to suggest preliminary answers to these questions. Cost analyses in subsequent reports will examine in detail the patterns of resource utilization and their contributions to impact.

MEETING IDENTIFIED SERVICE NEEDS

This chapter has outlined the many types of services provided by the various agencies in the various agencies in the study. Another means of assessing these services is to see if they meet the needs of victims of spouse abuse identified in the published literature on wife battering and spouse abuse.

One of the major services offered was shelter. In their recent book, Straus, Gelles, and Steinmetz cite shelters as the most important step in helping battered women.⁴ They see shelters as important in protecting these women from further harm and in helping to prevent further violence at a later time by giving these women the physical, economic, and psychological support they need to change their marriages. Others have also cited the major role of shelters or "safe-houses" for aiding battered women and their children.^{5,6} Thus, these agencies appear to be doing a good job of meeting the very important need of providing shelter for battered women, although more could probably be done in this area.

Shelters are clearly not the only need of victims of spouse abuse, however. Shelters are typically offered for female victims of spouse assault, not male victims. Furthermore, they are most utilized by women with fewer economic resources.⁷ Women who can afford it, often prefer to go to a hotel or motel for temporary refuge. Others may go to relatives or friends' homes.

Services for children are also of major importance according to other research. Most families have children, and as already noted in Chapter I, violence in the family is believed to cause violence in the next generation as the children grow up and establish their own families. It has also been commonly noted that in families where there is violence between the husband and wife, this is frequently associated with violence from one or both parents toward the children.^{8,9,10,11,12} Thus, it appears that children of abusive parents are in need of counseling or other services which may help them to break the cycle of violence as they become adults. They may also be in need of medical and/or psychological help in coping with violence they, themselves, may be the recipients of. Clearly, more systematic at-

tention is needed for the children of spouse assault victims since they are so often victims too.

Referral services are provided by all the agencies studied. Some of the needs of children may be being met through referral. However, more careful attention needs to be given to types of referrals which are being made and whether these referrals prove to be effective in helping those referred.

Other types of services are less discussed in the research literature. Much of the literature presents a fairly negative picture of the reactions of the formal legal system to the problems of battered women, saying few use these systems and that those who do often have negative experiences.^{13,14,15,16} However, it must be kept in mind that many of these experiences occurred before many of the legal changes discussed earlier had been made and are not a fair representation of the formal legal system alternatives as they exist today.

NOTES

1. Lack of attention to needs associated with children is far from limited to the projects under study here. See, for example, the finding reported in A Survey of Spousal Violence Against Women in Kentucky (Washington, D.C.: LEAA, 1979) that while 36% of victims of abuse desired child care, only 2% reported having it provided.
2. Two other projects that initially had special prosecutors eliminated these positions after the first grant year.
3. The term "hotline" refers to a 24-hour personed telephone line for providing I&R and crisis intervention assistance. Most shelters maintain a hotline, though some use community hotlines staffed by service agency representatives.
4. Murray A. Straus, Richard J. Gelles, and Suzanne K. Steinmetz, Behind Closed Doors Violence in the American Family (Garden City, New York: Anchor, 1980).
5. Del Martin, Battered Wives (San Francisco: Glide, 1976).
6. Lenore E. Walker, The Battered Woman (New York: Harper and Row, 1979).
7. Irene Frieze, Jaime Knoble, Carol Washburn, and Gretchen Zomnir, "Characteristics of Battered Women and Their Marriages," portion of Final Report submitted to NIMH, University of Pittsburgh, June, 1980.
8. Ibid.
9. Straus, Gelles, and Steinmetz, Behind Closed Doors.

10. J. Gayford, "Wife Battering: A Preliminary Survey of 100 Cases," in British Medical Journal, 1975, 15, 243-244.

11. Lenore Walker, The Battered Woman.

12. J. Flynn, "Recent findings related to wife abuse," Social Casework, 1977, 58, 13-20.

13. Sue E. Eisenberg and Patricia L. Micklow, "The Assaulted Wife": 'Catch 22' Revisited," Woman's Rights Law Reporter, Vol. 3, 1977.

14. Lee H. Bowker and Kristine MacCallum, "The Experiences of Beaten Wives and the Legal System: Effects of Methodology on Results," Paper presented at the joint meeting of the Law and Society Association and the Research Committee on the Sociology of Law of the International Sociological Association, Madison, June 1980.

15. Lenore Walker, The Battered Woman.

16. Frieze, Knoble, Washburn and Zomnir, "Characteristics of Battered Women and their Marriages."

3. FAMILY VIOLENCE CASE CHARACTERISTICS

This chapter presents detailed data and information on characteristics of family violence project cases.* Topics included are data sources, demographics of the client population, abuse history and help seeking, the role of drugs and alcohol, characterization of the instant incident leading to contact with a family violence project, the nature of help-seeking behavior and client service requests, children as clients, relationships between selected case characteristics, and the services that clients receive. It should be emphasized at the outset that this chapter is not intended to explain the etiology and dynamics of family violence, nor to represent its incidence or prevalence. The purpose, instead, is to assist policy-makers and administrators to understand the nature of the client population, its needs and assets, and thereby to inform the planning and program development process.

DATA SOURCES

The information reported in this chapter derives from the Initial Assessment form developed by UI as part of the Program Monitoring System, a comprehensive management information system (MIS). In 87% of the cases, information is supplied by the victim; in 7% of the cases, information is supplied by the alleged assailant. In three-fourths of the cases, information is supplied in person, while information is acquired via telephone conversation in one-fourth of the cases.

*The analyses reported in this chapter cover a sample of 1,092 cases from the interim client data file.

TABLE 3.1
Distribution of Information Provider

<u>Information Provider</u>	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Victim	910	87
Alleged Assailant	75	07
Person for Victim	46	05
Other	12	01
Total	1,043	

TABLE 3.2
Distribution of How Contacted

<u>Type of Contact</u>	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percent</u>
In Person	771	75
By Phone	252	25
Total	1,023	

Of those contacts made by phone, roughly one of eight (32/252) is reported either as an emergency or that it was difficult for the client to talk. Relative to the total client population, however, it should be noted that such emergencies account for only 3% of Initial Assessments. That an "emergency" is reported so infrequently is, however, potentially misleading. Consideration of the distribution of "presenting problem" offers a different perspective, one in which 48% report physical abuse and an additional 31% report threat of violence or fear of danger.

TABLE 3.3
Distribution of Emergency Telephone Contacts

<u>Emergency</u>	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Yes	32	13
No	222	87
Total	252	

TABLE 3.4
Distribution of Emergency Initial Assessments

<u>Emergency</u>	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Yes	32	03
No	991	97
Total	1,023	

TABLE 3.5
Distribution of Presenting Problems

<u>Problem</u>	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Harassment	210	20
Fear of Danger	362	34
Threat of Violence	384	36
Physical Abuse	693	66
Adult Sexual Assault	20	02
Child Neglect	4	--
Child Abuse	39	04
Child Sexual Abuse	3	--
Incest	1	--
Other	89	08
Total	1,805*	
Unknown	11	

*Represents total number of problems reported. However, to compute percentages, a base of 1,056, the total number of clients reporting problems, is used.

DEMOGRAPHICS OF THE CLIENT POPULATION

The clients are overwhelmingly female (95%), and the majority (58%) is white, with over one-third reported as black (36%). Only one in five report any health care needs; of those who do, almost half (46%) are pregnant. With respect to educational attainment, one-fourth report some college experience.

TABLE 3.6
Distribution of Victim's Sex

Sex	Frequency	Percent
Female	995	95
Male	54	05
Total	1,049	

TABLE 3.7
Distribution of Race

Race	Frequency	Percent
White/Caucasian	603	58
Asian/Pacific Islander	19	02
Black	369	36
Hispanic	42	04
Amerindian/Alaskan	3	--
Total	1,036	
Unknown	4	

TABLE 3.8
Percentage Reporting Any Health Needs

Needs	Frequency	Percent
Any	159	19
None	663	80
Total	822	
Unknown	82	

TABLE 3.9
Distribution of Health Needs Expressed

Health Needs	Frequency	Percent
Pregnant	74	46
Emotionally Disturbed	33	20
Chronically Ill	33	20
Physically Handicapped	9	07
Mentally Retarded	1	--
Multiple Conditions	9	07
Total	159	

TABLE 3.10
Distribution of Educational Attainment

Education	Frequency	Percent
Completed Graduate/ Professional Training	12	02
Four Year College Degree	38	04
Partial College	152	19
High School Graduate	317	40
Completed Grades 10 or 11	186	24
Completed Grades 7 to 9	57	07
Less than 7 Years	22	02
Total	784	
Unknown	127	

One third (32%) of the clients are employed full-time outside the home, and 18% are reported as homemakers. Fully 25% are recorded as unemployed--not seeking work. Whether any of this latter group might also be included as "homemaker" is unclear.

TABLE 3.11
Distribution of Employment Status

Employment Status	Frequency	Percent
Employed Full-Time	318	32
Student	40	04
Homemaker	182	18
Employed Part-Time	81	08
Seasonally Employed	1	--
Unemployed--Not Seeking Work	242	25
Unemployed--Seeking Work	97	10
Military	4	--
Retired	12	01
Total	977	
Not Applicable	24	
Unknown	15	

Almost half (48%) of the clients are reported to be in their twenties, with the median age over the full group at 27. There are, in addition, however, non-trivial numbers of clients at the two age extremes.

TABLE 3.12
Distribution of Victim's Age

Age	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Less than 11	18	02	02
11 - 15	5	--	02
16 - 20	116	12	14
21 - 25	259	27	41
26 - 30	200	21	62
31 - 35	166	17	79
36 - 40	58	06	85
41 - 45	41	04	89
46 - 50	28	03	92
51 - 55	34	04	96
56 - 60	16	02	98
Over 60	16	02	100
Total	957		
Missing	116		

With respect to resources available to the clients, three-fourths are reported not to have credit cards, while two-thirds are reported to have health insurance or Medicaid. Seventy percent report having access to friends or relatives, and 53% report having access to a private automobile (most likely through those relatives). Slightly more than half (54%) report they are unable to return home.

These demographic characteristics compare favorably to the population characteristics reported by other researchers in this field. First, as already noted, most research deals with battered women, so that the finding here that 95% of the population is female makes this sample similar to other data bases. However, it should be noted that a major survey of American households found that there were as many "battered husbands" as battered wives.¹ This may suggest that men are not utilizing any of the services offered for spouse assault victims. However, other researchers have argued that even though men may have violent acts directed against them by their wives, these do not result in the same degree of hurt or physical damage as the same actions of men toward their wives.² For example, a wife may slap her husband, with the result being a slight sting on his face, while if he slaps her, the force of the slap may knock her down and leave a severe bruise. If this latter interpretation is followed, then, there are rela-

tively few battered husbands in the sense the term is used for women. Our data are not able to clearly resolve this issue and it must remain an unanswered question why so few men use the services of the various agencies studied.

Over one-third of the sample population was reported to be black. Since this is a higher percentage than the general population, this would suggest that spouse abuse is statistically more probable in black than in white families. However, our sample is limited to reported cases, so that actual distribution is unknown. Nevertheless, this finding has also been supported by other research.^{3,4} Statistics on other minority groups have not been reported in other research.

Education levels are often unreported in other studies; without a control group for comparison purposes, the education data are difficult to interpret. However, it does appear that the spousal assault victims tended to have lower than average education levels. Straus, Gelles, and Steinmetz also reported more battering of women who were not high school graduates and less of college-educated women.⁵ Other studies have found no consistent pattern for battered women to be less educated, however.^{6,7} There is a similar lack of comparison data for the employment status of spouse assault victims. It is clear that the stereotype of the battered woman as an unskilled housewife is not valid and many battered women hold responsible jobs.⁸ Other research has also noted similar percentages of full-time and unemployed workers as found here in the population of battered women.⁹ However, the Straus, Gelles, and Steinmetz study found no relationship between spousal violence and employment status of the wife. Battering husbands were more often unemployed or working part time in this study, however.¹⁰

The median age of 27 for spousal assault victims is consistent with other researchers who have found more spousal violence in couples in their twenties.^{11,12}

Finally, the lack of resources reported for these victims may suggest a relatively low income level. This finding has been often reported by others.^{13,14,15,16} Again, however, our sample is limited to reported cases and victims who have sought help.

CONTINUED

1 OF 2

HISTORY OF ABUSE AND HELP-SEEKING

The majority of victims have been previously threatened (73%), abused (58%) and/or injured (52%) by the alleged assailant in the instant incident. Victims, however, rarely report having previously threatened the current alleged assailant (10%), subjected the alleged assailant to abuse (7%) or injured the alleged assailant (5%). Similarly, whereas 12% of the alleged assailants are reported to have been arrested in previous abuse-related incidents, only 4% of the victims are reported to have been so arrested. Hence, it appears that few of the cases result from victim-perpetrated provocation of violence. In fact, the data suggested that in over half the cases, project clients are victims of repeated and systematic violence.

TABLE 3.13
Distribution of Resource Availability

<u>Resource</u>	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Credit Cards		
Yes	131	24
No	413	76
Total	544	
Unknown	120	
Friends/Relatives		
Yes	463	70
No	202	30
Total	665	
Unknown	38	
Able to Return Home		
Yes	290	46
No	342	54
Total	632	
Unknown	74	
Transportation		
Yes	346	53
No	306	47
Total	652	
Unknown	40	
Health Insurance/Medicaid		
Yes	370	66
No	190	34
Total	560	
Unknown	97	

These findings are typical for battered women reported in the literature. In one study, three-fourths of the battered women were beaten more than once; many of them experienced this frequently.¹⁶ However, this same study also found that most of the battered women did fight back at least occasionally. But this issue has not been resolved. Other researchers, consistent with the findings reported here, did not find many cases in which the battered woman was violent to her husband.^{17,18} This may be an area which is particularly sensitive to reporting biases. Women who wish to take advantage of legal remedies may be reluctant to discuss any violence they may have committed in the past.

TABLE 3.14
Distribution of Previous Violence Within Relationship Committed by Alleged Assailant

<u>Previous Violence</u>	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Previously Threatened		
Yes	448	73
No	165	27
Total	613	
Unknown	4	
Previously Abused		
Yes	316	58
No	233	42
Total	549	
Unknown	11	
Previously Injured		
Yes	294	52
No	276	48
Total	570	
Unknown	7	

Concerning current legal status of the clients' families, 9% report that a restraining order is in effect (while 5% report that a restraining order was in effect at some time in the past), 8% report that a divorce or civil action is pending, and only 2% report that any delinquency or child abuse action is pending (the same percentage reporting having ever experienced such an action).

Despite the fact that 58% of the clients are reported to have been previously abused, only 14% report having previously contacted a family vio-

lence project. Interestingly, however, over half (57%) are reported to have previously called police in domestic violence matters. (Clearly, the recency and importance of family violence projects as alternative and critical sources of assistance is manifest here.) Furthermore, two-thirds of the clients report having gone through one or more separations from the alleged assailant in the past. This pattern of leaving and returning to a violent marriage has often been cited in the literature.^{19,20,21}

TABLE 3.15
Distribution of Previous Violence Within Relationship Committed by Victim

Previous Violence	Frequency	Percent
Previously Threatened		
Yes	60	10
No	546	90
Total	606	
Unknown	14	
Previously Abused		
Yes	43	07
No	550	93
Total	593	
Unknown	17	
Previously Injured		
Yes	28	05
No	563	95
Total	591	
Unknown	17	

TABLE 3.16
Distribution of Previous Abuse-Related Arrests

Arrests	Victims		Alleged Assailants	
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
Yes	23	04	57	12
No	557	96	436	88
Total	580		493	
Unknown	57		50	

TABLE 3.17
Distribution of Current and Past Legal Status of Client's Family

Legal Status	Frequency	Percent
Restraining Order in Effect		
Yes	87	09
No	871	91
Total	958	
Unknown	26	
Past Restraining Order		
Yes	48	05
No	849	95
Total	897	
Unknown	70	
Divorce/Civil Action Pending		
Yes	89	10
No	821	90
Total	910	
Unknown	24	
Child Removed in Past For Abuse/Neglect		
Yes	16	02
No	787	98
Total	803	
Unknown	32	
Delinquency Action, Child Abuse Pending		
Yes	13	02
No	780	98
Total	793	
Unknown	35	

DRUGS AND ALCOHOL

TABLE 3.18
Distribution of Past Use of Domestic Violence Project

Used	Frequency	Percent
Yes	96	14
No	580	86
Total	676	
Unknown	157	

TABLE 3.19
Distribution of Times Police Called in Past

Police Called	Frequency	Percent
Yes	380	57
No	286	43
Total	666	

TABLE 3.20
Distribution of Past Separations Due to Violence

Past Separations	Frequency	Percent
Yes	422	67
No	208	33
Total	630	

TABLE 3.21
Distribution of Miscarriages due to Violence

Miscarriage	Frequency	Percent
Yes	36	07
No	482	93
Total	518	

A consistent pattern emerging across various indicators of drug and alcohol use is that the assailants drink heavily while their victims typically do not drink or drink in only moderate amounts (according to the accounts of the victims). Furthermore, alcohol is the substance of choice.

About one-fourth (26%) of the alleged assailants are said to abstain entirely from the use of ethanol, while almost two-thirds (63%) of the victims are so classified. Thirty percent of the assailants are reported as drinking daily and 20% drink more than once a week. Other data indicated that 43% of the assailants were "heavy" drinkers.

TABLE 3.22
Alleged Assailants and Victims Using Ethanol as Reported by Victims

Ethanol Use	Alleged Assailants		Victims	
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
Use	599	74	307	37
Don't Use	207	26	525	63
Total	806		832	
Unknown	103		102	

TABLE 3.23
Distribution of Frequency of Ethanol Use as Reported by Victim

Frequency of Drinking	Alleged Assailants		Victims	
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
Never	207	26	525	63
Less than once a month	19	02	50	06
Once a month	29	04	69	08
More than once a month	56	07	57	07
Once a week	88	11	65	08
More than once a week	163	20	49	06
Daily	244	30	17	02
Total	806		832	

TABLE 3.24
Distribution of Ethanol Use Level
as Reported by Victim

Level of Alcohol Use	Alleged Assailants		Victims	
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
None	207	25	525	63
Light	103	13	214	26
Moderate	153	19	70	08
Heavy	350	43	20	02
Total	813		829	

This heavy use of alcohol in battering men has been frequently noted in other research on battered women.^{22,23,24,25,26} These same studies also report that battered women tend to drink less than or at the same level as nonbattered women, while the rates of drinking in batterers are significantly higher than in other men.²⁷ However, it must be kept in mind that this data is typically based on reports of victims as it is here, and there may well be underreporting of alcohol use.

These same reporting biases may also exist for reports of drug use. Very little drug use is reported for either victims or alleged assailants. Fewer than one in five (18%) of the alleged assailants are reported to use drugs; only 4% of victims report using drugs. Of those who used drugs, the majority of the alleged assailants and the victims used them more than once a week. The most commonly used drug by the alleged assailants was mari-

TABLE 3.25
Alleged Assailants and Victims Using Drugs
as Reported by Victims

Drug Use	Alleged Assailants		Victims	
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
Use	134	18	32	04
Don't Use	598	82	811	96
Total	732		843	
Unknown	141		69	

juana (62%). For the victims, the most commonly used drugs were tranquilizers (26%), marijuana (32%), and barbiturates (18%).

Although overall rates of drug use have been reported to be higher for both victims and assailants in other research,²⁸ the general findings reported here of higher drug use in assailants than victims, heavy use of marijuana among assailants, and relatively high use of tranquilizers in victims are consistent with other research.

TABLE 3.26
Distribution of Frequency of Drug Use as Reported by Victims

Frequency	Alleged Assailants		Victims	
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
Never use	598	82	811	96
Less than once a month	4	00	3	00
Once a month	3	00	1	00
More than once a month	7	01	2	00
Once a week	12	02	5	01
More than once a week	45	05	2	00
Daily	63	09	19	07
Total	732		843	

TABLE 3.27
Types of Drugs Used Among Those Said to Use Drugs

Drug	Alleged Assailants		Victims	
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
Barbiturates	3	02	6	18
Tranquilizers	11	07	9	26
Marijuana	95	62	11	32
Cocaine	8	05	--	--
Amphetamines	13	08	1	03
Opiates	11	07	1	03
Hallucinogens	3	02	--	--
Other	8	05	6	18
Total	152		34	

INSTANT INCIDENT

The instant incident (that occurrence that eventuated in contact with the domestic violence project) occurred in the home of the victim in 83% of the cases and involved the spouse or partner in a like number (84%) of cases. The median length of the relationship between the victim and the alleged assailant is slightly more than six years. This data again supports the idea that battered women are the primary recipients of services.

TABLE 3.28
Distribution of Location of Incident

<u>Location</u>	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Home Shared by Disputants	633	62
Victim's Home	218	21
Alleged Assailant's Home	17	02
Other Private Home	56	05
Public Location	73	07
Other	26	03
Total	1,023	
Unknown	3	

TABLE 3.29
Distribution of Relationship of Alleged Assailant to Victim

<u>Relationship</u>	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Spouse or Partner-- in Home	677	67
Spouse or Partner-- Not in Home	171	17
Former Spouse or Partner	78	08
Child	20	02
Other, Family of Victim	19	02
Other, Family of Alleged Assailant	2	--
Friend/Family Acquaintance	29	03
Other	18	02
Total	1,014	

TABLE 3.30
Distribution of Relationship Duration (in Years)

<u>Duration</u>	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percent</u>	<u>Cumulative Percent</u>
Less than 1 year	64	07	07
1 year	104	11	18
2 years	107	11	29
3 years	104	11	40
4 years	71	08	48
5 years	65	07	55
6 years	45	05	60
7 years	37	04	64
8 years	31	03	67
9 years	47	05	72
10 years	41	04	76
11 years	29	03	79
12 years	23	02	81
13 years	23	02	83
14 years	11	01	84
15 years	22	02	86
More than 15 years	123	13	99*
Total	947		

*Less than 100% due to rounding.

While half of the alleged assailants are reported to have been drinking at the time of the instant incident, only 8% of the victims are so reported. Similarly, while 16% of the alleged assailants are reported to have been using drugs at the time of the incident, only 2% of the victims are reported to have been using drugs. The data suggest that while alcohol is prevalent, it is not nearly so prevalent as to infer causality. Moreover, the absence of statistical control suggests that there may well be as many "drinkers" who are not violent.

Although as noted earlier, other research has commonly found high degrees of alcohol use in batterers, the data cited here that half of the alleged assailants had been drinking at the time of the instant incident is also consistent with other research. Frieze and Knoble reported that when battered women were asked to describe a specific violent incident in their marriages, about 50% reported that their husbands had been drinking. Other analyses in this same study supported the hypothesis that the relationship

between alcohol and marital violence is complex.²⁹ There is also evidence that alcohol use is related to calling the police for protection against marital violence in a variety of ways.^{30,31}

TABLE 3.31
Distribution of Use of Drugs and Alcohol During Incident
as Reported by Victims

Substance Use	Alleged Assailants		Victims	
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
Use of Drugs				
Yes	117	16	18	02
No	620	84	863	98
Total	737		881	
Don't Know	159		72	
Use of Alcohol				
Yes	401	50	74	08
No	407	50	827	92
Total	808		901	
Don't Know	113		63	

Type of abuse was coded using the CRT scales developed by Straus, Gelles, and Steinmetz.³² Responses were coded using "all that apply" codes, and analyzed using a multiple-response program. Thus, the frequencies represent the percentage of victims subject to each type of abuse, and add to more than 100%. These data indicate that victims are frequently multiply abused. The victims are reported as subject to verbal abuse in 92% of the cases; pushed, slapped, etc., in 74% of the cases; punched, kicked, etc., in 57% of the cases, and sexually assaulted in 6% of the cases. The victim is reported, on the other hand, to have verbally abused the alleged assailant in 20% of the cases; to have pushed, slapped, etc., the alleged assailant in 15% of the cases; pushed, kicked, etc. the alleged assailant in 6% of the cases; and sexually assaulted the alleged assailant in fewer than 1% of the cases.

Straus, Gelles, and Steinmetz³³ also found evidence for multiple abuse in victims of violence, as have other researchers.³⁴ However, there is disagreement in the research literature on how often battered women fight back or otherwise use violence against a battering husband. Studies based on

samples which are not primarily identified from shelters or police records have tended to find that most of the women do fight back and/or initiate violence themselves on at least some occasions. However, they are typically less violent overall than are their husbands.^{35,36} Samples based on women seeking help in shelters or from other types of agencies have reported that few of the battered women fight back.^{37,38} The data reported here is consistent with other shelter data. However, the low levels of violence in the victims found here may again represent hesitation in these victims to admit their own violence. Another interpretation is that it is the women who do not resist who are most likely to use these types of services.

TABLE 3.32
Distribution of Characteristics of Instant Incident:
Abuse Reported Experienced by Victim

Abuse Experienced	Frequency	Percent
Verbal Abuse		
Yes	901	92
No	83	08
Total	984	
Don't Know	52	
Push, Slap, Etc.		
Yes	738	74
No	257	26
Total	995	
Don't Know	30	
Punch, Kick, Etc.		
Yes	564	57
No	427	43
Total	991	
Don't Know	26	
Sexual Assault		
Yes	63	06
No	900	93
Total	963	
Don't Know	15	

TABLE 3.33
Distribution of Characteristics of Instant Incident:
Abuse Reported Committed by Victim

<u>Abuse Committed</u>	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Verbal Abuse		
Yes	191	20
No	781	80
Total	972	
Don't Know	16	
Push, Slap, Etc.		
Yes	147	15
No	827	85
Total	974	
Don't Know	11	
Punch, Kick, Etc.		
Yes	61	06
No	902	94
Total	963	
Don't Know	20	
Sexual Assault		
Yes	4	--
No	950	100
Total	954	
Don't Know	5	

The alleged assailant is reported to have threatened to throw or smash an object in one-third (32%) of the cases; to have threatened the victim with a weapon or other object in 31% of the cases; but to have used a weapon or object in only 15% of the cases. Alternatively, only 6% of the victims are reported to have threatened to throw or smash an object; only 4% threatened the alleged assailant with a weapon or other object; and 3% used a weapon or other object. Interestingly, the few victims who threaten to use a weapon or object are far more likely to go through with the threat (.94) than are alleged assailants (.48). The distribution of weapons and objects reported in use or threatened is almost identical for victims and alleged assailants, with one-fourth reported for guns, one-fourth reported for knives, and one-half for other objects. Few victims fight back: only one in five is verbally abusive, and one in six pushes or slaps.

TABLE 3.34
Distribution of Characteristics of Instant Incident:
Reported Involvement of Weapons

<u>Action</u>	<u>Alleged Assailants</u>		<u>Victims</u>	
	<u>Freq.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Freq.</u>	<u>%</u>
Threatened to Throw or Smash Object				
Yes	285	32	57	06
No	617	68	890	94
Total	902		947	
Don't Know	28		28	
Threatened Person With Weapon or Object				
Yes	280	31	35	04
No	611	69	910	96
Total	891		945	
Don't know	34		16	
Used Weapon or Object				
Yes	134	15	33	03
No	752	85	911	96
Total	886		944	
Don't Know	20		19	

TABLE 3.35
Distribution of Weapons Reported Used in Act or Threat

<u>Weapon</u>	<u>Alleged Assailants</u>		<u>Victims</u>	
	<u>Freq.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Freq.</u>	<u>%</u>
Gun	62	26	14	25
Knife	60	25	14	25
Other	121	50	29	51
Total	243		57	
Don't Know	14		13	

Nearly two victims in three (63%) are reported to have experienced physical injury as a result of the instant incident. Of these, two-thirds reported bruises as the most serious injury, and almost one-fourth reported lacerations or bleeding as the most serious injury. Thus, 21% of all cases

report some injury beyond the level of bruises. Clearly, the violence in these cases is serious by any standard and in many instances, requires medical attention.

TABLE 3.36
Injuries to Victim

Injury	Frequency	Percent
Some	623	63
None	369	37
Total	992	
Don't Know	8	

TABLE 3.37
Type of Injury Reported as "Most Serious"
Among Those Reporting Injuries

Most Serious Injury	Frequency	Percent
Bruises	410	66
Lacerations	63	10
Bleeding	81	13
Fractures	43	07
Loss of Consciousness	24	04
Miscarriage	2	--
Total	623	

HELP SEEKING AND SERVICE REQUESTS

Almost all (97%) clients report the use of some referral source in finding the domestic violence project. The most common single referral source is the police (22% of those reporting a referral source). The only other referral source accounting for more than 10% of referrals is the district attorney (13%). Otherwise, the pattern of in-referrals suggests a breadth of community contacts among the domestic violence programs studied.

Counseling (14%), shelter (15%), criminal legal representation (12%), and legal information (14%) are the modal service requests. It is additionally

noteworthy that 1,666 service requests were recorded for 1,033 clients, indicating that 61% of clients made multiple requests. (The PMS form allows for a maximum of two service requests to be recorded.)

TABLE 3.38
Reported Use of a Referral/Information Source

Used Source	Frequency	Percent
Yes	853	97
No	29	03
Total	882	
Don't Know	14	

TABLE 3.39
Distribution of Referral/Information Source

Source	Frequency	Percent
Domestic Violence Project--		
Other	26	03
Police	192	22
District Attorney	115	13
Public Defender	1	--
Legal Assistance	14	02
Probation	4	--
Courts	81	09
Other Legal	27	03
Private Physician	1	--
Hospital	23	03
Other Health Care	9	01
Social Services	41	05
Welfare	12	01
Private Therapist/Counselor	13	02
Public Mental Health	18	02
Hotline	28	03
Housing	3	--
School	3	--
Employment	2	--
Church	13	02
Friend/Acquaintance	59	07
Relative/Family	54	06
Media	52	06
Other	62	07
Total	853	

TABLE 3.40
Distribution of Service Requests

Service Request	Frequency	Percent
General Information Referral	163	10
Legal Information-- Referral	82	05
Legal Representation-- Civil	240	14
Legal Representation-- Criminal	98	06
Mediation	204	12
Diversion	13	01
Crisis Intervention	50	03
Advocacy	145	09
Counseling	89	05
Transportation	231	14
Shelter	18	1
Housing	250	15
Financial	40	02
Medical	20	01
Other	7	--
Total	16	01
Unknown	1,666*	
	3	

*Total requests recorded for 1,033 clients; 61% of clients had 2 services recorded.

Out-referrals are reported for 64% of the clients. Of those referred to other agencies, one-fourth (26%) are referred to courts, 20% are referred to legal assistance, and 8% are referred to other legal offices/agencies. The remaining out-referrals are widely scattered, further indicating the breadth of contacts of the domestic violence projects. In half (52%) of the cases, police were called; in one-third (32%) of the cases the victim filed a complaint; while only 7% of the victims reported making a civil arrest.

TABLE 3.41
Incidents of Out-Referrals Recorded on Initial Assessment

Out-Referral Recorded	Frequency	Percent
Yes	369	.64
No	207	36
Total	576	
Don't Know	1	

TABLE 3.42
Distribution of Out-Referrals Recorded on Initial Assessment

Referral To	Frequency	Percent
Domestic Violence Project-- Other		
Police	38	10
District Attorney	10	02
Public Defender	13	04
Legal Assistance	1	--
Probation	72	20
Courts	2	--
Other Legal	96	26
Private Physician	21	06
Hospital	--	--
Other Health Care	6	02
Social Services	4	01
Welfare	34	09
Private Therapist/Counselor	6	02
Public Mental Health	12	03
Hotline	13	04
Employment	2	--
Housing	9	2
School	1	--
Church	10	03
Friend/Acquaintance	1	--
Relative/Family	6	02
Media	4	01
Other	2	--
Total	6	02
	369	

TABLE 3.43
Reported Description of Legal Initiatives

Action	Frequency	Percent
Police Called		
Yes	521	52
No	484	48
Total	1,005	
Don't Know	19	
Victim Filed Complaint		
Yes	316	32
No	677	68
Total	993	
Don't Know	17	
Victim Made Civil Arrest		
Yes	61	07
No	836	93
Total	897	
Don't Know	17	

CHILDREN AS CLIENTS

Although information on children is not widely reported, the data suggest that children of project clients may be themselves at risk. Children, defined as household members under 18 or so labeled by a project client, are present in almost all cases: 94% of clients report at least one household member under 18, and 92% of all cases report a child in the household. In only 4% of the cases, however, are child-related problems (e.g., neglect, abuse, sexual abuse or incest) reported during the Initial Assessment interview. Similarly, in only 2% of the cases is it reported that a child was previously removed from the home by court order, and 2% report a delinquency action pending.

Although children are present in almost all households represented at projects, little information is reported on activities and services concerning them. Indeed, fewer than 1% (24/7143 = .003) of service-related decisions involve placement for foster care. This, it should be noted, is the only service indicator specifically related to children.

Children also constitute a sizable portion of the client population of the shelter projects participating in this evaluation. Eighty percent of shelter cases involve children as residents, and the children represent 63% of the shelter population. On the average, a case involving children includes two children (the mean is 2.2).

The scarcity of MIS-generated information on children reflects methodological and procedural constraints experienced by both project staff and the national evaluation design team. These data are, however, supplemented by information gathered during client follow-up interviews, which form the core of the client impact study. First-round client follow-up interviews with a sample of 112 former clients at the intensive study sites were conducted by UI field staff during the spring of 1980. Preliminary analysis of child-relevant data elements from this impact study are presented below.

As with the MIS data, 92% of follow-up respondents reported children as members of their households at the time of project contact. The average number of children reported by clients reporting children is roughly two (1.9 children at time of project contact and 2.2 at time of follow-up interview). Forty percent of respondents reported that the children were in danger at the time of the instant incident, and 60% reported taking their children with them to the project site during their initial project contact. Whereas 4% of the MIS cases reported a child-related problem, fully 12% of the follow-up interviewees reported such problems. This divergence is most likely due to the follow-up "problem items" being preceded by a pair of questions concerning children (specifically, "Were your children with you?" and "Were your children in danger?").

Almost equal numbers of the follow-up respondents reported that one or more of their children had been either previously threatened with abuse (40%) or previously abused (41%), while only 26% reported that a child had been previously injured as a result of abuse. Of those children injured, medical care was sought in 18% of the cases. The most frequently reported injury to the child is bruises (68%).

RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN SELECTED CASE CHARACTERISTICS

Presenting Problem and Length of Relationship

Presenting problems do not change appreciably as a function of length of relationship (although there is a slight trend downward in proportion reporting physical abuse as the length of the relationship increases) (Table 3.45). A glance at the percentage reporting physical abuse indicates that this indicator is not highly volatile over length of relationship; nor is its value relative to the sum of fear of danger and threat of violence.

Service Requests and Length of Relationship

While shelter requests are the modal service request overall (25% of clients), there is marked variability in the occurrence of this request as a function of length of relationship (Table 3.46). The highest incidence of requests for shelter services occurs among those reporting relatively short relationship histories (about three years or less). The shift away from shelter requests (as a function of relationship length) is accompanied by increasing requests for counseling and, subsequent to the second year, by increasing requests for legal information and referral.

Service Requests and Presenting Problem

Broken down by presenting problem, the modal (or almost modal) service request for clients who report fear of danger and physical abuse is shelter (Table 3.47). Alternatively, those who report harassment modally request criminal legal representation, general legal information and referral, and general information; they do not, however, express a desire for counseling. Those reporting threat of violence as the presenting problem request general information and counseling.

TABLE 3.45
Presenting Problem and Length of Relationship

Presenting Problem	Length of Relationship (in Years)											Over 20	Row Total	
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10			11-20
Harassment	9 09%	11 06%	15 08%	12 07%	10 08%	9 07%	15 18%	6 10%	8 17%	3 04%	7 11%	41 17%	23 16%	169 11%
Fear/Threat of Violence	43 41%	74 45%	65 35%	68 41%	50 38%	60 48%	36 44%	28 45%	15 32%	24 35%	26 43%	103 42%	62 43%	654 41%
Physical Abuse	46 44%	72 42%	85 46%	75 46%	47 36%	47 38%	30 37%	24 39%	20 43%	26 38%	20 33%	81 33%	55 38%	628 40%
Adult Sexual Assault	0 --	2 01%	4 02%	1 01%	5 04%	0 --	0 --	1 02%	0 --	1 01%	0 --	3 01%	0 --	17 01%
Child Abuse/Neglect	1 01%	6 03%	2 01%	2 01%	9 07%	3 02%	0 --	3 05%	0 --	8 12%	1 02%	4 02%	0 --	39 02%
Child Sexual Abuse	0 --	0 --	1 --	0 --	0 --	0 --	0 --	0 --	0 --	0 --	0 --	1 --	0 --	2 --
Other Assault	5 05%	5 03%	11 06%	6 04%	10 08%	5 04%	1 01%	0 --	4 08%	6 09%	7 11%	10 04%	5 03%	75 05%
Column Total	104	170	183	164	131	124	82	62	47	68	61	243	145	1,584*

*The unit of analysis is the presenting problem; up to two problems may be recorded for each client. Totals and percentages thus reflect possible multiple problem codes.

TABLE 3.45
Presenting Problem and Length of Relationship

Presenting Problem	Length of Relationship (in Years)													Row Total
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11-20	Over 20	
Harassment	9 09%	11 06%	15 08%	12 07%	10 08%	9 07%	15 18%	6 10%	8 17%	3 04%	7 11%	41 17%	23 16%	169 11%
Fear/Threat of Violence	43 41%	74 45%	65 35%	68 41%	50 38%	60 48%	36 44%	28 45%	15 32%	24 35%	26 43%	103 42%	62 43%	654 41%
Physical Abuse	46 44%	72 42%	85 46%	75 46%	47 36%	47 38%	30 37%	24 39%	20 43%	26 38%	20 33%	81 33%	55 38%	628 40%
Adult Sexual Assault	0 --	2 01%	4 02%	1 01%	5 04%	0 --	0 --	1 02%	0 --	1 01%	0 --	3 01%	0 --	17 01%
Child Abuse/Neglect	1 01%	6 03%	2 01%	2 01%	9 07%	3 02%	0 --	3 05%	0 --	8 12%	1 02%	4 02%	0 --	39 02%
Child Sexual Abuse	0 --	0 --	1 --	0 --	0 --	0 --	0 --	0 --	0 --	0 --	0 --	1 --	0 --	2 --
Other Assault	5 05%	5 03%	11 06%	6 04%	10 08%	5 04%	1 01%	0 --	4 08%	6 09%	7 11%	10 04%	5 03%	75 05%
Column Total	104	170	183	164	131	124	82	62	47	68	61	243	145	1,584*

*The unit of analysis is the presenting problem; up to two problems may be recorded for each client. Totals and percentages thus reflect possible multiple problem codes.

TABLE 3.46
Service Requests and Length of Relationship

Service Request	Length of Relationship (in Years)													Row Total
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11-20	Over 20	
General Information	6	16	16	22	21	12	9	8	5	14	11	38	13	191
Referral	1	4	2	3	1	0	2	0	1	0	1	5	5	26
Legal Information-Referral	8	16	12	22	27	19	11	11	5	10	11	39	23	214
Legal Representation--Civil	10	8	9	1	10	8	7	6	1	3	8	21	4	96
Legal Representation--Criminal	12	26	21	19	8	19	10	6	11	2	13	26	28	201
Mediation	1	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	3	0	2	2	1	12
Diversion	3	0	8	6	3	0	0	1	0	9	4	9	5	48
Crisis Intervention	11	15	13	16	5	7	12	6	6	11	3	16	14	135
Advocacy	12	9	8	5	6	8	1	2	3	2	1	9	6	72
Counseling	13	23	32	28	27	13	11	8	5	14	1	22	14	211
Transportation	2	5	4	3	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	17
Shelter	21	35	37	29	13	15	10	8	9	15	4	27	9	232
Housing	4	3	8	4	4	2	0	0	0	1	0	5	0	31
Financial	1	4	3	2	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	4	2	19
Medical	2	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	6
Other	1	2	0	1	0	1	1	3	1	0	0	2	1	13
Column Total	108	168	175	161	126	105	77	61	51	82	59	225	126	1,524*

*The unit of analysis is the service request; up to two requests may be recorded for each client. Totals thus represent possible multiple request codes.



TABLE 3.47
Service Requests and Presenting Problem

Service Request	ment	Presenting Problem								
		Fear of Danger	Threat of Violence	Physical Abuse	Adult Sexual Assault	Child Neglect	Child Abuse	Child Sexual Abuse	Incest	Other
General Information	56	110	114	101	3	0	6	0	0	24
Referral	5	6	8	22	2	0	1	0	0	1
Legal Information-Referral	63	75	88	158	6	1	8	1	1	21
Legal Representation-Civil	16	34	53	68	3	0	6	0	0	6
Legal Representation-Criminal	65	65	79	147	2	1	1	0	0	10
Mediation	8	2	3	4	0	0	1	0	0	2
Diversion	3	6	28	32	0	0	3	0	0	12
Crisis Intervention	22	61	50	109	1	0	7	2	0	3
Advocacy	16	33	41	64	1	0	1	0	0	8
Counseling	25	74	101	167	6	1	14	0	1	22
Transportation	1	14	15	6	0	0	0	0	0	0
Shelter	30	109	83	203	6	2	16	2	0	10
Housing	3	16	10	28	2	0	2	1	0	8
Financial	4	10	3	12	0	1	0	0	0	4
Medical	0	2	2	6	1	0	1	0	0	0
Other	4	2	4	9	1	0	0	0	0	1

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RELATIONS BETWEEN SERVICE REQUESTS

Having identified relations between (a) length of relationship and service request, and (b) presenting problem and service request (neither of which appears to be explicable in terms of the other), it is appropriate to turn to an analysis of relations between service requests reported for specific clients. A comprehensive analysis of the structure underlying the request-by-request matrix must await a subsequent report; however, one sub-matrix emerges as particularly interesting. The four services most frequently requested by those for whom multiple requests were recorded are:

- shelter
- general information
- counseling
- legal information/referral

The expected frequencies (i.e., the frequencies with which these four service requests would be expected to appear together in pairs if they were conjoined randomly) are presented in parentheses following the actual (observed) cell frequencies in Table 3.48.

TABLE 3.48
Observed and Expected Frequencies of Joint Service Requests

Service Request	Counseling	Legal	Shelter
General Information	47 (61)	60 (58)	14 (69)
Counseling		17 (53)	33 (62)
Legal			33 (60)

$\chi^2 = 97.3, df = 4, p = .001$

The chi-square value of 97.3 indicates an extremely poor "goodness of fit"; that is, the trends are significant and quite strong.

Interestingly, the smallest observed frequency (14) is associated with the largest expected frequency (69). Thus, the two most common service requests (among clients with multiple service requests) are very uncommon as multiple requests. That is, a client who requests shelter, for example, is very unlikely to also request general information; and a client who re-

quests general information is very unlikely to request shelter. At least superficially, this finding probably reflects a certain level of commitment or seriousness to that service request. Clearly, a request for general information does not indicate the same level of firmness or resolve as a request for shelter. The other extreme contrast between observed and expected frequency is 53. These two service requests initially may be interpreted as reflecting either very different approaches (i.e., conflicting strategies) or orientations (i.e., inconsistent problem definition) toward remediation of domestic violence problems. Based on the "marginal" (i.e., total, nonconditional) frequencies of individual and joint service requests, we next develop the "expected" probabilities. That is to say, the expected probability of the joint event is the product of the probabilities of the individual service requests, irrespective of any relationship between either type of service request.

The ratio of expected probabilities to observed probabilities is used here as an analytic device to describe the relationship among pairs of service requests. A value of one indicates statistical independence. A value less than one indicates some "affinity" between the elements of the pair (i.e., the pair occurs more often than expected), whereas a value of more than one indicates some "disaffinity" (i.e., the pair occurs less frequently than expected). The ratios of probabilities are described in Table 3.49.

TABLE 3.49
Distribution of Joint Probabilities Over Service Request Couplets

Couplet	Expected	Observed	E/O
GI and Counseling	.07	.12	.58
GI and Legal	.08	.15	.533
GI and Shelter	.06	.03	2.0
Shelter & Counseling	.05	.08	.625
Shelter and Legal	.05	.08	.625
Counseling and Legal	.06	.04	1.52

The strongest disaffinities appear for two service request couplets:

- general information and shelter
- legal information and counseling

In other words, these two service request couplets appear least often. The strongest affinities appear for two other service request couplets:

- general information and legal information
- general information and counseling

That is, these frequently presented service request couplets are indicative of two client strategies to intervene in domestic violence. Together, these four couplets represent strategies often pursued or avoided in seeking assistance. Further analysis of these data will assist in interpretation of these relationships.

The pairings of service requests present two crucial internal contradictions:

- With respect to (general information, shelter)
 - General information is associated with counseling (E/O = .58)
 - Counseling is associated with shelter (E/O = .625) but
 - General information is dissociated from shelter (E/O = 2.0)

Similarly,

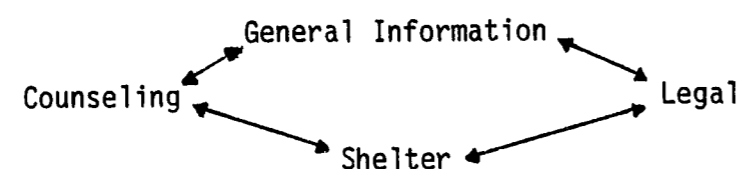
- General information is associated with legal information (E/O = .53)
- Legal information is associated with shelter (E/O = .625) but
- General information is dissociated from shelter (E/O = 2.0).

- With respect to (counseling, legal)
 - Counseling is associated with shelter (E/O = .625)
 - Shelter is associated with legal (E/O = .625)
 - Counseling is dissociated from legal (E/O = 1.52)

Similarly,

- Counseling is associated with general information (E/O = .58)
- General information is associated with legal (E/O = .533)
- Counseling is dissociated from legal (E/O = 1.52)

A graphic representation of this configuration is as follows:



Absence of an arrow indicates dissociation between service requests.

Figure 3.1* displays the distance of couplets quantitatively. Service requests are represented by points and chords, the distance between them signifying a pair (or couplet). Thus, for example, we see that the distance between GI (general information) and LEGAL (upper left) is roughly one-fourth of the distance from GI to SHELTER (lower right). In this framework, short distance implies affinity, while large distance implies dissociation. Figure 3.1 suggests several potential hypotheses concerning client strategies for intervention services. Certainly patterns of service requests reflect as much about projects as they do about clients. But the consistency of patterns across projects in the pooled data suggests that client perceptions/definitions of the problem guide their decision-making and mediate project service delivery along two dimensions:

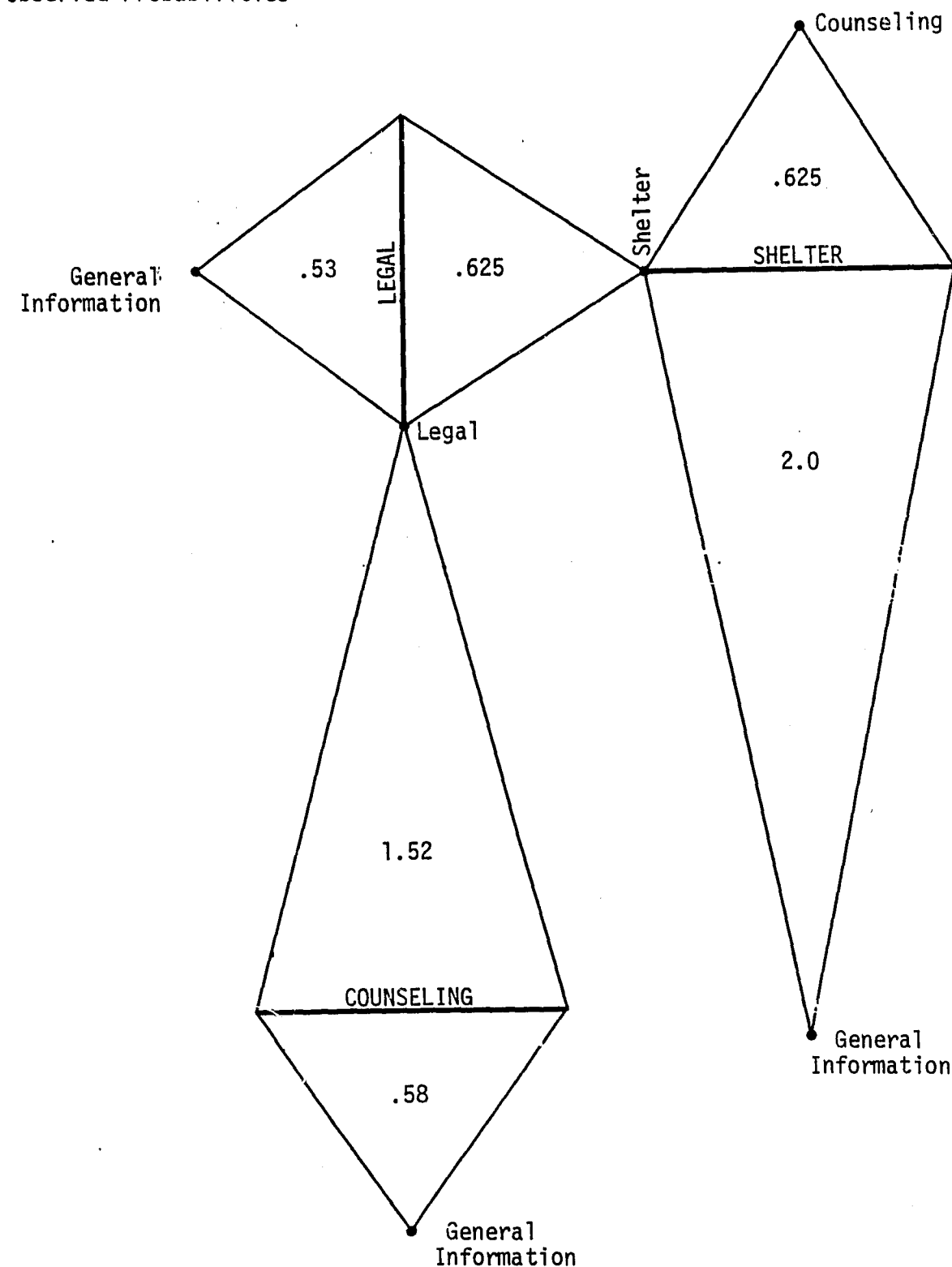
- certainty of need for intervention: exploratory service requests (e.g., general information) vs. concrete service requests (e.g., shelter)
- strategy and extent of intervention: requests for external or institutional intervention (e.g., legal services) vs. requests for internal or individualized interventions (e.g., counseling)

For example, the dissociation between general information requests and shelter requests may indicate a differential in certainty of the desired intervention, or perhaps an attribution by the victim of the severity of the incident and the type of help necessary. The request for general information may reflect a relatively diffuse perception/definition of the situation, while shelter requests represent a greater degree of certainty as to the extent of intervention necessary. In other words, the client requesting general information is exploring options, while the client requesting shelter has decided that a strong intervention is certain and necessary.

The counseling-legal dissociation, on the other hand, represents a strategy for maintaining or dissolving the relationship. Counseling requests imply a willingness to resolve problems within the family system, while legal

*We acknowledge our debt to Dr. Joshua Menkes of NSF for this mode of display.

FIGURE 3.1
 Intra-pair Distance Representing Ratio of Expected Probabilities to
 Observed Probabilities



requests imply a protective strategy based on dissolving the relationship. Thus the dissociation between counseling and legal represents a dimension of strategy, approach, and definition of the problem and its resolution. Together, these dissociations represent orthogonal distinctions appropriate for client assessment and case planning. That is, the strategy for intervention and type (extent) of intervention can be determined based on client service requests along a counseling-legal continuum.

From the depiction in Figure 3.1 and the probabilities of joint service requests, we can hypothesize that clients requesting either shelter or legal services have selected a strategy for halting spousal abuse. Conversely, clients requesting information, counseling or legal services are still exploring options. That is, there remains a question of the certainty or firmness of the desired intervention. Given the absence of a relation between relationship history and presenting problem, we can assume that clients differ in terms of strategy (service request) and that the strategy is mediated by the length of the relationship. Thus, victims in shorter relationships primarily seek shelter services, while victims in longer relationships seek primarily counseling or (increasingly with duration of relationship) legal assistance.

Summary

In sum, we have found that presenting problem and service request are related as are length of relationship and service request, although length of relationship and problem are not related. We have also found, upon initial analysis, that the relations among service requests are far from simple. Taken together, these findings suggest several questions to be raised in subsequent analyses:

- How does the client define the situation; what are the dimensions used in constructing alternative definitions; etc.
- How do the client's background and current situation affect the definition of the situation?
- What are appropriate service mixes for programs to offer; what alternatives should be guaranteed; etc.
- How does the client's definition of the situation affect the client's chosen remediation strategy?

In all of the above, we should stress, the question of efficacy is abjured. Questions raised emphasize the nature of the client, the project and the interfacing processes which obtain (descriptively as well as normatively in the future) between the two.

CLIENT HELP-SEEKING

Outreach and intervention strategies should, in an ideal program planning process, be tailored to empirical knowledge of help-seeking behavior among domestic violence victims. Yet the area of victim help-seeking in domestic violence is not well understood. One of the principal areas of knowledge gained through this evaluation is the help-seeking styles of program clients as a function of case characteristics, instant (precipitating) incidents, service needs, and project interventions. Two multivariate analyses were undertaken on the pooled aggregated data as a first step in development of a typology of client service requests and needs.

Help-Seeking Past and Present

A principal components analysis was undertaken on a set of indicators of past and present (i.e., instant incident) help-seeking behavior. The variables were recoded to dichotomies (help sought vs. other), the raw correlation matrix retained (i.e., unities on the diagonal), the first two roots extracted and no rotation performed. The results are illustrated graphically in table 3.50 and figure 3.2. The first component is a strong general ("G") component indicating a positive relationship among the various help-seeking behaviors. It should be noted that the variables which were entered include direct reports by clients of help-seeking:

- previously called police (PREV POLC)
- called police (POLC)
- previously used a domestic violence project (PREV DV)
- sought medical treatment (MED)

Also included were several proxy variables thought to plausibly suggest some aspect of help seeking:

- referral from another agency (INREF)--prior help sought
- previous restraining order (PREV RO)
- restraining order currently in effect (RO)
- divorce or other civil action pending (DIVRC)

TABLE 3.50
Factor Coefficients for Two Principal Components

<u>Variable</u>	<u>I</u>	<u>II</u>
MED	.421	.790
DIVRC	.641	.666
POLC	.356	.094
PREV RO	.487	-.216
INREF	.422	-.285
PREV DV	.538	-.323
PREV POLC	.602	-.326
RO	.517	-.382
% of trace	26%	19%

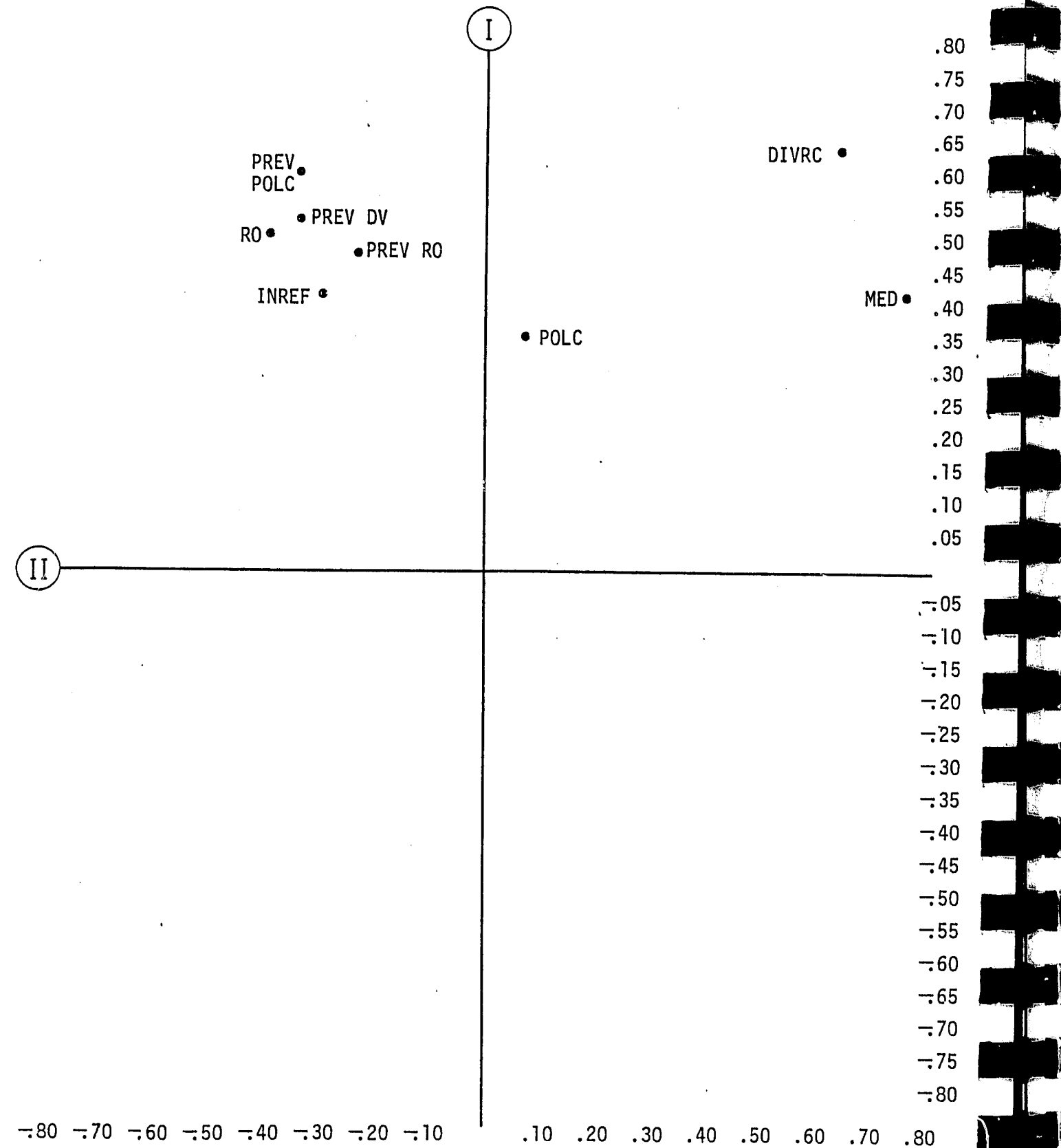
The second component spreads apart what the first had suggested as being unified. Two interpretations (or labels) suggest themselves. On the one hand, it may be significant that the cluster of variables to the left (figure 3.2) contains all of the "previous" help seeking and only the INREF indicator from the instant incident. Alternatively, we may note that the variable most closely associated with the second component (MED) may well be an index of severity of injury. The presence of divorce action (DIVRC) in a position almost as extreme also suggests something concerning past severity or certitude of current action.,

This analysis clearly indicates the presence of a secondary dimension to the primary help-seeking domain which is at least as policy-relevant as the initial G dimension. This secondary dimension strongly infers the role of severity of the current and prior incidents in help-seeking behavior among victims, while the primary dimension describes past behavior and incidents.

Help-Seeking and Case Characteristics

This analysis identifies and prioritizes the case characteristics predictive of help-seeking behavior among LEAA Family Violence Program clients. A composite dichotomous index of help-seeking behaviors for the instant case was constructed to simplify the analysis, based on the help-seeking

FIGURE 3.2
 HELP SEEKING VARIABLES IN SPACE OF
 FIRST TWO PRINCIPAL COMPONENTS



variables described in the previous section. That is, the composite index includes help-seeking for police services, medical care sought, and referral from another agency. (A future analysis might delve further into index construction for multiple help-seeking measures through a canonical correlation approach.) The single composite (dichotomous) variable is utilized in this analysis as the criterion variable for a stepwise multiple regression analysis using the following variables as candidate predictors:

- age
- sex
- race
- employment
- education
- length of relationship
- prior use of a domestic violence project
- prior call to police relative to domestic violence
- previously had a restraining order in effect
- severity of injury

The results are presented in Table 3.51. Four of the variables enter a predictive equation with a multiple correlation of .36 ($R^2 = .13$). These include:

- race (non-white more likely to seek help)
- severity of injury (more serious injury more likely to seek help)
- age (older more likely to seek help)
- sex (females more likely to seek help)

Severity of Injury emerges as the strongest predictor of help-seeking, a finding which underscores the importance of the "second" factor described in the preceding factor analysis. This finding agrees with other research which also identifies the severity of the violence as a major determinant of help seeking.^{41,42,43}

TABLE 3.51
Multiple Regression on Help-Seeking

Multiple R		.3555			
Mult R ²		.1264			
Std. Error of Est.			.6759		
Constant		1.1085			
Analysis of Variance	df	sum of squares	mean square	f ratio	prob. level
Regression	4.	40.238	10.059	22.021	.000
Residual	609.	278.199	.457		

Variables in Equation

Variable	Coefficient	Standardized Coefficient
race	.0904	.1586
injury	.1267	.2135
age	.0046	.0943
sex	.1785	.0885

While this is not surprising, the emergence of race as a predictor is an unexpected result. Whites are more likely than non-whites to report the family violence project as their initial point of contact with available sources of service or help, whereas non-whites are more likely to report some other agency contact prior to coming to the family violence project. (This, it should be added, is quite independent of the influence of injury severity, as the race/injury correlation is exceedingly low-- $r=.05$.) In other words, non-whites are more likely to have sought help from other agencies before coming to the family violence project, including police or medical agencies, while whites seem more likely to seek help first from the family violence project.

One explanation lies in the systematic differential of the positions of whites and non-whites within the social fabric of American society, including likelihood of involvement with various justice and service agencies. These differences presumably affect the help-seeking behavior we are seeing here. Similar arguments seem appropriate with respect to age and sex as variables comparably associates with social location.

Table 3.52 shows the correlations of all predictor candidates with respect to the help-seeking index. Of specific interest are those variables omit-

ted from the solution. None of the variables related to prior help-seeking enters the solution. Instead, severity of injury (presumably predictive of seeking medical services) and demographic characteristics are the predictors of help-seeking (as defined). The medical help-seeking aside, the help-seeking indicator achieves its lower value if the family violence project is the first point of contact with respect to the instant incident. The interpretation can be easily and clearly stated:

The location of one within societal structures and networks affects the route one takes to a family violence project.

TABLE 3.52
Correlations of Predictor Candidates with Help-Seeking Composite

Age	0.19
Sex	0.22
Race	0.24
Educ	0.13
Emp	0.15
Inj	0.23
Lgnthrel	0.09
Prevdvp	0.04
Prevpolc	0.04
Prevro	0.08

The importance of these findings and their interpretations is obvious. Clients vary in help-seeking along a dimension associated with social structural variables rather than along dimensions associated with prior help-seeking behaviors. That is, a victim's age and race represent greater variation (and predictive power) in understanding help-seeking behavior, together with severity of injury. These are "concrete" tangible qualities of a case, rather than attitudinal or "intent"-based attributes.

The history of such help-seeking behavior seems relatively unimportant in understanding current help-seeking. The regression and factor analyses together suggest that help-seeking is unaffected by "psychological" factors--people who sought help in the past will seek it again in the future. Rather, it is the victim's social structures and the severity of the instant incident which mediate help-seeking. The implications for outreach and public education naturally derive from these analytic results. How-

ever, psychological factors not included in this study may prove to be important in future research. Some research has suggested, for example, that causal attributions made about the violence may influence help seeking.⁴⁴

SERVICES OFFERED

In chapter 2 we presented simple (univariate) distributions of project characteristics concerning service emphasis, client focus, and strategy emphasis. We turn now to a more detailed analysis of project services and their relationships, using 12 dichotomous variables (i.e., yes/no). The proportion of projects offering each service and the standard deviation of each variable are presented in Table 3.53.

TABLE 3.53
Services Distribution

<u>Service</u>	<u>Proportion of Projects</u>	<u>Standard Deviation</u>
Room and Board Only	.5217	.5108
Supervised Babysitting	.5652	.5069
Transportation	.5652	.5069
Appointments/Referral	.8261	.3876
Accompaniment	.6087	.4990
Advocacy/Civil/Criminal	.9130	.2881
Appointment With Attorney	.5217	.5108
Hotline	.6087	.4990
Victim Counseling Alone	.6522	.4870
Victim Counseling Group	.4248	.5069
Batterers Counseling Alone	.4248	.5069
Batterers Counseling Group	.3478	.4870

The correlation matrix representing associations among all pairs of the above 12 variables was computed and submitted to a principal components analysis (factor analysis, Pearson product-moment correlation). The results are presented in Table 3.54. The first two factors (i.e., components) are particularly instructive.

TABLE 3.54
Factor Loading Matrix

<u>Services</u>	<u>Factor</u>	
	<u>I</u>	<u>II</u>
Room and Board Only	.92	-.16
Supervised Babysitting	.90	-.10
Transportation	.94	-.17
Appointments/Referral	.66	.34
Accompaniment	.93	-.12
Advocacy/Civil/Criminal	.48	.45
Appointment with Attorney	.18	.26
Hotline	.75	.10
Victim Counseling Alone	.75	.18
Victim Counseling Group	.77	-.20
Batterers Counseling Alone	-.11	.90
Batterers Counseling Group	.12	.53
EIGEN VALUE	5.85	1.65

The first factor (component) is dominated by traditional services, especially those associated with shelter projects. The one variable that loads negatively (although weakly) on the first factor is individual batterer counseling. The second factor, on the other hand, is dominated by batterer counseling alone with relatively high loadings from batterers group counseling and advocacy/civil/criminal. If these orthogonal (uncorrelated) dimensions can be named, the first might be termed traditional, or shelter, while the second can be named diversion. In this instance, then, the second factor may be thought of as representing the range of diversity attributable (at least in part) to the entrance of LEAA into the field.

The factors represent two distinct and orthogonal project strategies for domestic violence intervention: victim support and assistance vs. offender rehabilitation. (The percent of variance (trace) represented by these two factors (63%) leaves ample "room" for the small number of projects that have attempted to implement a "dual" strategy focusing both on assailant and victim.) Previous evaluation reports have noted the difficulty in implementing assailant-focused projects, as well as the conflicting ideologies of offender vs. victim foci. Moreover, many projects felt it was extremely difficult to advocate for the victim while simultaneously serving assailants.

SERVICES CLIENTS RECEIVE

Projects exhibit a variety of styles in fulfilling client service needs. Whereas direct client contact most frequently occurs in the office (38%) or by telephone (36%), in-person or telephone contacts made on behalf of the client with community agencies are reported in 26% of the cases.

TABLE 3.55
Contact Type

<u>With Client</u>	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Office	2,169	38
Telephone	1,995	35
In Home	100	02
<u>On Behalf of Client</u>		
Community (Includes Telephone)	1,496	26
Total	5,760	

Of the services provided to project clients, fully 31% is reported to be counseling in either individual or group sessions. It should be noted, however, that routine shelter services (counseling, information, and referrals) are not included in this array.

TABLE 3.56
Type of Service

<u>Service</u>	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Referral	404	07
Advocacy	421	07
Crisis Intervention	187	03
Eligibility Screening	125	02
Planning	1,242	22
Counseling	1,750	31
Mediation	29	--
Legal	660	12
Transportation	515	09
Other	334	06
Total	5,667	

Note: It should be emphasized that no routine shelter services are reflected in this display.

Forty-two percent of client service needs are met via utilization of existing community resources, with "courts" (13%) or "other" (13%) being the most frequently reported resources. These resources are exclusive of project services.

TABLE 3.57
Utilization of Community Resources

<u>Used</u>	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Yes	2,156	42
No	2,927	58
Total	5,083	

TABLE 3.58
Distribution of Community Utilization

	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Other DVP	155	07
Police	159	07
District Attorney	24	01
Public Defender	15	01
Legal Assistance	99	06
Probation	7	--
Courts	272	13
Other Legal	265	12
Private Physician	10	--
Hospital	125	06
Other Health Care	41	02
Social Services	193	09
Welfare	87	04
Private Therapist/Counselor	36	02
Public Mental Health	21	01
Housing	45	02
School	59	03
Employment	101	05
Church	20	01
Friends/Acquaintances	51	02
Relative/Family	80	04
Other	291	13
Total	2,156	

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4. ANALYSIS AND CONCLUSIONS

Process evaluation data for the 23 Family Violence Demonstration Projects have been gathered and analyzed for several purposes. First, it provides a descriptive overview of the structure, orientation, and operations of the projects. Projects can be typified along many dimensions, including service orientation, organizational characteristics, client characteristics, resource utilization, as well as various configurations of these dimensions. This report has identified and described the project and case characteristics which typify the family violence projects.

Second, process evaluation data serve as predictive or explanatory variables which can represent the demonstration projects in subsequent impact analyses. If, for example, differences are observed between two projects for a particular impact measure, the results can perhaps be understood in terms of one or more of the descriptive variables described above. To this end, we have conducted higher-order analyses of these same characteristics to reduce the extensive data base to a smaller number of variables representative of projects and cases. These include, for example, the analyses of help-seeking service requests as well as factor analyses of project service orientations.

Third, the process data provides a rich context for understanding and explaining what it was about a particular project that accounted for the observed impacts. A thorough understanding and description of each project input or characteristic can identify the salient features of a project which contributed to the outcomes or impacts. Again, the descriptive quantitative analyses in this report provide a rich base of contextual data documenting program and project events. Thus, when we say that Service "A" or Project "B" had a particular impact, reference to these earlier analyses

provides evaluation audiences with extensive background data on these elements.

Fourth, process evaluation data contributes to measurement of projects' instrumental or intermediate objectives, providing feedback to project staff and managers on project operations and progress toward goal attainment. This type of information includes data on client or case characteristics, service needs and project responses, and the short-term, or in-project, outcomes of those services. This information is especially useful in planning and modifying project services, and identifying program strengths as well as areas in need of attention. For evaluation audiences at the policy level, this information informs program and policy development in terms of program goals and design.

In this report, for example, we have presented information on both project and case characteristics to inform goal-setting and program management. The project descriptions in Chapter 2 and in earlier reports characterize a cohort of demonstration projects created from a national program guideline. This guideline encouraged several different approaches to family violence intervention. In some instances, family violence projects simply incorporated elements of existing programs, while other projects pioneered new services and approaches. As a result, the national program is testing a range of services and approaches while also experimenting with organizational models for service delivery and institutional change.

The case characteristics in Chapter 3 describe victims, assailants, incidents, and service requests for an aggregate sample of cases from 23 sites. The data demonstrate the seriousness and urgency of the majority of cases. The sample of over 2,000 cases represents a previously unserved population which, in many instances, is seriously injured, in need of medical attention, and remains fearful of further violence and danger. Children are frequently involved, usually as witnesses to the violence but often as victims. In a large percentage of cases, children are uprooted and displaced due to spousal violence against women.

The final purpose of process evaluation addresses the interface between applied research and evaluation. A major objective of evaluation research

is knowledge building--discovering and documenting what works, under what circumstances, and for which types of individuals. One of the differences between evaluation research and basic research is the difference between hypothesis-testing and measurement of national goals. In this study, we have developed information not only on the progress of family violence projects toward stated goals, but also on the underlying processes which make these efforts successful or effective. It is this basic research emphasis which has also guided our efforts and yielded the most significant evaluation results.

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

The major purpose of this report was to document, describe, and analyze the program inputs which comprise the "treatment" variable for the national demonstration. Analyses also included measurement of progress toward attainment of "intermediate" goals, including policy and programmatic impacts. The program inputs and intermediate goals are shown in Figure 1 (p. 17). Multivariate analyses of project and case characteristics provided typologies representing the program inputs which serve as predictor variables in subsequent impact analyses.

The family violence projects and cases can be typified and represented along three primary dimensions:

- requested (client strategy)
- services offered (program strategy)
- help-seeking factors (client characteristics)

Client Strategy

Client strategies can be represented along two sub-dimensions: certainty of intervention and strategy for intervention. Certainty is expressed along a continuum ranging from general inquiries and requests for information to requests for shelter and protection. Strategy can be conceptualized in either of two ways: a) individualized or internal interventions versus external or institutional interventions; or b) interventions to strengthen the family or interventions to dissolve the relationship. Moreover, the

selection of strategy is mediated by factors such as length of relationship and severity of injury. Further research and more focused inquiry is necessary to fully understand the intentions and motives underlying client service requests and strategies.

Program Strategies

Program strategies can be readily assigned to one of two types: shelters or diversion projects. "Shelter" is actually a label encompassing several program strategies and services: counseling, advocacy, shelter, court accompaniment, and crisis intervention. Where there are children's services, they are provided by shelters. In the LEAA project sample, shelters generally are victim-focused, and are usually supported by private organizations or public social service agencies. Shelters also utilize volunteers as well as other paid non-LEAA staff.

Diversion programs generally are based in the criminal justice system, are offender-focused, and provide some type of counseling intervention for either the assailant or the victim and assailant. Some shelter programs also operate diversion components, but this is an infrequent and complex undertaking. The diversion programs vary with respect to several factors usually considered crucial to diversion programming:

- point of intervention: pre- or post-arrest
- mode of intervention: group, individual
- theory-base: psychoanalytic, learning theory, character disorder
- voluntariness of participation
- sanctions for violators of diversion conditions

Comparing shelter and diversion strategies, the analysis of project services provides a rather explicit policy-level distinction between two types of program intervention strategies. The national demonstration program was not established to specifically test either of these strategies, nor to comparatively assess their effectiveness. Given the variability in diversion program design, a conclusive and unambiguous test of diversion/treatment of batterers is not forthcoming in this evaluation. However, the significance of diversion as a program intervention strategy suggests that a research and development program testing several diversion models should be placed high on the research agenda.

Help-Seeking Strategies

Help-seeking strategies represent a second dimension of client strategies. Whereas services requested focused on the strategies for intervention and cessation of domestic violence, client characteristics describing help-seeking behavior focus on the cognitive and social psychological processes by which clients come to projects. The behavioral and emotional "paths" which victims take in seeking help are mediated by several factors: their perception of the agency they are contacting (i.e., the strategy factor described earlier), past help-seeking experiences, socio-demographic characteristics of the family, and the pattern of violence.

Factor analyses of the characteristics of help-seeking behavior shows that help-seeking behavior is a more complex phenomenon, not readily lending itself to categorization. There appear to be two types of clients: those who have previously sought help of some kind for an incident of domestic violence, and those who have previously not sought assistance. However, help-seeking is likely to be mediated by both social structural variables (including age and race) and severity of injury. Also, as expected, women are more likely to seek assistance, while men are usually referred into programs or "coerced" in some manner.

Therefore, while past behavior is a predictor of present (and, by extrapolation, future) behavior, other factors are more closely associated with help-seeking, including age, sex, race, and severity of injury. Moreover, severity of injury is inversely related to length of relationship. That psychological factors are not present (nor were they measured) is not necessarily indicative of their unimportance--rather, the underlying attitudinal, emotional, and intentional structures of help-seeking are topics for research under more controlled conditions within a theoretically-driven analytic framework.

IMPLICATIONS

The data reduction analyses have identified three domains of variables, and several variables within domains, which will serve as predictors in later

analyses of project impact. The relevance of these domains of variables for social policy include concerns in case assessment methods, program intervention strategies, and outreach/public education strategies.

Of particular importance is the recognition of the factors which mediate help-seeking, and the need to translate that information into strategies for outreach and public education. The role of severity of injury and medical help-seeking in a general model of help-seeking behavior suggests the importance of outreach via hospital emergency rooms, public and private clinics, and private doctors. The importance of age and length of relationship suggests outreach strategies which focus on couples in shorter relationships with no history of prior contact with service agencies (e.g., police or domestic violence projects). Recognizing that relatively "older" victims more readily seek assistance, the identification of younger women and couples as high-risk populations suggests an outreach strategy focusing on these previously "unserved" populations.

The identification of different client strategies establishes empirically what practitioners in domestic violence have long acknowledged: that clients often contact domestic violence projects several times before reaching a decision as to a course of action. With each visit, the client's decision progresses with respect to firmness of decision and strategy for stopping the violence. Whether this progression is related to an escalation in the violence, changes in the relationship, or changing perception of the violence by the victims is a topic for further research.

Of additional significance is the role of project intervention in changes in clients' perception of the problem and progression of strategy development. The contribution of the projects to development of perceptions and strategies can be expressed in terms of inputs to client decisions, such as:

- delineation of options or alternatives
- problem definition and clarification through counseling
- assistance in accessing services and mobilization of resources
- protection, shelter, emotional support

Direct services represent the "treatments" afforded to clients by the family violence projects. The "change model" then is conceived as strategies selected by clients and supported by projects. This contrasts sharply with general change models which regard clients as somewhat passive recipients of a "cure" to a "disease" with clearly defined etiological roots and a cohort of readily measured symptoms. Rather, our analysis suggests that domestic violence victims are active participants in the selection of interventions, and that the client characteristics which predict selection of an intervention strategy may in fact be co-variants, or predictors, of the eventual success or impact of that strategy.

Children as Clients and Children's Services

Finally, the most dramatic findings concern children, both as victims and witnesses to domestic violence, and as clients of the LEAA Family Violence Projects. In contrast, the programmatic responses to child service needs reveal a major gap in services and a failure by these programs to anticipate, identify, and serve this target population.

The data on children service needs is indeed compelling in terms of identifying children as a major client population:

- Children are reported as members of client households in more than 90% of all Family Violence Program cases.
- Approximately two children are present in each of these households.
- Child-related problems are reported as the primary reason for contacting the Family Violence projects in 12% of the cases.
- Children are shelter occupants in 80% of all cases involving shelter services; children constitute more than 60% of the shelter population.

Against this broad demand for children's services, children's services are provided almost exclusively by shelters. All 12 shelter projects provide some services to children, although they are limited in most sites. Only one non-shelter project offers any service, and in that site children's services are limited to supervision/babysitting while adult clients attend mediation sessions, appear in court, or meet with project staff. No project identified children as a primary target population. Where services do exist, they are usually limited to supervision or babysitting. Moreover,

Family Violence project staff identified three critical issues regarding the impact of family violence on children:

- Clients' children often experience considerable and painful difficulties, manifested by behavioral symptoms associated with either removal from their home to an unfamiliar setting or experiences as observers and/or victims of parental violence.
- Clients appeared to be deficient in parenting skills.
- Clients were either suspected of or observed in physical abuse of children.

These issues have been addressed in both systematic and nonsystematic ways. Despite growing awareness and concern for child issues, budgetary constraints and staff inexperience have limited project efforts to program for children's needs. This is especially true for non-shelter projects.

The impact of domestic violence on children raises several implications for policy and programming. First, children should be identified as primary audiences for outreach and preventive activities. Teachers and school administrators might build upon the efforts begun several years ago with respect to child abuse identification and reporting. As more becomes known about behavioral responses to family violence, outreach can be systematically planned. Counseling services and other interventions might be planned for children identified as victims and/or observers of domestic abuse. Identification and assessment services could be developed based on empirical knowledge gained through several ongoing research efforts of the behavioral and emotional effects of family violence and spousal assault on children.

Second, if, as Harris and Associates have stated, "violence begets violence,"¹ there is some urgency to the need to develop child-focused crisis intervention services for children in families identified as experiencing spousal assault and/or child abuse. These early intervention efforts can intercede in what have come to be known as a generational pattern of domestic violence that is passed down from parent to child. Such efforts are currently underway in three demonstration projects funded by the National Center on Child Abuse and Neglect of the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services.

Third, the data on children as victims of and witnesses to domestic violence suggests that such services should be integrated in service programs for adult victims. Program planning and design should provide for substantive expertise and budgetary resources to support these services.

Future Research

These findings suggest several avenues of inquiry, both for the current evaluation and future research efforts. Research to date suggests that domestic violence results from a confluence of individual, situational, and environmental factors. The effects of interventions in each of these domains should be studied.

Client and case characteristics provide information on the problems and resources which clients bring to the Family Violence projects. These include the demographic and personal characteristics which describe the social structural variables and which appear to dictate the routes which clients take to receive services. Other factors include family composition and length of relationship, personal resources and educational or employment attainment, and factors related to the instant incident and prior abuse. Still others include family and friends, money, access to social service networks, and attitudes toward violence.

Each of these factors represents a domain of variables which mediates between "need" and "outcome." These domains can be analytically used as covariates or control variables to understand the effects of project interventions and organizational structures on client and case outcomes. Specifically, the analyses can link project interventions to outcomes, posing the following types of questions:

- which client resources and case characteristics are predictive of outcome
- which client resources, case characteristics, and project services influence services requested and received
- which service interventions, mediated by client resources and case characteristics, influence client decisions and case outcomes

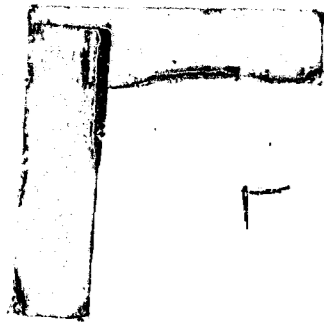
- how the various "outcome" domains (e.g., cessation of abuse, family status and location of children, living situation and satisfaction with life circumstances) relate to each other

These analyses will be the focus of forthcoming impact analyses in the final evaluation report.

NOTES

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2. Richard J. Gelles, Testimony Before the Committee on Science and Technology (Washington, D.C.: U.S. House of Representatives, February 1978).



END